William De Grey. 167[illegible]

# THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE;

Written in *ITALIAN*,

By H. C. DAVILA.

*Tranſlated* out of the *ORIGINAL*.

The *Second* Impreſſion, whereunto is Added a *TABLE*.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE.

WHICH IS ENTITLED

# HENRY DAVILA.

# TO THE READER.

THIS Author is ſo Generally Eſteemed in all Countries, that thoſe who underſtand not the Italian, are glad to Converſe with him by an Interpreter; and even in France, after ſo many Hiſtories as be there of the ſame Times, ſeveral Impreſſions of this in their Language have been bought off; whereby we may judge, they think Him to be Impartial, and as worthy of Credit, as the beſt of their own. Nor hath He wanted a due value here, for, our late King, of ever Glorious Memory, by whoſe Command, at Oxford, this Tranſlation was Continued and Finiſhed (though not begun) read it there, with ſuch eagerneſs, that no Diligence could Write it out faire, ſo faſt as he daily called for it; wiſhing he had had it ſome years ſooner, out of a Beliefe, that being forewarned thereby, He might have prevented many of thoſe Miſchiefs we then groaned under; and which the Grand Contrivers of them, had drawn from this Original, as Spiders do Poiſon from the moſt wholſome Plants. The Truth is, their Swords had already Tranſcribed it in Engliſh Blood, before this Pen had done it in Engliſh Inke; and, it were not hard to name the very Perſons, by whom many of the ſame Parts were Acted over again

*in the Civil Wars of* England; *the Faction of our* Presbyterians *in that Long-Parliament, outvying those of the* Hugonots *and of the* Holy-League *put together. Yet, when they had followed the steps of them both, as exactly as they could, they were out-vied themselves by the* Independents, *who far transcended them all, in an unexampled Conclusion, by the Horrid Murther of our Royal Martyr, and by enslaving the Kingdom under several Tyranies, till His Son's* Miraculous Restauration *to His Just Rights, Restored His* Subjects *also to their Much-wish'd-for* Liberties. *But, I am not to Write a* Preface, *and therefore all I shall add, is, That finding this* BOOK *still much sought for, since the former Impression hath been Sold off, I obtain'd the Right of the Copy from Sir* Charles Cottrell, (*whose* WORK *it was, all but some Pieces here and there in the First Four Books*) *with his Leave to* Reprint *it, as I have now done, so carefully, that I think it hath not many gross Faults; and, for those less considerable, I doubt not but the observation of the Ingenious* Reader *will easily find, his care Correct, and, I hope, his Candor pardon them.*

LICENSED, *Nov.* 24. 1678.
*ROGER L'ESTRANGE.*

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The FIRST BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*IN this First Book is set down the Original of the French Nation: The Election of their first King* Pharamond: *The Institution of the Salique Law: The Rights and Prerogatives of the Princes of the Blood: The Succession of their Kings to* Lewis *the* IX. *surnamed* The Saint: *The Division of the Royal Family into two distinct branches, one called* Valois, *the other* Bourbon: *The Jealousies between them, and in time the suppression of the House of* Bourbon: *The original, and raising to greatness of place in the rooms of the Princes of the Blood, the Families of* Guise *and* Momorancy: *The Emulations, and Occurrences between them, in which the* Guises *prevail. King* Henry *the Second is killed by accident in a Tournament:* Francis *his Son, a Youth of weak Constitution, succeeds to the Crown: He gives the Government to his Mother Queen* Caterine, *and the* Guises: *The Princes of* Bourbon *are offended thereat: The King of* Navarre, *chief of the Family, upon that occasion goes to Court, prevails little, goes from thence, and retires into* Bearn: *The Prince of* Conde *his Brother resolves to remove from the Government of the Queen-Mother and the* Guises: *He is counselled to make use of the Hugonots: Their Beginnings and Doctrine:* La Renaudie *makes himself chief of a Conspiracy, and the Hugonots resolve to follow him: The Conspiracy is discovered: The King chuseth the Duke of* Guise *for his Lieutenant-General, who without much difficulty doth break, take and chastise the Conspirators.*

THE Civil Wars, in which for the space of forty years together the Kingdom of *France* was miserably involved, though on the one side they contain great Actions, and famous Enterprizes, that may serve for excellent Lessons to those that maturely consider them; yet on the other side, they are so confused and intangled in their own revolutions, that the reasons of many businesses do not appear, the counsels of many determinations are not rightly comprehended, and an infinite number of things not at all understood through the partiality of private Interests, which under divers pretences hath obscured the truth of them. True it is, that many excellent Wits have endeavoured to

make of theſe a perfect Story, by bringing to light ſuch things as they have gathered together with great diligence, and commendable induſtry: Notwithſtanding the difficulties are ſo many, and the impediments prove to be of ſuch conſequence, that in a multitude of accidents (all great and conſiderable, but hidden and buried in the vaſt ruines of civil diſſentions) his pains will not be leſs profitable to poſterity, who labours to digeſt them into an orderly method, than the endeavours of others formerly have been. Wherefore, being in my infancy by Fate, that deſtined me to a reſtleſs life, tranſported into the inmoſt Provinces of that Kingdom, where, during a long ſpace of time which I lived there, I had the opportunity to obſerve, and be an eye-witneſs of the moſt ſecret and notable circumſtances of ſo remarkable paſſages; I could not chuſe a more worthy matter, nor a more uſeful Study wherein to imploy my preſent Age, now come to maturity, than to write from the very beginning, all the progreſs and order of thoſe troubles. And although the firſt taking up of Arms, which hapned in the year 1560. was indeed before my time, ſo that I could not be preſent at the beginning of thoſe Civil Wars: nevertheleſs I have diligently informed my ſelf by thoſe very perſons who then governed the affairs of State; ſo that with the perfect and particular knowledge of all the following events, it hath not been hard for me to penetrate to the firſt root of the moſt ancient and remote cauſes of them.

This Story will contain the whole courſe of the Civil Wars, which brake forth upon a ſudden after the death of King *Henry* the Second; and varying in their progreſs, by ſtrange and unthought-of accidents, ended finally after the death of three Kings, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth. But to form the Body of this Narration perfectly, it will be convenient for me to look back ſome few periods into the Original of the French Monarchy; for the ſeeds of thoſe matters which are now to be related, taking their beginnings from times long ſince paſt, it is neceſſary to lay a foundation, and to explain all difficulties, that we may with more clearneſs come to the perfect knowledge of modern things. But if in the performance of this my ſo painful undertaking, I be neither accompanied with eloquence of words, nor richneſs of conceit; yet being free from thoſe affections which uſually byaſs the Pens of many Writers, I hope I ſhall be able to reach the proper order, and natural unfolding of thoſe things which (having been many years converſant in the Courts of Kings, and always active in the firſt Files of Armies) I have learned of my ſelf by Experience and Action.

Whilſt the Roman Empire, with the terrour of Arms, upheld the Majeſty of her Monarchy, (which with a large compaſs embraced the greateſt part of the known World) thoſe few Nations, who, either defended with the generous fierceneſs of their own courage, or by nature invincibly fortified, felt not the general yoak of ſlavery, being reſtrained within thoſe Confines which neceſſity preſcribed them, ſtudied rather how to preſerve their own liberty in their native ſoil, than forcibly to invade the rights of others. So in the Eaſt, the Parthians had for a bridle to their fierceneſs the banks of *Euphrates*; ſo in the Weſt, the Germans for the moſt part contained the force of their Arms beyond the *Rhine*. But afterwards, when the Dominion of the Romans, through its own unbounded greatneſs, firſt diſunited it ſelf, or through change of ancient cuſtoms, began manifeſtly to decline; the barbarous Nations, (that for a long time had for their own defence only kept a Guard upon their Confines) the bridle being broken, and the bonds of fear ſhaken off, aſſaulting on all ſides the Roman Provinces, gave beginning to new Principalities, and new Kingdoms. Hence it was that the fame of ſo many warlike people, till then wholly buried in its own obſcurity, began powerfully to ſpread it ſelf in the World; and hence likewiſe it came to paſs, that ſtranger people, emulouſly getting poſſeſſion of the moſt fertile and beſt Regions of the Univerſe, in a ſhort time changed them, not only in their Habits, Language and Cuſtoms, but alſo in their manner of Government, in their condition, and in their names: ſo that all parts being invaded by new Nations, and new Maſters, not only *Britany* from the *Angli* that uſurped it, took the name of *England*; not only *Pannonia* from the *Hunns*, that ruled there, took the denomination of *Hungaria*; but infinite other Provinces in all parts of the World had the like change; and even within the Confines of *Italy* it ſelf, the Longbeards gave the form and name to the State of *Lombardy*.

But amongſt all thoſe people, who, abandoning their native Country, endeavoured to get new poſſeſſions, and uſurped others rights, there is not any one that for greatneſs of Empire, well-policied Government, and unconquered Valour in Arms, and above all, for length of time and continuance, can be compared to the French Nation.

For

For notwithstanding the famous incursions of the *Ostrogoths*, the *Visigoths*, the *Huns*, the *Vandals*, and the *Longbeards*; yet some of them vanished like a flash of lightning, which dazling the sight with a sudden and unexpected light, passes away in a moment, almost unperceived: others had so small a progress, that in a short time they lost both their power and their greatness. But the Franks, after they had fought with, and vanquished the most glorious Nations, and made themselves Lords of one of the most noble and best parts of *Europe*, powerful in people, flourishing in riches, renowned for great and magnanimous actions, and glorious with a Majestick Succession of Empire, after the course of a thousand and two hundred years, do continue at this present uncorrupted in the same kind of Government which at their first beginning was by a formal and natural Law established amongst them.

These people which now call themselves Frenchmen, and were formerly called *Franks*, whether they came long since from the most remote parts of *Asia*, (as some among many modern Historians have thought) or else had their first beginning in the bosom of *Germany*, (as the best Writers have reasonably held;) certain it is, that when the Roman Empire first declined, they inhabited that Country towards the North which lies upon the *Rhine* between *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, and that *Franconia* to this time bears the name of that Nation. These people at first, through terrour of the Romans, kept themselves together within their own Country where they were born, and streightned in a narrow Territory, with great pains, provided necessaries for life: but in progress of time, (as commonly those which inhabit a cold Climat multiply without measure) they were increased to such a number, that their little ill-built Cottages could no longer contain them, nor so small a Country afford them nourishment. Wherefore (all fear of the Romans being now ceased) invited thereunto by the example of their other neighbours, they resolved, by common advice, to separate and divide themselves into two distinct People; one of which should retain the wonted care and possession of their common Country; the other, exposed to hazard, provide by force of Arms greater Commodities of living, and a more large and fertile Habitation.

The Franconians, a people of *Germany*, not being able to subsist in their own Country, issue out in armed multitudes, and possess themselves of the Gallia's.

This Consultation had no interruption in the end to which it tended, and the division was made by a voluntary consent of every one. Those to whose lot it fell to leave their Country, although through generosity of courage accustomed to the toils of War, they feared not the danger of so great an enterprize; yet nevertheless they believed it was not a design to be remitted wholly to chance, but to be governed by mature deliberation, and weighty counsels. Wherefore being all assembled in the fields near the River *Sala*, to consult of those things which were necessary for such an expedition, and knowing well that a tumultuous and unsetled kind of Government could not conduce to the effecting their ends, they determined, before any thing else, to establish by universal consent the form of their future Government. And, as people accustomed for many Ages to live under the sole rule of one Prince, knowing also perhaps, that the qualities of a Monarchy are most agreeable and best proportioned to those that aspire to great atchievements, and enlargement of Empire, they resolved to chuse themselves a King, upon whom should be conferred the whole authority of all. To so great a power was added this priviledge; That the Kingdom should be hereditary in the descent of him that was to be chosen; wisely foreseeing, that if from time to time they should make a new election, it might easily breed Civil discord amongst themselves, which without all doubt would hinder the success of any enterprize whatsoever. So (as the beginnings of things use for the most part to be directed with sincerity of mind to their proper end, the publick good) all ambition and private interests laid aside, they chose by common accord for their King, *Pharamond*, one of the sons of *Marconir*, a Prince, not only by descent, (being of the same Blood, which that people were used for many Ages past to obey) but in vertue also; being singularly valiant, and most deeply wise in the Government of affairs; consenting, that to his posterity should descend the same power and the same name, until a legitimate descendent of his failing, the right should return to the people of chusing a new Lord.

*Pharamond* chosen first King of the French at the river *Sala*, and the Salique Law established.

But because Authority without limitation commonly converts it self into destructive licentiousness, at the same time that they elected their King, they would establish certain Laws, which were to remain perpetual and immutable in all times, and in which should be comprehended in brief the general consent, as well in the succession of the Kings, as in every other part of the future Government. These Laws proposed by their Priests which were anciently denominated *Salii*, and decreed of in the fields,

The *Salii*, Priests.

which from the river *Sala*, take the ſame name, were called *Salique Laws*; and (after the eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom) original and fundamental Conſtitutions. After this principal foundation, all other things reſolved on that were neceſſary for the preſent Government, and advantageous to the deſign in hand, having paſſed the *Rhine* under the conduct of their firſt King *Pharamond*, they betook themſelves to the conqueſt of the *Gallia*'s, about the year of our Salvation Four hundred and nineteen, leaving the Dominion of *Franconia* to the old Prince *Marcomir*.

419.

The Franks began to invade the Gallia's in the year 419. being then poſſeſſed by the Romans.

The *Gallia*'s were as yet poſſeſſed by the Roman Emperours, but much declined from their firſt ſtrength and greatneſs, partly through Civil diſſentions, partly through the incurſions of divers barbarous Nations, by whoſe fury they had been long time much waſted and ſpoiled; which was the cauſe that the Franks Army found much leſs difficulty in their conqueſt than the Romans did formerly. Nevertheleſs they were not ſubdued without great reſiſtance, and much time ſpent. For the Roman Legions appointed to guard that Province, being joined, for their own defence, with the *Gauls* themſelves, held the firſt King *Pharamond* at a bay, till his end drawing near, he left the care of the whole enterprize, and of the people, to his ſon *Clodian*. This man, of a fierce courage, in the firſt flower of his age, having many times fought with the inhabitants of the Country, and having overcome and driven out the Roman forces, began to maſter that part of *Gallia*, which lying neareſt to the *Rhine*, is by common conſent of Writers called *Belgica*. To him ſucceeded *Merone*, whether brother or ſon to *Clodian*, is not certain; but out of doubt, neareſt to him, and of the ſame race, conformable to the Salique Law. He with happy ſucceſs advancing into *Gallia-Celtica*, propagated the Empire of the Franks as far as to the City of *Paris*: And now thinking he had gotten enough to maintain his people, and to form a compleat moderate Empire, ſtayed the courſe of his Conqueſts; and having conceived thoughts of peace, joined both Nations under the ſame name; and with moderate Laws and a peaceful kind of rule, founded and eſtabliſhed in the *Gallia*'s, the Kingdom of the French.

*Clodian* the ſecond King, made himſelf Maſter of *Belgia*, and this was firſt conquered.

*Merone* the third King, continues his Conqueſts as far as *Paris*, and unites the two Nations into one.

This was the firſt original and foundation-ſtone of that Monarchy; in which, as the deſcent of their Kings hath ever conſtantly remained in the ſame Progeny, ſo in all Ages the firſt rules of Government have been moſt religiouſly obſerved, neither power of Command, nor authority of Laws loſing any thing, through time, of their firſt obſervation, and ancient ſplendor. Thoſe Laws ordained in the beginning by the univerſal conſent of all the people, exclude the Female Sex from the Royal Succeſſion, and admit only to the inheritance of the Crown the neareſt Males; by which means, the Empire of that Nation, by a continued and uninterrupted Succeſſion, always remaineth in the ſame Blood. From the diſpoſition of this Law, the Princes of the Blood derive their name and priviledges; for being all capable through default of the next heir, in their order to ſucceed to the Crown, they have in that conſideration great intereſt in the State, and the priviledges of their families preſerved with great reverence from the people; no time nor diſtance of degrees prejudicing the conſervation of that order which Nature preſcribes them to the Succeſſion of the Kingdom. For which cauſe, though in the courſe of time, divers families, through ſundry accidents, have changed their names; as ſome have taken the ſirname of *Valois*, others of *Bourbon*, others of *Orleans*, others of *Angoleſme*, others of *Vendoſme*, others of *Alanſon*, and others of *Montpenſier*; yet for all that they have not loſt the trace of their Royal Conſanguinity, nor the right of ſucceeding to the Crown; but the pre-eminencies of their Blood, and the ſame priviledges are ever from time to time preſerved to all.

Princes of the Blood.

And becauſe it is evident how much they are all concerned in the cuſtody and preſervation of ſo great an inheritance, of which they are all ſucceſſively capable, it hath therefore ever been a cuſtom, that the next of Blood ſhould be Guardian to the Pupils, and Governour of the Kingdom, during the minority or abſence of the lawful King. Reaſon willing, that the Government ſhould not be committed to ſtrangers, or thoſe altogether Aliens, who might endeavour to deſtroy and diſmember the Union of ſo noble a Body; but to ſuch, who, born of the ſame ſtock, ought in reaſon to attend the preſervation of the Crown, as their own birth-right. Nor is this Prerogative a cuſtom only, but the States-General of the Kingdom (which Aſſembly hath the power of the whole Nation) having often confirmed it with their conſent, and ordered it to be ſo; it is ſince become as a decreed Law, and a firm eſtabliſhed Conſtitution.

The Aſſembly of the States hath the power of the whole Kingdom.

The pre eminencies of the Royal Family; Inheritance, and Adminiſtration.

The Royal Houſe then enjoys two Pre-eminencies: the one in matter of Inheritance; the other, of Adminiſtration: that, when any King dies without male-children; this,

when

when the abſence or minority of the Prince requires ſome other perſon for the Government and management of the State. Theſe two Priviledges that are always inherent in thoſe of the Royal Line, have been a cauſe that the Princes of the Blood have ever held a great authority with the people, and had a great part in the Government of the Kingdom. For they themſelves have ever been very vigilant in the adminiſtration of the Empire, which they eſteemed, reaſonably enough, as their own; and the people, conceiving the Government might, at ſome time or other, fall into their hands, have ever had them in great veneration; and ſo much the rather, becauſe it hath often been found by experience, that the eldeſt Line failing, the Crown hath been devolved upon the younger family.

The Royal races; The *Merones*, *Carolis*, *Capetts*, and *Valois*; *St. Lewis* the Ninth.

So the Regal Authority having an orderly ſucceſſion in the race of *Merones*, afterwards in the family of *Carolins*, and laſtly in that of the *Capetts*; after many Ages, *Lewis* the Ninth of that name poſſeſſed the Kingdom; He who for innocency of life, and integrity of manners, was after his death deſervedly written in the Kalendar of Saints. Of him were born two ſons; *Philip* the Third, ſirnamed *The Hardy*; and *Robert*, the younger, Count of *Cleremont*. From *Philip* came the eldeſt Line, which enjoyed the Crown more than three hundred years, with the ſirname of *Valois*: from *Robert* deſcended the Houſe of *Bourbon*, ſo called (as it is a cuſtom among the French) from that State of which they bare the Title, and enjoyed a long time as their own Inheritance.

The Crown continued in the Houſe of *Valois* three hundred years.

Now whilſt the Houſe of *Valois* poſſeſſed the Crown, the Houſe of *Bourbon* held by conſequence the rank of *firſt* Prince of the Blood, and enjoyed all thoſe priviledges which we ſaid before by Law and Cuſtom belonged to that quality. This Family, great, not only through nearneſs to the Crown, but alſo in large poſſeſſions, abundance of treaſure, reputation in war, and fruitfulneſs of off-ſpring; producing likewiſe frequently men of a liberal nature, and popular civility; eaſily exceeded the limits of a private life; and with the ſinews of its own ſtrength, together with the favour of the people, eſtabliſhed it ſelf in an exceſſive ſtate of greatneſs: which begetting jealouſie, and envy in the Kings, who were diſpleaſed at ſo great an eminence and authority, bred many occaſions of hate and ſuſpition; which ſometimes alſo brake forth into open war. For *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, made war upon *John*, Duke of *Bourbon*, in the war intituled, *For the Commonwealth*; and *Lewis* the Twelfth (though before he came to the Crown) tried the ſucceſs of Arms with *Peter* of *Bourbon*; and ſo, what by open defiance, what through ſecret malice, the Kings of *France* grew daily more and more jealous of the Authority of the Princes of *Bourbon*.

1515. The Houſe of *Bourbon* being next to the Crown, and grown to a monſtrous greatneſs, was hated, kept under, and ſuppreſſed by the Kings.

At the length, *Francis* the Firſt came to the Crown; who in the beginning of his Reign, led by the ardour and facility of youth, began with great demonſtration of affection, to confer honour upon the chief Princes of the Blood; it ſeeming a thing ſuitable to that magnificence he ſhewed towards all men, and to the greatneſs of his mind, that thoſe Lords moſt nearly allied to him, ſhould be moſt exalted, both for the honour of the Royal Line, and for his own particular reputation: And having obſerved in *Charles* of *Bourbon*, (who was the firſt Prince of the Blood) a generous courage, and a genius fit for any employment, he promoted him to be High Conſtable of *France*; and reſolved that all the weighty affairs and principal charges of the Kingdom, ſhould paſs only thorow his own hands, and thoſe that were neareſt of relation to himſelf. But when he came to age more mature, the fervour of youth being paſt, and finding by being converſant in affairs, the reaſons by which his Predeceſſors guided their counſels, with how much greater earneſtneſs he ſtrove formerly to raiſe the Houſe of *Bourbon*, with ſo much the more anxiety of mind he laboured now to abuſe their exceſſive greatneſs.

*Francis* the firſt advanceth *Charles* of *Bourbon*, and afterwards ſuppreſſeth him; whereupon he rebelleth.

Nor did fortune fail to preſent an occaſion, wonderfully proper for the execution of his deſign. For there being a Proceſs at that time between *Louyſe*, the Kings Mother, and *Charles* of *Bourbon*, for the ſame Dutchy which he then held, the King thought with himſelf, that if he cauſed Judgment to be given in favour of his Mother, and deprived the Houſe of *Bourbon* of their fundamental revenues, the Duke would eaſily fall from that power and dignity which was chiefly upheld by ſo ſplendid a fortune.

But *Charles*, having (by the preceeding of his buſineſs) diſcovered the deceitful practices of the Chancellor *Antonio del Prato*, by the Kings inſtigation, againſt him, diſdain of the injury, and fear of ruine, which was inevitably prepared, ſo much prevailed over him, that joyning ſecretly with the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the

the Eighth of *England*, he began to conſpire againſt the Kingdom, and the very perſon of the King. Which being diſcovered, he was conſtrained to flee, and afterwards bare Arms againſt him; and continuing that courſe, it ſo fell out, that he was laſt of all General to *Cæſar* in the Battel at *Pavia*; where, after a bloody ſlaughter in the the French Army, the King, invironed by divers Squadrons of Foot, was at length taken priſoner. For theſe facts *Charles* being declared Rebel, and all his eſtate confiſcate; and having within a ſhort time after, at the taking of *Rome*, loſt his life alſo; the Houſe of *Bourbon* fell from that envied greatneſs, which had cauſed ſuch jealouſie in the King.

This was not ſufficient to ſtop the perſecution now begun: for although *Charles* were unhappily dead without children, and though the others of the family did in no way partake of his counſels; notwithſtanding, the King, more ſwayed with revenge of the injuries paſt, than the force of reaſon; all the Lords of that Houſe, more through hate of their name, than any delinquency in their perſons, were utterly deprived of all favour at Court, and wholly removed from the management of affairs. And although this rigour was in time ſomewhat leſſened, and the Kings mind ſo far mitigated, as to forget things paſt, and to lay by the ill opinion he had conceived of them; notwithſtanding he continued ſtudiouſly to endeavour to cut off all means whereby thoſe Princes might return to their former honour, and that power to which they were formerly with ſo much favour advanced.

This ſecret intention of the Kings was very well obſerved by *Charles* Duke of *Vendoſme*, the chief of that Houſe. Wherefore forcing himſelf with moderation of mind to overcome the ſuſpition and jealouſies that ſo oppreſſed his family, he refuſed, during the Kings impriſonment, to pretend to the Regency which of right belonged to him; and after the King was delivered, having retired himſelf to the quiet of his own domeſtick affairs, ſought not to be recalled to any part in that Government in which he knew himſelf ſo much ſuſpected. The reſt of the ſame Houſe following his example, to ſhew how much they were ſtrangers to the wicked counſels of *Bourbon*, by being ſuch ready Executors, though to their own diminution and prejudice, of the Kings inclinations, voluntarily withdrew themſelves from all buſineſs that might breed any ſuſpition of them; and ſtanding retired, little troubled themſelves with the charges and commands at Court; among which, deſpiſing the little ones, they already perceived it was impoſſible for them to attain to thoſe dignities which they knew belonged to the greatneſs of their birth.

The Houſe of *Momorancy* deſcends from one of thoſe who iſſued out of *Franconia* with the firſt King *Pharamond*, and pretends to be the firſt that received Baptiſm.

The Houſe of *Bourbon* thus ſuppreſſed, and removed from the affairs; there ſprang up under *Francis* the Firſt, two great families, which within a ſhort time got the whole buſineſs of the State into their own hands; *Momorancy* and *Guiſe*, neither of them any way allied to the Houſe Royal, but both the one and the other of very eminent Nobility. That of *Momorancy* keeps a venerable record of the eminency of their Anceſtors; for they do not only ſhew a right deſcent from one of thoſe Barons that accompanied the firſt King *Pharamond* in the Salique Expedition; but prove alſo, they were the firſt among the French Nation, that received Baptiſm, and the Chriſtian Faith: wherefore among other marks of Nobility, thoſe of that family give this device: *Deus primum Chriſtianum ſervet*, as an undoubted teſtimony of the antiquity and piety of their Predeceſſors. From this ſtock came *Anne* of *Momorancy*, a man of great quickneſs of wit, but a moderate diſpoſition; who, beſides his natural dexterity and gravity, being accompanied with a ſingular induſtry, and exceeding patience in the various changes of the Court, he knew ſo well in what manner to gain King *Francis* his affection, that having paſſed thorow other great charges, he was firſt by him promoted to the Office of Grand Maſter, and a little after the death of *Bourbon*, to the dignity of High-Conſtable, and had then the Government of the War, and Superintendency of the Affairs wholly in his own hands.

*Anne de Momorancy*, after the death of *Bourbon*, made High Conſtable.

The Houſe of *Guiſe* deſcended from that of *Lorain*, reckons in the male-line of their anceſtors *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, King of *Jeruſalem*; and ſhews a pedigree from a daughter of *Charles* the Great.

But the Houſe of *Lorain*, from which are deſcended the Lords of *Guiſe*, deriving their original from great antiquity, reckon in the male-line of their Predeceſſors, *Godfrey* of *Bullen*: He who being General of the Chriſtians at the recovery of the holy Sepulchre, attained in *Aſia* by his Piety and Arms, the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; and by the Mothers ſide, ſhews a long continued pedigree from a daughter of the Emperour *Charles* the Great. In this Family, flouriſhing in wealth, and powerful in poſſeſſions, *Anthony* Duke of *Lorain* obtaining the Soveraignty over his own people, *Claudian* the younger brother, (a Prince of excellent vertue, and no leſs fortunate) going ſome little time

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after into *France*, to take poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Guiſe*, gave ſuch clear teſtimony of his conduct and valour in the Wars, that after the Battel of *Marignan*, wherein he commanded the Almans, being found moſt grievouſly wounded among thickeſt of the dead bodies, and almoſt miraculouſly recovered, he ever after held the firſt place of reputation among the French Commanders. But though both theſe Families had deſerved ſo well, as it was not eaſie to judge which ſhould have the pre-eminence; yet as *Guiſe* was ſuperiour in birth, and large poſſeſſions, ſo the Conſtable had the advantage of the Kings favour, and chief management of the affairs. The truth is, as the condition of the Court is ever various and unconſtant, ſo both of them towards the end of *Francis* his Reign, paſſed thorow many accidents of great hazard and difficulty. For the Conſtable, who was a chief inſtrument in perſwading the King to credit the promiſes of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and to give him a ſafe conduct when he was forced in haſte to paſs quite thorow the Kingdom unarmed, to ſuppreſs the Rebellion at *Gaunt*: afterwards the Emperours deeds not any way correſponding with his words, fell into ſuch diſgrace with the King and Court, that being noted by every one for a light faithleſs man, he was forced to abſent himſelf, and retire to a private life, to be ſecure from the perſecutions of his adverſaries. And the Duke of *Guiſe* having without Commiſſion carried ſome Companies of ſouldiers within the Kingdom to aid his Brother, the Duke of *Lorain*, in the War againſt the Anabaptiſts, ſo incenſed the King, that he was likewiſe forced, by withdrawing himſelf, to give place to the adverſity of fortune.

*Anne* of *Memerancy* and the Duke of *Guiſe* fall into diſgrace with King *Francis*.

The Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe* thus gone from Court, there came in their places to the Government of the affairs, *Claud d'Annibaut Admiral*, and *Francis*, Cardinal of *Tournon*; men that by long experience and induſtry had acquired a great reputation of wiſdom; but of ſuch private condition for their birth and fortune, that they could never aſcend to that ſuſpected greatneſs, which the King, as dangerous, abhorr'd in any ſubject.

Some are of opinion, that the King, a Prince of exquiſite ſagacity in timely diſcovering the natures and inclinations of men, at ſuch time when through paſſed adverſities, he was grown to be of a difficult and jealous nature, made it his ſtudy to ſuppreſs and baniſh from Court the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe*, whom before he ſo much loved, and ſo conſtantly favoured; ſuppoſing he could never reign abſolutely, nor rule as he liſted, whilſt he had men about him of ſuch power and reputation, who were in a manner able to balance his will. And as in the Conſtable, that which moſt offended him, was his great experience, and too much knowledge, through which he believed he could not conceal from him his moſt ſecret and hidden deſigns: ſo in the Duke of *Guiſe*, he was diſpleaſed not only with the eminency of his birth, but alſo the reſtleſneſs of his thoughts; perceiving in thoſe of that Family a diſpoſition and inclination ready to embrace any ſeaſonable opportunity; and withal, an ability not unfit to manage any whatſoever weighty or dangerous deſign. They add alſo, that towards his end he gave ſecretly this advice to his Son *Henry* the Second, *That he ſhould beware of the exceſſive greatneſs of his Subjects, but particularly of the Houſe of* Guiſe; *who, if they were ſuffered to grow too high, would without doubt moleſt the quiet of the Kingdom.* Which, though I dare not affirm, having no other teſtimony than publick Fame, which often proceeds from malice; yet it is certain, the things which ſince hapned have added great credit to that report.

But howſoever it were, *Francis* the Firſt being dead, the new King *Henry* the Second (inclined rather to follow the appetite of his own will, than the advertiſements and ſo late example of his father) removed at firſt daſh from Court, and from their places, all thoſe that before had any part in the Government, and ſubſtituted into their rooms the ſame men whom the deceaſed King had taken occaſion to diſcharge of their truſt. Preſently were diſmiſſed from all employment the Admiral, and the Cardinal of *Tournon*, both of them privy to thoſe ſecrets which for many years were negotiated by this Prince, and his Predeceſſors; in whoſe room were called to the principal charges of State *Anne de Momorancy* High-Conſtable, and *Francis* of *Lorain*, Son to *Claud* Duke of *Guiſe*. Theſe being made as it were Moderators of the Kings youth, and Arbitrators in the Court of all buſineſſes of conſequence, though they had ſeveral thoughts, ſeveral ends and inclinations, yet in power and authority were in a manner the ſame. For the Conſtable, a man ripe in years, a friend to peaceful counſels, and of a long practical experience in the Art of Governing, grew to an exceeding opinion of wiſdom, and

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*Monorancy* and *Guiſe* are recalled to the management of the affairs by *Henry* the Second.

and held the firſt place in the management of the affairs of State. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, being in the flower of his age, ſtrong of body, of a noble preſence, full of vivacity of courage, and of a ready wit for any generous notable action, had the air and favour of the Court; was admitted by the King to a familiarity of converſation, and as it were a companion in all his pleaſures and youthful exerciſes: ſo that his affection to the Conſtable was rather reſpect, and his inclination to the Duke of *Guiſe* might rather be called acquaintance. Their ways alſo were very different; for the Conſtable loving parſimony and moderation, with a certain kind of pride that uſually accompanies old age, ſlighting the applications of ſtrangers, oftentimes oppoſed with his authority the Kings liberality, and full of auſterity, and ſevere conſtancy, little eſteemed the popular applauſe. But quite contrary, the Duke of *Guiſe*, affable of ſpeech, and popular in his actions, with oſtentation of liberality and pleaſantneſs, laboured to win the affections of all the ſouldiers; and by taking into his protection thoſe that were in neceſſity, ſought to gain the dependency and affections of ſtrangers. Hence began (as it often happens) to riſe an emulation betwixt them; for finding they were equally loved and credited, they both laboured with all their power to get the advantage of each other in the Kings favour, and adminiſtration of affairs. Wherein, beſide their natural inclination, they were upon all occaſions animated by their neareſt Allies: The Conſtable by *Jaſper de Coligny*, Lord of *Chaſtillon*, his ſiſters ſon, who after the death of *Annebaut*, was created Admiral of *France*; a man of ſubtil wit and eſteemed valour: and the Duke of *Guiſe*, by his brother *Charles*, Cardinal of *Lorain*; who though he were ſingular in learning and gracefulneſs of ſpeech, thoſe excellent endowments received no little luſtre from his dignity and noble preſence.

Emulation between the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe*.

Fortune was not ſlack in opening a large field to ſtir up this emulation: For the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth preparing a mighty Army to beſiege *Mets* a place of ſtrength, which they pretend belongs to the Empire, but placed upon the Frontiers, ſerves in a manner as a Bulwark to *France*: and the greatneſs of the preparations ſtriking a terrour through all the Kingdom, it appeared fit that one of the Kings Favourites ſhould be choſen to manage the troubleſom command of that War. But the Conſtable being now aged, being above ſixty years old, deſiring rather to continue about the Kings perſon, than to expoſe the reputation he had already gotten to new hazards, ſeemed ſilently to refuſe the weight of ſo great a charge. On the contrary, the Duke of *Guiſe*, who ſaw there was no other way left to raiſe himſelf in favour and reputation above *Momorancy*, but by arms, being of a warlike genius, and great courage, ſought openly that imployment. So the Conſtable, glad of the advantage, to ſee the life and reputation of his Rival expoſed to ſuch danger, either giving conſent, or not contradicting it, the defence of *Mets* was wholly committed to the Duke of *Guiſe*; who with his valour and conduct having fully anſwered the expectation of all men, diſcharging himſelf with great honour in ſo doubtful an enterpriſe, remained in ſuch reputation both with the King, and all the French Nation, that afterwards, a General being to be ſent into *Italy*, to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*, there was no doubt but that charge ſhould be conferred upon him. And although the War of *Italy* was altogether without ſucceſs, or but of little advantage, not by the Dukes fault, but partly through the ordinary defect of the French Souldiers, partly through the unconſtancy of Confederates; he nevertheleſs grew in greater authority and reputation than happily he would have done by a victory.

For *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, to whom his Father *Charles* the Fifth had ſurrendred the Government of his Kingdom, having brought an Army upon the confines of *France* out of *Flanders*, and to divert the War of *Italy*, invaded *Picardy*, the Conſtable who was Governour of that Province, was forc'd to abſent himſelf from the King, and once more, againſt his will, to try the fortune of War, when loſing the Battel of *S. Quintin*, and being taken priſoner by the Spaniards, to the evident danger and great terrour of all the adjacent Provinces, the Kings Council thought it neceſſary to recal out of *Italy* the Duke of *Guiſe* to oppoſe the fury of the Enemy, and to provide againſt thoſe dangers, and repair thoſe loſſes which the overthrow given to the Conſtables Army had occaſioned: Which expectation was ſo fully anſwered, not only by the expedition he made thither; but by the memorable ſieges of *Calais*, *Guines*, and *Thionville*, that he was ever after without ſcruple thought as far ſuperiour to the Conſtable, as the Victor ought to be above the vanquiſhed.

But the Conſtable being in proceſs of time freed from his impriſonment, and returned

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to Court, it ſoon appeared, that the King began to renew his former inclination towards him: for, attributing his late misfortune to the uncertain chance of War, he received him into the ſame nearneſs as before, and again made uſe of his counſel, by which he was eaſed (being wholly addicted to his pleaſure) of the intolerable burthen of buſineſs. Whereupon the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brother the Cardinal of *Lorain*, the one in War, the other in Civil matters, of great reputation and credit, doubting he would eaſily recover his former power, if there were not ſome ſtratagem or impediment laid in his way; they reſolved to ſide with *Diana*, Dutcheſs of *Valentinois*; and ſo joining intereſts and a ſtrict league of friendſhip, under the protection of her favour to maintain their own greatneſs. This *Diana* was of a noble Family, and deſcended from the Counts of *Poictiers*, endowed in her youth with rare and ſingular beauty, of a courtly, lively, and graceful behaviour, of a flowing ſprightly wit, and indeed adorned with all thoſe qualities that render young Ladies eſteemed and favoured. She was married to the Seneſchal of *Normandy*, and by him having had two daughters, in a ſhort time after became a widow; then that yoak ſhaked off, letting her ſelf looſe to the pleaſures of the Court, ſhe preſently became ſo abſolutely Miſtreſs of the Kings affections, that ſhe diſpoſed of him as ſhe pleaſed; and not degenerating from her womans nature, governed ſo licentiouſly, and with ſuch greedineſs appropriated all the riches of the Crown, that ſhe became intolerable to the whole Kingdom, and univerſally hated of all men. For the Queen (although ſhe made ſhew of the contrary) through diſdain of being rivalled, was inwardly her bitter enemy; and the Nobility, who through her womaniſh malice and practices, were many of them ill uſed, and diſobliged, could not endure to ſubmit themſelves and their fortunes to her peeviſh humour; and the people ceaſed not to curſe her covetouſneſs perpetually, attributing the cauſe of all their Taxes which they ſo groaned under, only to her avarice.

But the *Guiſes*, ſollicited only with the fear of falling from their greatneſs, to which they had climbed thorow ſo many difficulties, having no regard to this univerſal hate, much leſs to any other reſpect, reſolved to ſecure themſelves under her protection and favour; which in a ſhort time grew ſo partial on their ſide, that having married one of her daughters to the Duke of *Aumale* their third brother, they united all their powers to one and the ſame end. But the Conſtable ſoon perceived the ſubtil practices of the *Guiſes*, and not abſolutely relying upon his own ſtrength, nor the Kings favour, thought likewiſe of making his addreſſes to the ſame *Diana*; and, as the *Guiſes* had allured her with the greatneſs of their alliance, to win and draw her to his party by ſatisfying her covetouſneſs, a paſſion by which he perceived ſhe was no leſs ſwayed than by her ambition: Wherefore beginning to uſe her with great reſpect, to gain her the ſooner, at the ſame time he gave her many rich preſents, and was ſo far tranſported with the deſire of effecting his purpoſe, that, all greatneſs of ſpirit laid aſide, he reſolved to take for his daughter-in-law, a Neece of hers, whom he married to his ſecond Son *Henry* Lord of *Danville*; which was ſo much the more unadviſedly done, by how much *Diana* already ſtreightly united with the *Guiſes*, really endeavoured to maintain their power, and favour'd the Conſtables deſigns in appearance and ſhew only.

From henceforward it was in vain any longer to oppoſe the greatneſs of the *Guiſes*. For beſides the merits of their actions, in the ſame time that this contention was at the higheſt for ſuperiority; *Francis* the Daulphine of *France*, and the Kings eldeſt ſon, took to wife *Mary*, only heir to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who was daughter to *James Stuart*, then lately deceaſed, and *Mary* of *Lorain*, ſiſter to the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal; ſo great an alliance, that they ſeemed now to have the ſame intereſt with the Crown; in ſo much, that nothing remaining to the Conſtable and his, but the Kings uſual countenance, and ſome natural propenſity of kindneſs to him; nor to the other Lords and Barons of *France*, but only the charges and offices of leſs conſequence; the three brothers of *Guiſe* got into their hands all the principal dignities and chief Governments of the Kingdom, together with the Superintendency of all the affairs both Martial and Civil.

The three brothers of *Guiſe* made abſolute adminiſtrators of the politick and military Government, by reaſon of their alliance with the Dolphin.

Whilſt theſe things, which buſied the minds of all men, were agitated at the Court, the Houſe of *Bourbon*, next of blood, and neareſt allied to the Crown, contrary to the cuſtom of the Nation, being in a manner deprived of all honours and dignities, ſeldom appeared, unleſs called upon by the neceſſity of war, or in the exerciſe of their charge in thoſe few ſmall Governments which yet remained in their Family. And

though the Prince of *Anguin*, one of the ſame Houſe, ſo advanced himſelf by his valour and generoſity of ſpirit, that the King was content to beſtow upon him the Government of his Army in *Piedmont*, where he won the victory at *Ceriſola*, and in divers other occaſions gained ſtill greater credit and reputation: Notwithſtanding, he not living long, his good fortune but little advantaged the oppreſſed and ſtill-perſecuted Houſe of *Bourbon*; for he once dead, it remained abſolutely deprived of all manner of greatneſs or favour at Court. The chief of this Houſe were *Antony* Duke of *Vendoſme*, and *Lewis* Prince of *Conde* his brother, both ſons to that *Charles* of *Vendoſme*, who after the Rebellion of *Bourbon*, and the impriſonment of *Francis* the Firſt, by his modeſty and retiredneſs, in great part appeaſed the hate which ſo violently raged againſt the whole Family.

Thoſe of *Bourbon* ſeeing themſelves thus overtopped in power and authority by the Houſe of *Guiſe*, (being but ſtrangers newly come out of the Houſe of *Lorain*, which lies between *France* and *Germany*) were not a little troubled to ſee themſelves not only deprived of all priviledges belonging to their blood, (except that which could not be taken from them, the right of ſucceſſion) but, whereas by the natural courſe they uſed always to hold the firſt place about the King; to be now, contrary to all reaſon and juſtice, the laſt: And their condition was yet more deplorable, by reaſon of the Kings reſoluteneſs and violent nature, not at all to be moved by the complaints of thoſe who ſeemed in any way to oppoſe his natural inclinations. In ſo much, as the Court loſing in a manner its natural unconſtancy, kept ſtill the ſame face and form of things; the *Guiſes* ruling all ſo abſolutely, that none durſt oppoſe their power. The Conſtables greatneſs afflicted them not ſo much; but on the contrary, they exceedingly grieved to ſee him ſo much fallen from his former height, and left in ſuch a ſtate, that he was ſcarce able to uphold himſelf. For being joined with him not only by alliance, but in friendſhip and intereſts, they had yet hope by means of his favour to riſe again; at leaſt to ſome tolerable condition, if not to the power and authority their Predeceſſors had formerly enjoyed. So that now deprived in a manner of all hope, (which is uſually a comfort to thoſe in affliction) they became ſo much the more ſenſible of the hardneſs of their preſent fortune.

*Antony* of *Vendoſme* of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, he that was father to *Henry* the 4th, marrieth the daughter of the King of *Navarre*, by whom he inherits the pretenſions of that Kingdom.

But amongſt theſe, *Antony* of *Vendoſme*, a Prince of great goodneſs, (and of a facile quiet nature) bare his misfortunes with an excellent temper; his thoughts being for the moſt part buſied about greater matters: for having married *Jane* of *Albert*, only daughter to *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and after his father-in-laws death, aſſumed the Title and Arms of King; he took upon him not only the care of the Principality of *Bearn*, at the foot of the Pirenean Mountains, (where he was abſolute Soveraign) but alſo uſed all manner of endeavour by way of accord, to recover his Kingdom, which the Spaniard had long poſſeſſed by force, ever ſince the Wars between *Ferdinand* the Catholick King, and *Lewis* the Twelfth. But the King of *France*, by whoſe means it was loſt, had often, though to no purpoſe, (being ſo nearly joined to *Spain*) attempted the regaining of it by force. Wherefore now theſe two great Kings being about a Treaty for a general peace, he hoped likewiſe ſo to be compriſed in the Articles of Agreement, that his own ſtate ſhould be reſtored to him; or at leaſt changed for ſome other lands of like value. He grew more paſſionate in that deſire, becauſe the Queen, his Wife, had brought him a Son, who, in remembrance of his Grandfather on the mothers ſide, was called *Henry*; the ſame, who after the revolution of many miſeries and irkſom Wars, by ſucceſs of victory obtaining the Crown, is now by general conſent ſirnamed *The Great:* He was born upon the thirteenth of *December*, in the year of our Salvation 1554. in the Town of *Paw*, in the Viſcounty of *Bearne*, which is moſt deliciouſly ſituated at the foot of the *Perinees*. This birth, as it greatly rejoyced the Parents, ſo it ſpurred them on, with all eagerneſs, to purſue their deſigns for the recovery of *Navarre*; and withal the King *Antony* of *Bourbon* thinking he ſhould eaſilier intereſt the King to include his reſtauration in the Treaty, than obtain as Prince of the Blood any dignity or Government in *France*, with ſo much the greater patience and meekneſs, ſuffered the injuries caſt upon his Family. And although the King, either ſtill of the ſame mind to leſſen the Princes of the Blood, or elſe meerly in anger to *Antony*, becauſe he refuſed to change his Signiory of *Bearne*, and the reſt of his poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, for other Cities and Lordſhips in the Kingdom of *France*, diſmembred his Government of *Guienne*, which he enjoyed as firſt Prince of the Blood, and ſeparated from it all *Languedoc*, a large and populous Province, together with the City of *Tholouſe*,

The birth of *Henry* the 4th, *Dec.* 13. 1554. in the Territory of *Paw*, in the Viſcounty of *Bearn*, a Free State.

and

and assigned the Government of them to the Constable; he notwithstanding, dissembling so great an affront, without any shew of being at all ill satisfied, constantly persevered in his design.

But *Lewis* of *Conde* his brother, full of high thoughts, and of an unquiet spirit, not awed by such pretences, finding the narrowness of his fortune could not maintain the greatness of his birth, spitefully vexed at his present condition, could not conceal the malice and envy he bare to the House of *Guise*, which in a manner devoured all the chief employments of the Kingdom. Besides his own interest, the disgraces laid upon the Constable, made not a little impression in him: for having married his Neece *Elianor de Roye*, and made a firm League of friendship with him and his son *Momorancy*, he esteemed the suppression of that Family an increase and accomplishment of his own misfortunes. These unquiet thoughts were still nourished in him by the Admiral of *Chastillon*, and his brother Mounsieur *d' Andelot*: The first, of an ambitious nature, but withal, cautious and subtil, let pass no opportunity by stirring up troubles, to raise himself to an eminent degree of power: The other of a fiery disposition, rash by nature, and perpetually involved in factions, endeavoured by his example and perswasions, more to exasperate the Princes fury, which already had kindled such a fire in his breast, that burning with hate, and made as it were desperate, his mind was wholly set upon innovation.

Such was the state of things, such the emulations and enmities amongst the great ones, disposed upon every little occasion to break out into open dissention, when upon a sudden supervened the death of *Henry* the Second, in the month of *July*, 1559. 1559.

This Prince had in the War proved the variousness of fortune; and desiring at the last to ease his Kingdom of those great expences and troubles, he was perswaded, joining with the Neighbour Princes, to establish a general Peace: to confirm which with the most lasting bonds that might be, at the same time he married his eldest daughter *Elizabeth* to *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*, and *Margaret* his only sister to *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*. But whilst these Marriages were celebrating, with all Royal magnificence, and an universal joy in the City of *Paris*; Behold, the last day of *June*, in a publick solemn Tournament, running with headed Launces against *Gabriel* Count of *Montgomery*, Captain of his Guard, by accident the Vizor of his Helmet flew open, and the staff of his adversaries Launce hitting him in the right eye, he was presently carried away to the *Hostel des Tournelles*, where, his wound being mortal, the tenth of *July* he passed out of this life, much lamented of all men.

*Henry* the 2d. killed in a Tournament by *Montgomery*. *Francis* the 2d. his Son, being 16 years old, succeeds to the Crown.

*Henry* the Second being deceased, there succeeded to the Crown *Francis*, Dolphin of *France*, his eldest Son, being about sixteen years of age, a Youth of a languishing spirit, unhealthful and of a tender constitution, under whose Government all things ran on in such a precipitate way to the foreseen end, that hidden discords brake out into open enmities, and soon after came to the resolution of Arms. The Kings youth, or rather his natural incapacity, required, though not a direct Regent, (for the Kings of *France* are at fourteen years of age out of minority) yet a prudent assiduous Governour, till his natural weakness were overcome by maturity of years. The ancient Customs of the Kingdom call'd to that charge the Princes of the Blood: amongst which, for nearness and reputation it belonged to the Prince of *Conde*, and the King of *Navarre*. On the other side, the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, nearly allied to the King in relation of the Queen his Wife, pretended to have this Dignity conferred upon them, as due to their merits, and great services done to the Crown; and, which most imported, because they in effect enjoyed it during the life-time of the deceased King. Amongst these, *Katherine* of *Medicis*, the Kings Mother, for nearness of Blood, and according to many examples in former times, pleaded the right to be in her; and her hopes were so increased through the dissention among the Princes, that she doubted not easily to compass what she desired. The fear that one faction had of another, facilitated her design, insomuch that the *Guises*, knowing they had not the Qualification of Blood that was required to obtain the Government of the State, and foreseeing how much the authority of a Mother was like to prevail with the unexperienced youth of a Son; resolved to join and unite themselves with her, dividing into two parts that power, which they doubted they could not wholly obtain for themselves. And in like manner the Queen, a woman of a manlike spirit and subtil wit, knowing the Princes of the Blood are ever naturally against the Government and greatness of the Queens; foreseeing also, that as an Italian and a stranger, she should need

the ſupport of ſome potent Faction to eſtabliſh her ſelf; willingly condeſcended to make a League with the *Guiſes*, who, ſhe ſaw, would content themſelves with a ſhare only of the Government, which the Princes of *Bourbon* pretended to belong wholly to them.

A great obſtacle to this Union, was the mutual intereſt of the *Guiſes* and the Dutcheſs *Diana*, whom the deceaſed King loved extreamly even to his laſt; but the buſineſs requiring it, delays not being to be uſed in ſuch great deſigns; The Queen on the one ſide, who in her Husbands life-time had with moſt commendable patience indured a Rival, was inclined with the ſame moderation to forget all injuries paſt; And the *Guiſes* on the other part, wholly fixing their thoughts upon the preſent occaſion, eaſily conſented ſhe ſhould be abaſed, and removed from the Court; provided, ſhe were not abſolutely deprived of her eſtate, which after her was come to their third Brother the Duke of *Aumale*. Wherefore their common intereſt accommodating their preſent Union, and all matters concerning *Diana* ſetled to the Queens liking; they began unanimouſly to lay the baſis of their intended greatneſs.

The King of *Navarre* was abſent, little ſatisfied with the King and the Court, becauſe in the Capitulation with *Spain*, no regard was had of his intereſt for the recovery of his Kingdom. The Conſtable was employed in the Obſequies of the King, which were on purpoſe committed to his care: for, that ſolemnity continuing with the ſame pomp three and thirty days together, it is not lawful for him that hath the charge of it to depart from the place where the dead body lies, and the Ceremonies are kept, which was in the *Hoſtel des Tournelles*, very far diſtant from the *Louvre*, whither (as the manner is) the new King was brought to reſide. So that all thoſe obſtacles removed, partly by induſtry, partly by fortune, it was no difficult matter to get the King, who was likewiſe more than ordinarily led by the beauty and allurements of the Queen his Wife, to remit his whole authority into the hands of their neareſt Allies. So to the Duke was committed the care of the *Militia*; the Civil affairs to the Cardinal; and to the Queen-Mother the ſuperintendence of all.

The Obſequies of King *Henry* the Second, laſt 33 days.

The King by the perſwaſion of his wife, commits the management of the affairs to his Mother, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain*.

Things thus ſetled according to their own will, they began to take ſurer footing; and there being none preſent who by complaints or practice could work the King to open a way to alterations, they preſently entred into conſultation how to remove all ſuch as might in any way oppoſe their deſigns. There was no doubt but their firſt attempt would be upon the Conſtable, as one whoſe authority and wiſdom the *Guiſes* moſt apprehended, and the Queen-Mother long, though ſecretly, hated. The *Guiſes* feared him by reaſon of the ancient emulations that had ever been between them, and becauſe the opinion of his wiſdom, though he had loſt his power at the Court, preſerved him ſtill in great credit with the people. But the Queens hate of him proceeded from many cauſes, and particularly becauſe when ſhe was firſt married, he uſed all manner of endeavour to perſwade the King to repudiate her as barren; and afterward, when ſhe proved to have children, he never ceaſed to ſpeak ſcandalouſly of her, ſaying, *Of all the Kings children not any one reſembled him, but only* Diana *his baſtard-daughter, who was deſtined for wife to* Francis *of* Momorancy, *one of his ſons:* which ſpeeches (though not directly) caſt a blemiſh upon the Queens honour and chaſtity. Nor beſides theſe injuries, could ſhe eaſily forget, that he (as he was naturally averſe to ſtrangers) had obſtinately perſecuted all thoſe Florentines who through relation either of Blood or Country had recourſe to her Court; and as if he pretended to an emulation with her herſelf, had ever uſed what means he could poſſible to affront and keep under all her dependants. All which things in her Husbands life-time ſhe either patiently overcame, or wiſely ſeemed not to take notice of, as indeed ſhe was a woman of a moſt inſearchable mind, and a moſt profound diſſembler. But now that there was an opportunity, they made her eaſily to conſent to the deſire of the *Guiſes*, which was under other pretences to deprive him of all Government in the Kingdom, or favour at Court. Wherefore in private diſcourſe, cunningly falling into that Argument, they with one accord repreſented to the King the too great authority of that man; that if he remained at Court, he would pretend to keep him like a Child, under Government, and the laſh of his Diſcipline; and that being ſtraightly united with the Princes of *Bourbon*, (always enemies to thoſe that poſſeſſed the Crown which they had long looked after) it was not fit in any manner to truſt him, leſt through that means his Majeſty might expoſe both his own life and his young brothers to the treacheries of thoſe men, who being ſuſpected by reaſon of their reſtleſs ambition, were by the Kings his Predeceſſors always

The cauſes of the Conſtables diſgrace at Court, and his excluſion from the affairs.

kept

kept under, and at a distance. These Arguments easily making an impression in the Kings weakness, (as those that know little are naturally jealous of those that know more) they resolved upon a dextrous manner to license him from the Court. Wherefore his fathers Obsequies ended, receiving him with great expressions of kindness, he told him, that being not able any other way to reward the greatness of his merits, and the pains he had undergone in the service of his Predecessors, he was determined to ease him from the cares and weight of the Government, which he knew now were burdensom, and disproportioned to his age, which he would not oppress with the excessive toil of business, but reserve him for some great occasion; and that therefore he might retire himself to his ease where best pleased him, he being resolved not to wear him out as a servant, or a vassal, but always to honour him as a father. By which speech the Constable knowing it was no time to dispute the matter, but that it would be best for him to accept that for a reward which otherwise would turn to a punishment, having thanked the King, and recommended to his protection his sons and nephews, retired himself to his Palace of *Chantilly*, ten leagues from *Paris*, where he had formerly been sheltred from the persecutions of the Court.

The Constable retires the second time from the Court.

The Constable thus sent away, the next thought was how to remove the Prince of *Conde*, whose arrogancy and animosity appeared every day more prompt to take hold of any whatsoever occasion to attempt innovations, and to disturb the form of the present Government. But there being yet no means found to remove him, by reason of his quality of Prince, and for want of a just pretext, it was thought a good expedient, to send him out of the way, until such time as the foundation of their new-formed Government were setled. Wherefore being appointed Ambassador to the Catholick King, to confirm the Peace and Alliance contracted at the end of the last Kings Reign, departing from the Court, he left them the Field free to perfect their purposed designs.

In the same manner they proceeded with all other persons. For the Queen and the *Guises* having resolved formerly to establish their commenced greatness, they thought it would happen according to their desire, if reducing by little and little, the Fortresses, Souldiers, Treasure, and Sinews of the State, into their own power, all the essential important businesses of the Kingdom were either managed by themselves, or else committed to the trust of their nearest followers and adherents. But they were not so wholly governed by their interests, that they had not still a regard to the publick good, and their own reputation. For they advanced not, as the common course is, men of little merit and abject condition, thinking they would be more trusty because of their obligation; but were industrious to get about them persons of known worth, noble birth, and above all, of good reputation among the common people; by which they obtained two ends at the same time; the one, that the people were commonly pleased, and their ill-willers could have no just exceptions; the other, that crediting persons of honour and sincere intentions, they were not cozened nor deluded in their trust, as often those are that in great business rely upon men of base extraction, or of vitious life.

*Francis Olivier* the High Chancellor, and the Cardinal of *Tournon*, are recalled the second time to the Court.

According to which Maxim, they recalled to the exercise of his charge *Francis Olivier*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, a man of tried integrity, and severe constancy in the Government; who for too much freedom, or too much persevering in his opinions, was at the beginning of *Henry*'s Raign, by the Constables perswasion, dismissed from the Court. Likewise they recalled to the Council of State, and near to the Kings Person, the Cardinal of *Tournon*; he who in the time of *Francis* the First, Grandfather to this King, had the principal Authority in the State: by which means, being men of tried and known goodness, and enemies to all impositions which oppressed the Commonwealth, they not only satisfied the desire of the common people, and publick expectation; but being disgraced, and as it were cast out by the Constable, and now recalled with much credit to the present Government, they served also (by their counsels and industry) to establish the foundation of their commenced greatness. Like dexterity and like artifices were used to fetch in the rest. But with the House of *Bourbon* and the House of *Momorancy*, they proceeded not with such moderation: on the contrary, the *Guises*, transported, with a desire, as much as was possible, to abase their old enemy, and the splendour of the Royal Family, readily embraced any occasion to diminish their reputation, or otherwise to prejudice them. *Gasper de Coligny* the Admiral, was possessed of two several Governments, the Isle of *France* (so that Province

vince is called wherein *Paris* is ſituated) and *Picardy:* and, becauſe the Laws of the Kingdom prohibit any one to have two charges, the late King had reſolved to give the Government of *Picardy* to the Prince of *Conde*; thinking by that means, in ſome meaſure, to pacifie his mind, which he knew, though his oppreſſions, was much incenſed. To which he was the rather induced, becauſe his father having long enjoyed that Government, and after him the King of *Navarre* his brother, he not only very much deſired it, but had alſo ſome juſt and reaſonable pretences to it. But the Admiral having in conſideration of the Prince ſurrendred it, and the King dying almoſt at the ſame time, *Francis*, not regarding his fathers purpoſe, though already declared, at the inſtance of the *Guiſes*, conferred the ſame Government upon *Charles de Coſſe*, Mareſchal of *Briſſac*, a Captain of great reputation, and no leſs vertue; but who taking his riſe from the fortune of the Houſe of *Lorain*, and ſtraitly united with thoſe Princes in all things, depended abſolutely upon them. The ſame reſpect was born to *Momorancy*, the Conſtables eldeſt ſon: For he having married *Diana*, baſtard-daughter to *Henry*, with promiſe to have the Office of *Grand Maiſtre* conferred upon him, which his father had enjoyed many years, the Duke of *Guiſe*, as ſoon as *Francis* came to the Crown, got it for himſelf; it being his chief end, to add to his new greatneſs, new authority, and new luſtre, and to deprive that family of it, which he deſired to bring as low as was poſſible. Thus the Duke, and much more the Cardinal, when any opportunity was offered to depreſs their adverſaries, and advance themſelves, moſt greedily entertained it. But the Queen-Mother, who knew ſuch exceſſive covetouſneſs, and great animoſity, muſt of neceſſity, at one time or other, produce ſome great evil, and wiſhed they would proceed with more dexterity, and diſſimulation, was ſo bold as in the beginning to oppoſe the counſels and reſolutions of thoſe, by whoſe power her own authority was chiefly upheld. Now the Princes of *Bourbon* in this manner excluded from any part of the Government, and almoſt from the Court, and from the Kings ear, began at laſt to weigh the eſtate of their own affairs; and conſidering the proceedings of their adverſaries, (who, not content with their preſent authority, contrived all means to eſtabliſh themſelves for the future) they reſolved no longer to ſtand by as idle ſpectators of their own diſgraces, but to find out ſome remedy for the time to come, which might recompence their paſt loſſes, and ſtop the precipice of their future ruine, which they ſaw undoubtedly lay before them. To this end, *Antony*, King of *Navarre*, having left his young ſon to the care of the Queen, his wife, in *Bearne*, in a manner ſecure from that fire, which he ſaw now kindling to conſume the Kingdom of *France*, came to *Vandoſme*, where met him the Prince of *Conde*, then returned from his Embaſſie, together with the Admiral *Andelot*, and the Cardinal of *Chatillon* his brothers, *Charles* Count of *Roche-faucault*, *Francis* Vidame of *Chartres*, and *Antony* Prince of *Portian*, all near Allies and Friends; with whom came divers other Gentlemen, ancient dependents and adherents to the Families of *Bourbon* and *Momorancy*. Nor did the Conſtable (who, under pretence of retiredneſs and a quiet life, ſecretly gave motion to all the wheels of this attempt) fail to ſend thither his old Secretary *Dardres*, that by aſſiſting at the Aſſembly, he might repreſent to them his judgment concerning the preſent buſineſs.

Secret Aſſembly of the Princes of *Bourbon*, and other diſcontented Lords.

Now entring there into a debate what (as things ſtood) was fitteſt to be done; they all agreed in the end, but were of different opinions concerning the means: For they all knew the great indignities received by the Princes of the Blood; who were not only put by the firſt place in the Government, but deprived of thoſe few charges that remained amongſt them: likewiſe they clearly foreſaw how great a ruine ſuddenly threatned both the Princes of the Blood themſelves, and their whole party; the ſuppreſſion of which, they ſaw was the *Guiſes* chief aim. Wherefore they all concluded, that in the firſt place it was neceſſary to provide, as much as might be poſſible, againſt ſo great a danger, before things were brought to the laſt extremities, and irrepairable. But by what means this was to be done, they did not ſo eaſily agree among themſelves.

The Prince of *Conde*, the Vidame of *Chartres*, *d' Andelot*, and divers others, the moſt ardent and reſolute amongſt them, were of opinion, that without giving more time to their adverſaries to ſtrengthen themſelves, and augment their power and reputation, they ſhould forthwith have recourſe to Arms, as the moſt expedite remedy, and more ſecure than any other. They further ſhewed, it was but in vain any longer to expect in hope that the King would at length be moved, of his own free-will, to reſtore

ſtore them to their rights: for being of himſelf unable to reſolve any thing, he would hardly perceive or ſhake off that careleſneſs wherein from his birth his own nature had as it were buried him; that over-awed by the authority of a Mother, and the power which the *Guiſes* uſurped over him, he would not dare to reſume that Sovereignty which he had ſo eaſily parted with: that the complaints and admonitions of the Princes of the Blood, and ſubjects well affected to the Crown, would never come to his ears, being as it were beſieged (even to the ſervants about his perſon) by men hired by their adverſaries, the Champions of the preſent Tyranny: and therefore it was not to be expected, that the King ſhould, of his own deliberation, yield them any relief, to whom their complaints would never be admitted, but deformed and blaſted with the odious names of Rebellion, Treaſon, and Conſpiracy: What elſe then could they look for? that the Queen-Mother, and the *Guiſes*, ſhould willingly depart from that greatneſs, which with ſuch pains and artifices they had eſtabliſhed, to ſhare it with their enemies? that was a hope more vain, and more unreaſonable than the former: for what men acquire boldly, they do not often part with cowardly. It is ordinary and natural for things unlawful and unfit, to be ſought after ſecretly, and acquired leiſurely; but once gotten into poſſeſſion, they are afterwards impudently held, and maintained openly: That the ſhew of right, the refuge and authority of the Laws, (things that uſe to prevail with private men) do yield, without conteſt, to the violence and force of Princes, who meaſure reaſon by the rule of their power and will; and that to proceed with ſuch reſpect, increaſed confidence and boldneſs in their adverſaries; That to begin with complaints and ſupplications, was but to ſound the Trumpet before the Battel, to give the enemy warning to prepare for his defence; That the ſucceſs of great deſigns depended on the quickneſs of execution, and timid uncertain counſels uſed to abate the courages of men, vilifie their ſtrength, and let paſs opportunities, of themſelves apt enough to ſlip away: That therefore it was neceſſary to haſten the taking up of Arms, thereby to open a way to the ſuppreſſion of their unprepared enemies; and not to uſe ſlow wary courſes, which would ruine the foundation of their hopes, and render the whole enterpriſe very difficult.

On the contrary, the King of *Navarre*, the Admiral, the Prince of *Portian*, and the Conſtables Secretary in his Lords name, diſliked ſo at firſt to have recourſe to force, and recommended more moderate gentle remedies. For they knew well, however the Princes of the Blood profeſſed to take Arms rather to ſet the King at liberty, who was beſieged and oppreſſed by the power of ſtrangers, than againſt his State and Authority; nevertheleſs, it would be ſiniſterly interpreted, and abhorred by all true French-men; who moſt religiouſly reverence the Royal Majeſty, which ought not in conſideration whatſoever, nor under any pretences, to be in the leaſt degree violated or conſtrained. They conſidered withal, that obſerving the ſtrictneſs of the Laws, they could not juſtly force the King to yield up the Government into their hands; for being now paſſed fourteen years of age, he was no longer ſubject to Tutelage, or the Government of any: and therefore it would be better to manage their cauſe with dexterity, and ſhew of modeſty in their attempts and complaints, as wholly founded upon equity, rather than commit it to the fury of War: and if this reſolution were prudently followed with art and induſtry, they deſpaired not to ſecure the Queen-Mother; who, if ſhe were once drawn from the *Guiſes* party, the foundation of their vaſt Greatneſs would ſoon fall, and a moſt ſecure and eaſie way be open to their own pretences. Neither was it altogether to be doubted, that the *Guiſes*, who, without contradiction, had with ſuch boldneſs ingroſſed the whole, when they ſaw themſelves ſo ſharply and powerfully aſſaulted, would at leaſt yeild up ſome part of the Government to the Princes of *Bourbon:* which once poſſeſſed of, they might ſecure themſelves from thoſe preſent indignities and imminent dangers that now ſo diverſly threatned them; in which manner they thought it much better quietly to content themſelves with ſome reaſonable condition, than to hazard all to the inſtability of fortune, and incertain chance of War: to maintain which, they did not ſee what Forces they could hope for in *France* againſt their lawful natural King, nor what aſſiſtance was to be had from ſtranger Princes, who by the late Treaty and Alliances were ſo firmly united and entred into a League with him; in which conſideration, it was greatly to be feared, that by taking of Arms, they might rather open a deſtructive way even to the utter ruine of their whole Family, than an honourable inlet to the Government and Adminiſtration of the Kingdom.

This

The King of *Navarre* goeth to the Court, ſolliciting the King in the name of the Princes of the blood, that they might participate in the Government.

This laſt opinion, through the authority of the Author, at length took place: and ſo it was reſolved, that the King of *Navarre*, as chief of the Family, and firſt Prince of the Blood, ſhould go to the Court; and there having the Kings ear, (which could not be refuſed to one of his quality) lay before him their reaſons, uſe all manner of means to gain the Queen-Mother; and try by a wiſe and well-managed Treaty, whether he could get himſelf any place in the Government, and his Brothers and their dependants reſtored to thoſe dignities that were injuriouſly taken from them; or elſe to other offices and charges of like eſteem. But by the beginning it was eaſie to ſee how the event would prove: For the King of *Navarre*, terrified with the dangerous face of ſo great an enterprize, proceeded in it full of doubts and conſiderations, being beſides of a facile and baſhful nature; where, on the other ſide, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and Cardinal of *Lorain*, animated with their proſperity, boldly prepared themſelves to encounter with vigour and aſſuredneſs any oppoſition whatſoever.

The King for a long time was informed and made believe by the Queen his Mother, and the *Guiſes*, that the Princes of the Blood had ever been kept under by his Predeceſſors, by reaſon of the innate malice they always found in them towards the Kings that were in poſſeſſion of the Crown; whom they were ſtill practiſing againſt, either by ſecret conſpiracies or open rebellion; and that at the preſent, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* ſeeing themſelves next to the ſucceſſion, the King of a weak Conſtitution, and without heirs, and his Brothers Pupils, they endeavoured to deprive him of his Mothers Government, and the care of his neareſt kindred, and keeping him in ſubjection, (as formerly the Maſters of the Palace did *Clouis*, *Chilperic*, and other Princes of weak capacity) intended perhaps by other wicked means, by treachery or poyſon, ſpeedily to make way for themſelves to the Crown. This probable well-form'd Story eaſily breeding jealouſies in the King, who was by nature timerous and miſtruſtful, he received the King of *Navarre* with little ſhew either of kindneſs or honour; and when he talked with him, (which was not but in the preſence of the Duke or the Cardinal, who never ſtirred a minute from his ſide) he ſtill made him ſharp anſwers; and alledging his Majority, and avowing the great ſervices he received in the preſent Government, ſtill cut him off from the inſtances and demands of the Princes of the Blood; as wholly proceeding from contrived ends, neither ſuitable to the times, nor any way agreeable to reaſon.

The deſign upon the Queen-Mother had no better effect: for knowing ſhe could not truſt to the Princes of the Blood, who, though they ſeemed well-affected to her for a time, till they had gotten acceſs to the Government; yet ſhe might afterwards not only be abandoned by them, but excluded from the Adminiſtration, and perhaps made to retire from the Court; and withal, thinking it direct indiſcretion to forſake the friendſhip of the ſtrongeſt party, that was ſo well ſetled, to join with the Princes of *Bourbon*, that had not any ſupport at all, ſhe reſolved to reſt upon that ſecurity which ſhe had already propoſed to her ſelf. But nevertheleſs, deſirous to withſtand as much as was poſſible, the publick diſtractions and tumults of War, ſhe propoſed to her ſelf, not to leave them altogether hopeleſs, but to eſſay by diſſimulation and artifices, to divert the King of *Navarre* (whom ſhe knew pliable enough) from ſuch intentions, and by delays in time to effect ſomething that might be beneficial to the Commonwealth. To which purpoſe, at their firſt meeting, having with ſhew of kindneſs filled him with hope, ſhe began moſt dexterouſly, in the progreſs of their diſcourſe, to demonſtrate unto him, that the King being of a delicate diſpoſition, was not to be exaſperated by demands and unreaſonable complaints; but that it was neceſſary to expect ſome fit opportunity, which time would at length produce. For as the King, being now paſt his minority, was not bound in matters of Government to conform himſelf to the arbitrement or opinion of any body, but only to his own will and judgment; ſo when an occaſion ſhould be offered to honour or gratifie the Princes of *Bourbon*, he would without all doubt ſatisfie the bond of conſanguinity, and ſhew to all the world, how great an account and eſteem he made of their vertue and loyalty. That the King ought not in any manner by a change to deſtroy or alter the things already eſtabliſhed, leſt he ſhould give occaſion to be thought of a variable nature, unconſtant, irreſolute, and inconſiderate. But when places grew void, (as daily ſome or other did) he would not fail, ſo far as was reaſonable, to ſatisfie the pretences of every one. Withal, ſhe offered her ſelf to undertake the protection of the Princes of the Blood, and earneſtly to ſollicite her Son, as ſoon as was poſſible, to ſatisfie their deſires;

desires; that it would not be seemly for the King of *Navarre*, who was a wise man, and had ever been a pattern of moderation, that he should now suffer himself to be guided by youthful rash Counsels, and led into those precipices which were neither becoming his age nor wisdom; but expecting with patience that which he ought to acknowledge simply the Kings courtesie and affection, teach others the way how to receive in fit time the favours and benefits of their Prince. With these discourses having often tasted his temper, and perceiving he began already to stagger, finally, to give him the last shock, she proposed to him, that *Elizabeth* the Kings sister, being to be sent into *Spain*, accompanied with some Person of great quality and esteem, she had thought to recommend that charge to him, being every way qualified both for gravity and Royal Birth, to honour and dignifie those Nuptials; which, besides the content the King her Son would receive by it, would by the way prove very advantageous to his particular ends. For he would have opportunity to gain the Catholick King, and withal, to treat in person concerning the restitution or change of his Kingdom of *Navarre*; in which business she proffered to imploy all her own authority, and the power of the King her Son, to bring his desires to their wished ends.

The King of *Navarre*, who in discovering and penetrating into the inclinations of the Court, found those who had any employment there, complying with the present occasions, took little care of the pretences of the Princes of the Blood; and those that had reason to desire his greatness and his Brothers, some of them disheartned, others ill satisfied with his long stay, and all equally desperate of effecting any thing, easily returning to his former thoughts of recovering his Kingdom, he conceived he ought not to refuse that occasion, which would be a means, not only to renew the Treaties of Agreement with *Spain*, but also to depart with honour from the Court, where he found he could not remain with any reputation. Wherefore willingly entertaining the motion to conduct Queen *Elizabeth* into *Spain*, and filled with infinite hopes by the Queen-Mother, (notwithstanding the other Princes his adherents were very much offended at it) he hasted his departure with such eagerness of mind, that his enemies themselves could not have desired it more. Nor did he with less facility entrap himself in the Treaty with the Spaniards: for King *Philip* being already advertised of the particulars of that business by the Queen-Mother, and he desiring no less than she, that the King of *Navarre*, who had such strong pretences against his State, should be kept low, and far from any power in the Government; commanded the Duke of *Alva*, and the other Lords appointed to receive the Queen his wife, that they should be forward to use all manner of means to allure him on, and entertain him: but slowly imbracing his propositions, they should offer themselves to make report thereof to the King and his Council, without the opinion of whom nothing could be determined that concerned the interest of the State.

So the King of *Navarre* being come to the confines of *Spain*, and having delivered Queen *Elizabeth* to the Spanish Deputies, he presently entred into a Treaty that began fairly, as he thought, of his own private business; which being managed with excellent dexterity by the Spaniards, so filled him with great, but delayed hopes, that he had no other thoughts but of his own affairs; in such manner, that having at their request sent an Ambassador to that Court, he determined to retire himself to his ancient quiet in *Bearn*; with a firm resolution not at all to meddle in the businesses of *France*, since their desires, by way of negotiation, proved fruitless. And for the War, he thought there was but little Justice in it, and too much hazard.

But contrary was the opinion, and other the resolutions of *Lewis* of *Conde* his Brother, a poor Prince, but hardy and couragious; who having fram'd his hopes to aspire to great matters, precipitated through the hate of his adversaries, constrained by the narrowness of his fortune, and continually spurr'd on by his Wife and Mother-in-law, (this Sister, that Neece to the Constable; but both of them fierce and ambitious women) he could no longer support the wearisomness of his present condition, but with all his power promoted new and dangerous counsels; having already figured to himself, that if he were a means and instrument to set the War on foot, he should not only obtain a great power amongst his own party, but riches also, with divers other conveniencies; many adherents to his faction, and absolute Dominion over divers Cities and Provinces in the Kingdom. Wherefore having again assembled at his own house at *la Ferte* in *Champaigne* the Princes his Allies, and Lords adhering to his faction, he laid before them, that having till then tryed gentle pleasant remedies, and

found no eaſe by them; it was neceſſary to apply a ſtronger medicine to cure the diſtemper, which from the beginning ſo violently tended to the ruine not only of the Royal Houſe, but even of all that did not adore and depend as ſlaves upon the rule of the Queen-Mother and the *Guiſes*: That it was no longer time to hide their wounds, (till then with ſo much patience concealed) for they appeared manifeſtly to the eyes of all the world: That the injuries, with ſuch indignities caſt upon the Royal Family, were now openly to be ſeen; as their baniſhment from the Court, depriving them of the Government of *Picardy*, the uſurpation of the Office of *Grand-Maiſtre*; The ſuperintendence of the Kings Revenues; The dividing of all the Charges and Offices amongſt ſtrangers, and perſons unknown; The artificial impriſonment of the King himſelf, to whom no body could have acceſs, that ſpake freely or honeſtly; And finally, the oppreſſion of all good men, and advancement only of thoſe, who looked after nothing elſe, but to rob and waſte the riches of the Crown. The eager perſecution of the Blood Royal was known to every one, and the tyranny of ſtrangers eſtabliſhed amongſt them, whoſe violence could not be withſtood but in the ſame manner by violence; That it was not the firſt time the Princes of the Blood had taken Arms to defend the Juriſdictions and Priviledges of their Family. So *Peter* Duke of *Brittain*, *Robert* Count of *Dreux*, and divers other Lords, ingaged themſelves in a War, when in the minority of the King Saint *Lewis*, Queen *Blanch* his Mother, of her own accord took upon her the Government of the State: So *Philip* Count of *Valois*, after the death of *Charles* the Fair, made uſe of his power to exclude from the Guardianſhip and Regency, thoſe that unjuſtly pretended to uſurp it; ſo *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* made war in the time of *Charles* the eighth, to make himſelf be choſen Regent and Governour of the Kingdom, againſt the power and authority of *Anne* Dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, who being the Kings elder ſiſter, had aſſumed the charge of his Government: That theſe, and many other examples, were ſo evident, that they could not do amiſs in following the ſteps of their anceſtors, whoſe caſe being clearly the ſame with theirs then, directed them the way to their own preſervation. That they ought no longer to linger in expectation of the Kings pleaſure; who buried in the lethargy of his own incapacity, perceived not the miſerable ſlavery into which he was brought. But as a wiſe careful Phyſician gives medicines and potions to a ſick man againſt his will, to cure him of an infirmity, and recover him from that danger which he perceives not in himſelf: ſo the Princes of the Blood (to whom, by conſent of the whole Nation, and ancient cuſtom, this care naturally belongs) ought to endeavour to free the King from that ſlavery, and thoſe bonds, which he (overcome by his infirmity) perceived not, though ſo prejudicial to himſelf, and deſtructive to the whole Kingdom; but that it was neceſſary, before the preſent danger precipitated them into extremities, to arm themſelves with a ſtrong reſolution, and to proceed with a reſolved conſtancy. For by quickneſs, prevention and boldneſs, they ſhould eaſily overcome thoſe difficulties, which appear more in a Council, or putting doubts in a debate, than they are indeed when they come to be attempted. That on the contrary, by dejectedneſs of courage and ſlackneſs, they ſhould for ever ſubject themſelves to a ruinous ſhameful ſervitude. Wherefore he deſired every one, all doubts and uncertainties laid aſide, couragiouſly to truſt his preſeht ſafety, quiet, and future honour, to the ſtrength of his own Arms.

Queen *Blanch* Mother to St. *Lewis*, having taken upon her the Government of the Kingdom in the minority of her Son, the Barons took arms to maintain the right in thoſe to whom it belonged.

So did *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, in the time of *Charles* the eighth.

Theſe things being ſpoken with efficacy and Souldier-like boldneſs and courage by the Prince, wrought upon the minds of the greateſt part of his audience, who were already of themſelves, through their own affections and intereſts, diſpoſed to take Arms.

But the Admiral, with more weighed counſel, meaſuring the greatneſs of the attempt, oppoſed the Princes opinion, and adviſed to take another way, which he thought more ſecure, and likelier to take effect. For to hazard ſo openly all the Royal Family, and ſo many their Allies and Dependants, with little force, not any adherents, no ſtrong places, without men, and no proviſion of money, to the arbitrement of War and Chance, appeared to him too deſperate a reſolution; and therefore thought it neceſſary to have recourſe to induſtry and art, where there was a manifeſt defect of ſtrength; and ſo working under-hand, without diſcovering themſelves, bring their deſign notwithſtanding by the miniſtry of other perſons, to the end they deſired. He ſhewed them, how the whole Kingdom was full of multitudes of thoſe that had embraced the opinions and faith newly introduced by *Calvin*: that, by reaſon of the ſeverity of the Inquiſitions exerciſed againſt them, and rigorous puniſhments, they were, through

through deſpair, brought to a deſire, nay, to a neceſſity of expoſing themſelves to any danger whatſoever could befal them, ſo they might be free from the miſery of their preſent condition; that they all believed that the ſeverity uſed againſt them, proceeded from the motions and advice of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and much more from the Cardinal of *Lorain*, who not only in the Parliament and Kings Council ardently wrought their deſtruction, but in publick diſcourſe and private meetings, oppoſing their Doctrine, never deſiſted to perſecute them; that the reſolution and violence of that people was till then ſuppreſſed, becauſe they had no head to guide them, nor any perſon whoſe counſel and activity might put heat into them; but with any little ſhew of aſſiſtance, they would, without regard, hazard themſelves in all difficult and dangerous deſigns, through hope to be delivered from thoſe calamities that ſo much oppreſſed them. Wherefore it would be an excellent Expedient to make uſe of that means to animate and get into a body a multitude ſo prepared; and then ſecretly to ſet them on when occaſion ſerved, to the deſtruction of the Houſe of *Lorain*, in which manner, the Princes of the Blood, and other Lords of their party, ſhould ſecure themſelves from danger, increaſe their ſtrength by ſuch a number of followers, gain the adherents of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, who openly favoured and protected that belief, ſet a greater ſhew of honeſty upon the cauſe, lay upon others the burden of ſo bold an attempt; and make it believed for the future by all the world, that the Civil War was ſet on foot, and ſtirred up, not by the intereſt of the Princes, and their pretenſions to the Government, but by the diſcords and controverſies in matters of Religion.

The Admiral maketh a propoſition to the Male-contents to proteſt the followers of thoſe opinions in Religion introduced by *Calvin*, and it is embraced.

It was not hard for the Admiral by his eloquence and authority to perſwade the reſt to approve of this deſign, of it ſelf, in appearance, much conducing to the ſtate of their preſent affairs: and there being many in the Aſſembly which ſecretly inclined to *Calvins* Doctrine, it was reſolved with a general conſent, to follow that advice, the which, with lively and no leſs preſent hopes, hindred ſo precipitate a War, and kept off, for a time, thoſe evident dangers to which men unwillingly expoſe themſelves, when there is any means wholly to avoid, or at leaſt to delay them. But it was a counſel and reſolution ſo fatal and pernicious, that, as it let in all the miſeries and calamities, which with ſuch prodigious examples have for a long time afflicted and diſtracted that Kingdom, ſo it brought to a miſerable end, both the Author himſelf that made the Propoſition, and all thoſe, who, led by their own affections and intereſts, conſented to it.

But ſince the beginning and progreſs of *Calvins* Doctrine is fallen into mention, under the colour of which, ſo many great and ſeveral Factions have been engaged in the Civil Wars of *France*, both for the better clearing the buſineſs in hand, as alſo not to be forced often to look back to thoſe beginnings, which are ſo requiſite to the underſtanding of matters of fact, it is neceſſary to make ſome ſhort relation of it.

After *Martin Luther* in *Germany* opened the way to let in Schiſm into Religion, and new opinions into our Faith, *John Calvin*, born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, a man of a great, but unquiet wit, marvellouſly eloquent, and generally learned, departing from the Faith generally held and obſerved ſo many Ages by our Predeceſſors, propoſed in his Books which he publiſhed in print, and in his Sermons which he preached in divers places in *France*, One hundred twenty eight Axioms (ſo he called them) diſagreeing from the Roman Catholick Faith. The French Wits, curious by nature, and deſirous of Novelties, began at firſt, rather for paſtime, than through choice, to read his Writings, and frequent his Sermons. But, as in all buſineſſes of the world it uſes often to fall out, that things beginning in jeſt, end in earneſt; theſe Opinions ſowed in Gods Church, ſo crept up, that they were greedily embraced, and obſtinately believed by a great number of people and perſons of all qualities: in ſo much as *Calvin* at the firſt, thought a man of little worth, and of a ſeditious unquiet ſpirit, in a ſhort time came to be reverenced of many, and believed for a new miraculous Interpreter of Scripture, and as it were a certain infallible Teacher of the true Faith.

*John Calvin*, a Picard, preacheth and publiſheth in print 128 Principles differing from the Roman Catholick Religion; which at firſt are hearkned to only in curioſity, but at laſt make great impreſſions in the minds of men, and produce great miſchief.

The foundation of this Doctrine was in the City of *Geneva*, ſituate upon the Lake anciently called *Lacus Lemanus*, upon the Confines of *Savoy:* which having rejected the Government of the Duke and Biſhop, to whom formerly it paid obedience under the name of *Terra Franca*, and under pretence of living in Liberty of Conſcience, reduced it ſelf into the form of a Commonwealth or Commonalty. From thence Books

*Calvins* opinions had their firſt foundation in *Geneva*.

coming out daily in print, and men furniſhed with wit and eloquence inſinuating themſelves into the Neighbour-Princes, who ſecretly ſowed the ſeeds of this new Doctrine; in progreſs of time, all the Cities and Provinces of the Kingdom of *France* were filled with it, though ſo covertly, that there appeared openly, only ſome few marks and conjectures of it.

The Reformed Religion began to ſpread in *France* in the time of *Francis* the Firſt.

The Original of this diſſention began about the time of *Francis* the Firſt; who though ſometimes he made ſevere reſolutions againſt them, notwithſtanding, being continually buſied in foreign Wars, either remitted it, or was not aware how at that time, the Principles of that Faith (then rather deſpiſed and hated, than any way feared or taken notice of) began by little and little to ſpread in the world.

*Henry* the Second was very ſevere againſt the *Calviniſts*.

But *Henry* the Second, a religious Obſerver of the Catholick Faith, knowing withal, that from diſtraction of Religion in mens minds, would infallibly follow (as a neceſſary conſequence) diſtractions in the State; uſed his uttermoſt endeavours to extirpate the roots of thoſe ſeeds in their firſt growth. And therefore, with inexorable ſeverity reſolved, that all who were found convict of this imputation, ſhould ſuffer death without mercy. And although many of the Councellors in every Parliament, either favouring the ſame Opinions, or abhorring the continual effuſion of blood, made uſe of all their skill, to preſerve as many as they could from the ſeverity of this execution; notwithſtanding the Kings vigilance and conſtancy was ſuch chiefly by the incitements of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, that he had reduced things to ſuch a point, as he would in the end, though with the effuſion of much blood, have expelled all the peccant humours out of the bowels of the Kingdom; if the accidents which followed, had not interrupted the courſe of his reſolution.

1560. The *Calviniſts* uſe to boaſt much of the death of *Henry* the Second.

But thereupon, the death of *Henry* happening unexpectedly, which the *Calviniſts* uſed to preach of as miraculous, and magnifie to their advantage: In the beginning of *Francis* the Second his Reign, this ſeverity being of neceſſity ſomewhat remitted, the diſeaſe by intermiſſion of the purge grew ſtronger; and as the remedies were gentler and leſs operative, ſo inwardly it increaſed, and ſpread it ſelf the more. For the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, who governed in chief, continued the ſame reſolutions of ſeverity; but it continued not in the Court of Parliament, nor were the other Magiſtrates ſo obedient to the Regal Authority; but, over-awed by the number and quality of thoſe that had embraced that Doctrine which they called *Reformed*, and already weary of ſuch cruelty towards their Country-men and kindred, ſilently ſlackned the rigour, and were leſs diligent in enquiring after them: Beſides, there were many amongſt the Counſellors, who according to the inclination of the preſent Government, and through deſire of change, were well pleaſed to have things ſo brought into confuſion that every one might live with Liberty of Conſcience. For *Theodor Beza*, *Calvins* diſciple, a man of great eloquence and excellent learning, having by his Sermons ſeduced a great number of men and women, and many of the chief Nobility and greateſt perſons of the Kingdom being revolted to that Religion, their Aſſemblies and Sermons were then no more celebrated in Stables and Cellars, as in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, but in the Halls and Chambers of the beſt Gentry, and moſt eminent Nobility.

The name of *Hugonot* derived from certain places under ground, near *Hugo*'s gate in the City of *Tours*, where thoſe opinions firſt took growth.

Theſe people were formerly called *Hugonots*; becauſe the firſt Conventicles they had in the City of *Tours*, (where that belief firſt took ſtrength and encreaſed) were in certain Cellars under ground near *Hugo*'s gate, from whence they were by the vulgar ſort called *Hugonots*; as in *Flanders*, becauſe they went in the habits of Mendicants, they were called *Geux*: Others count other ridiculous and fabulous inventions of this name; but howſoever it were, theſe *Hugonots* had not yet any Head, nor authority of any Prince to protect them. For though the Admiral and other Lords inclined to their opinions, they durſt not as yet declare themſelves, but were bridled with the fear of puniſhment, and therefore kept their Aſſemblies exceeding privately.

Now the Princes of *Bourbon* finding *France* in this ſtate, and ſo agreeing with their intereſts, they greedily embraced the Admirals propoſitions, and unanimouſly conſented to his opinion, to make uſe of this pretext, and the opportunity of theſe conjunctures to perfect their deſigns; and to this end deputed *Andelot* and the Vidame of *Chartres*, to negotiate their buſineſs.

*Andelot* was brother to the Admiral; a man of great fierceneſs, and much experience in war; but being of a precipitate nature, and turbulent ſpirit, (ſtill mingling and intereſting himſelf in ſeditious Treaties and Plots) had many times offended the former

mer Kings; and but for the protection of the Conſtable, and favour of his brother, more than once had forfeited his life and reputation. But, for theſe and the like cauſes, removed from Court, he had a long time continued to take part with the *Hugonots*, and to give them his aid in their ſecret aſſembling themſelves to hear Sermons. Of like nature, and yet more precipitate, and more open, but not of like valour, was the Vidame of *Chartres*; who, great in riches, leading a licentious diſſolute life, was become a refuge and ſanctuary for all vitious perſons; and laſtly, (more through capriciouſneſs of his unquiet nature, than any ſenſe he had of matters of Religion) declared himſelf an adherent to *Calvins* Doctrine. Theſe, as experienced Inſtruments to ſtir up Novelties, and knowing the places where the *Hugonots* uſed to aſſemble, had no great difficulty, without diſcovering themſelves, to find out men enough fit to convey ſecret intelligence to thoſe that were intereſſed in it, of the begun deſign; and to put in order and form thoſe things that were to be put in execution; who, beſides their wondrous activity, had continual correſpondence with thoſe who (terrified with fear of danger and puniſhment) cared not for their own ſafety, to moleſt and ſubvert the whole world: and eaſily, in a ſhort time, brought their buſineſs to that iſſue as was intended.

The manner of the *Hugonots* proceedings.

Practiſing thus in all parts, they diſpoſed the order of their Council in manner as followeth. That, having aſſembled a great multitude of thoſe that profeſs the Reformed Religion, they ſhould firſt of all ſend, and then appearing before the Court unarmed, deſire the King to grant them Liberty of Conſcience, free exerciſe of their Religion, and Temples allowed them for that purpoſe: which demands, knowing they would be ſharply and reſolutely denied, the armed men (which were to be ſent privately at the ſame time out of divers Provinces) appearing on a ſudden under certain Captains, as if it had been a multitude enraged with a denial, that ran furiouſly to take Arms, the King being found unprovided, and the Court diſarmed, they ſhould kill the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, with all thoſe that followed or depended upon any of their name; and ſo force the King to declare the Prince of *Conde* ſupreme Governour and Regent of the whole Kingdom; who ſhould then remit the Laws made againſt them, and grant them a freedom of their Religion.

Some believe, and have divulged, that the chief inſtruments of this Conſpiracy, had ſecret order, if their Plots ſucceeded as they had deſigned it, that they ſhould preſently cut in pieces the Queen-Mother, and the King himſelf, with all his brothers; by theſe means to clear the way for the Princes of *Bourbon* to attain to the Crown: But not any of the complices having ever confeſſed this intention, but always, even upon the rack, and otherwiſe, conſtantly denied that point, I cannot give my ſelf leave to affirm it upon the uncertain report of Fame only, which is raiſed and increaſed according to the ſeveral inclinations of men.

*Renaudie*, a man of a deſperate fortune, is made Head of the *Hugonots* Conſpiracy.

Now the Conſpirators having thus ordered their buſineſs, they preſently divided the charges and chief Provinces amongſt the *Hugonots*, that they might execute their deſigns with more order, and leſs noiſe. *Godfrey de la Barre*, *Sieur de la Renaudie*, a man who, having paſt thorow divers fortunes, and ſpent much time in other Countries, with his boldneſs and wit had got a great name amongſt the *Calviniſts*, and was much followed by them, took upon him the chief Government and care of the whole enterpriſe, neither wanting courage to undertake, nor underſtanding to direct ſo hazardous a deſign. Withal, being brought to a low deſperate fortune, he reſolved by theſe means either to better his condition, or loſe his life in the attempt. He was born in *Perigort*, (which people were anciently called *Petrocorii*) of an indifferent good family; but for ſome falſe dealing in a certain Proceſs, was forced to flee his Country, and, having for many years wandered up and down the World, at length came to *Geneva*, and there, by the readineſs of his wit, having gotten into reputation, he found means alſo to return home to his own Country; where waſting his fortune in projects and factious companies, he brought himſelf into ſuch a condition, that he was at length forced to get his living by the ſame arts he had formerly ruined both his credit and eſtate. Such was the quality and birth of the chief Head of that Conſpiracy, with whom many others joined themſelves; ſome led by Conſcience, others thruſt on through deſire of change, and many alſo invited by the natural humour of the French Nation, who cannot endure to live idly. To thoſe of beſt quality amongſt theſe, he gave ſeveral charges to raiſe men, and to bring them to a place appointed; ſo that having divided to all their ſeveral Provinces, in this great diſorder they procceed in a moſt orderly

orderly method, which with all the members, agitating ſeverally, were notwithſtanding each of them in due time to be aſſiſting to their Superiour. To the Baron of *Caſtelnau* they committed the care of *Gaſcoigne*; To Captain *Mazares*, the charge of *Bearn*; To *Meſny*, the Country of *Limoges*; To *Mirabel*, *Xaintonge*; To *Coccaville*, *Picardy*; To *Movans*, *Provence*; To *Mallines*, *Brie* and *Champaigne*; To the *Sieur de S. Marie*, *Normandy*; and, To *Montejan*, *Britany*: Men who, as they were all of Noble Families, ſo were they of known courage, and reputed principal leading men, in ſeveral Cities, and their own Countries where they lived.

All theſe departing from the Aſſembly at *Nantes*, a City in *Britany*, (where under colour of Law-buſineſs, celebrating Marriages, or ſuch like pretences, they met together) and returning with great expedition, every one to the Province allotted him, in a few days working with wonderful ſecrecy, they brought a great number of people of ſeveral conditions to be at their devotions; who, without looking further into the matter, were aſſured by their Preachers, that the buſineſs they had in hand was for the good and quiet of the Commonwealth. In the mean while, the Prince of *Conde* (who underhand miniſtred fuel to ſo great a fire) by little journeys went towards the Court, to be ready, without demur, to take ſuch reſolutions as were moſt expedient, and conformable to the preſent occaſion: But the Admiral with his wonted ſagacity, preſerving himſelf as it were Neuter, to be better able upon all occaſions to aſſiſt his party, being retired to his houſe at *Chaſtillon*, made ſhew of deſiring the eaſe of a private life, without any thought of publick buſineſs belonging to the Government. Which he did not ſo much that he might ſecretly favour, with his counſel and aſſiſtance, the common deſign, as through doubt (eſteeming it too raſh and dangerous) that it might meet ſome croſs encounter, or unhappy end.

Now the Conſpirators (not troubled with ſuch thoughts, but full of good hope) were departed from their houſes, where they had lain hid ſecretly, and carrying arms under their garments, went divers ways in ſeveral companies (according to their order at that time prefixt) from divers parts towards *Blois*; where for the preſent, by reaſon of the goodneſs of the air, the Court remained; a plain open City, and not any ways fortified; near which, in the places adjacent, they were all to meet the 15 day of *March*, in the year 1560. a day more than once deſtined for the execution of great deſigns. 1560.

The fifteenth of *March* was a day more than once appointed for the execution of great deſigns in *France*: and this day, *Anno* 1560. the *Hugonots* determined to meet at *Blois*, where the King then was.

But the diligence and ſecrecy of the Conſpirators was not ſuch (although very great) but that it was exceeded by the induſtry of the Queen-Mother and the *Guiſes*: who through great rewards, and the authority they had in the State, having infinite dependants in all parts of the Kingdom, were particularly informed of the whole frame of the Conſpiracy; and it was impoſſible in reaſon, that the riſing of ſo great a multitude could be concealed: for we ſee the ſecreteſt plots truſted to few perſons of tried ſecrecy and known faith, uſe often to be diſcovered before they come to execution. Some will have it, that *la Renaudie* communicated all the particulars to *Pierre Avanelles*, an Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, whom he thought a man to be truſted, becauſe he was one of the ſame Religion. But he, either looking upon it as too great an attempt, or deſigning to get a reward, revealed the buſineſs confuſedly to the Duke of *Guiſes* Secretary; by whoſe counſel, afterwards ſent for in perſon to the Court, he diſcovered all the particulars to the Queen-Mother. But whether this ſecret came from *Avanelles*, or ſpies entertained in the houſes of the chief Conſpirators, accuſed them; or that the advice, as ſome have ſaid, came out of *Germany*; the Queen-Mother and the *Guiſes* having notice of it, conſulted what courſe to take to divert, or elſe ſuppreſs the miſchief of the preſent Conſpiracy. The Cardinal not accuſtomed to the dangers of War, inclining to the ſecureſt reſolution, adviſed, that all the Nobility of the neareſt Provinces ſhould be ſent for; that all the Foot in the Neighbour-Gariſons ſhould be drawn into a Body; that Curriers ſhould be diſpatched to all the Princes and Governours of the Kingdom, with abſolute command to put themſelves into the field, to purſue all ſuch as they found bearing Arms: conceiving, that the Conſpirators finding they were diſcovered, and hearing of ſuch great preparations, (which are commonly increaſed by reports) would of themſelves ſcatter and disband, rather than try the uttermoſt danger.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, who uſed to the greateſt dangers, made little account of the force of a confuſed multitude without diſcipline or government; thought, by following that way which the Cardinal propoſed, the miſchief would be delayed, but not extinguiſhed;

tinguiſhed; which ſtill perniciouſly creeping into, and ſetling in the inward bowels of the Kingdom, would break forth again at ſome other time with greater violence, and perhaps with more trouble and damage to the State. In which conſideration, he was of opinion, that diſſembling, and making ſhew of knowing nothing, they ſhould give courage and commodity to the Conſpirators to diſcover themſelves; that ſo being vanquiſhed, and puniſhed, the State might be freed from the repletion of ſo peſtilent and dangerous an humour; which, ſhewing it ſelf like to occaſion ſuch great diſtempers, it was no time to appeaſe it with lenitives only, but being already grown to a head, to expel it with ſtrong purging medicines. He added yet to thoſe reaſons, that the Conſpirators being ſo ſeparately ſuppreſſed but in part, it would be in the arbitrement of malignants to calumniate the act; and the people not accuſtomed to ſuch proceedings, would difficultly believe it; ſo that many would think it an invention of thoſe that governed to depreſs their enemies, and more ſurely to eſtabliſh their preſent power; but that, oppreſſing them all united together in one Body, at the ſame inſtant that they meant to put their deſigns in execution, all calumnies would be taken away, and the truth and ſincerity of their proceedings be evident to all the world.

The Queen-Mother, moved with theſe Reaſons, concurred with him in opinion. Wherefore not making any proviſions extraordinary that might make the Conſpirators ſuſpect they had any advertiſement of their deſign; they carried the King, with all the Court, as for recreation only, from *Blois* to *Amboiſe*, ten leagues diſtant, (a French league contains two Engliſh miles) upon the River *Loire*; and by reaſon of that, and the woods that inviron it, very ſtrongly ſituated. They did this, partly to delude the Conſpirators in their firſt attempt, (who thought to find the King in a nearer place, and more open;) partly that by means of the Caſtle the Kings perſon and the Queens might be more ſecure; and being a place but of little compaſs, it was eaſily to be defended by thoſe few people that were to be gotten thereabouts. There the day appointed drawing near, in which the Conſpirators were to appear, the *Guiſes*, having deviſed amongſt themſelves how to make uſe of this ſo great an occaſion for their own advantage, not only better to eſtabliſh, but to increaſe and bring to perfection their newly atchieved greatneſs, and convert this aſſault of their enemies to their own advancement, (as from poiſons are often extracted cordials) without making the Queen privy thereunto, they went directly to the King, and, with ſhew of great fear, exaggerating and magnifying the attempt of the Conſpirators, laid before him how greatly the Government, and by conſequence, his own perſon, and all his Allies, were indangered by their practices; and withal, told him of the nearneſs of the danger, the Conſpirators being already at the gates of *Amboiſe*, and that their number and force being more than at firſt was believed, it was neceſſary to reſolve upon ſome preſent expedient to prevent them.

The King, of a timorous feeble nature, and at the preſent much moved with the greatneſs of ſo imminent a danger, calling to his preſence not only his Mother, but all the Council, began to debate the means of oppoſing the force, and ſuppreſſing the violence of ſo great an inſurrection. The Council was tumultuous and confuſed, by reaſon whereof many doubts and infinite dangers appearing on all ſides, which were much increaſed by the vehemence and art of the Cardinal of *Lorain*; the King of himſelf unable to reſolve any thing in matters of ſuch difficulty, much leſs to ſuſtain the weight of the Government in ſo troubled a time, without any other motive but his own, was of opinion to declare the Duke of *Guiſe*, his Lieutenant-General, with abſolute power; and relying upon the vigour of his courage and mature wiſdom, to leave the Government of the State during thoſe troubles wholly to him, for as much as he found himſelf unable to undergo ſo great a burthen. The Queen-Mother, though inwardly ſtruck with ſo bold an attempt, readily conſented to the Kings opinion; becauſe ſhe ſaw ſhe could not oppoſe that reſolution without coming to open variance with the *Guiſes*; which in that time when it was moſt neceſſary to remain united, would have occaſioned the Kings ruine, and the ſubverſion of the State, admitting with diſorder and confuſion in the Government, advantageous opportunities for the Conſpirators to execute with greater facility their intended deſigns. Beſides, it appeared very reaſonable to her, that to ſuch imminent dangers ſhould be oppoſed the abſolute power of ſome one experienced perſon of great reputation; and that it was not fit to relie upon one of weak capacity, who with doubts and delays might give the enemy that opportunity which he deſired, and take off from his own that reſolution and freeneſs of courage

which

which the urgency of the preſent affairs required. And by the example of paſt occurrences, (which teach excellent leſſons to govern the future) ſhe was put in mind, that not only Kings, who govern abſolutely according to their will, but even Re-publicks, had conferred the ſupreme Authority upon one man, when the occurrence of any great dangers ſeemed to require extraordinary and powerful oppoſition. But beſides theſe reſpects, which concerned the welfare of her Son and the publick good, ſhe was perſwaded to it by her own private intereſt. For foreſeeing afar off the deſolation that muſt of neceſſity follow, the enmities of the Princes of the Blood, and the hate and envy that would fall upon her if ſhe oppoſed it, ſhe thought it very fit for her purpoſe, that the Duke of *Guiſe* commanding abſolutely in chief, all the blame and envy ſhould fall wholly on him, and ſhe by that means preſerve the love of the people, and the liberty to bend her counſels that way which ſhe ſhould think moſt fit and advantageous for her ſelf.

But *Olivier* the Chancellor, a man in all times eſteemed the Author of wiſe counſel, and averſe to ſuch unlimited power, ſeemed to ſtand doubtful and in ſuſpence, whether or no he ſhould conſent to the Kings Propoſition; and ſuch was his conſtancy and authority, that the buſineſs had been held longer in debate, and with doubtful ſucceſs, if the Queen-Mother had not made it appear to him, that the preſent danger was ſo extraordinary and ſo preſſing, that it could not be prevented with ordinary moderate counſels: That it was neceſſary to provide for the urgency of the inſtant affairs, and rather than ruine the preſent, lay aſide a little the conſideration of future things, which might be otherwiſe remedied by time and opportunity: That it would be very eaſie, this urging neceſſity once paſt, to moderate with new Decrees and new Edicts, the now unlimited power of the Duke of *Guiſe*, which would quickly tranſport him beyond the limits of duty and reaſon, if he were not reſtrained by his own vertue: And finally, it would be of advantage to every one, that in the effuſion of ſo much blood, which it was foreſeen muſt be ſpilt, no other power nor authority ſhould be uſed but the Dukes only; neither the King himſelf, his Friends or Miniſters, having their hands imbrued in thoſe ſlaughters. Which conſiderations moving the Chancellor, he ſealed the Commiſſion drawn by *l' Aubeſpine*, Secretary of State: In which was granted to the Duke of *Guiſe* the Title and Authority of Lieutenant-General for the King, in all the Provinces and places under his command, with ſupreme Power in all cauſes Civil and Military.

The Duke of *Guiſe* having obtained this charge, which he had ever aſpired to, began reſolutely to attend the ſuppreſſion of the Conſpiracy; and preſently cauſing the Gate of the Caſtle into the Garden to be walled up, and having placed the Switzers and French Archers, which uſe ordinarily to guard the Kings perſon, at the other; he ſent forth the Count of *Sanſerre* with ſome Horſe to ſcout abroad, and give him continual advertiſement what he could diſcover.

In the mean time *Renaudie* arrived with his Complices at the place appointed; and finding the King was retired from *Blois* to *Ambois*, nevertheleſs his courage not failing, he went on in the ſame order towards the Court. The unarmed multitude came firſt, who falling proſtrate before the King, were to demand Liberty of Conſcience. But they were not only not admitted to his preſence, but being roughly driven away from the Gates by the Souldiers that were in Guard, they retired, and ſcattered up and down in the fields, and without either order or advice, expected the coming of their other Companions.

Not long after Captain *Lignieres*, one of the Conſpirators, either terrified at the point of execution, with the greatneſs of the danger, or elſe through remorſe of Conſcience, leaving his Companions, went a by-way to *Ambois*, and acquainted the King and Queen-Mother particularly of the number and quality of the Conſpirators, the names of the Commanders, the ways by which they came, and withal their whole deſign. Wherefore by the Kings order a Guard being ſet upon the Prince of *Conde*, that he might in no manner be aiding to the Conſpirators, as he had promiſed them, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſent forth *Jaques d' Aubon*, Mareſcal *de S. Andre*, and *James Savoy* Duke of *Nemours*, with all the horſe they could make, either of the Kings Guard, or the attendance about the Court; who being placed in Ambuſhes in the woods thereabouts, intended to expect the coming of the Conſpirators. *Mazeres* and *Raunay*, who led the Troops of *Bearne*, were the firſt that fell into the Ambuſcade laid by the Count of *Sanſerre*; and aſtoniſhed with the ſudden aſſault, neither knowing how to

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flee nor defend themſelves, were taken priſoners without much diſpute. The Baron of *Caſtelnau*, who led a great number out of *Gaſcoigne*, being arrived at *Noze*, and and there refreſhing his Horſe to continue their march, was met by the Duke of *Nemours*; who beſieging him in that place where he had no manner of proviſion to make any defence, they thought it beſt to yield themſelves to the Dukes mercy, who carried him and all his company priſoners to *Ambois*. *La Renaudie* paſſing through the woods, having avoided all the Ambuſcadoes, approached near the Gates of *Ambois*, where encountred him *Pardillian* with a Squadron of reſolute Cuiraſſiers; yet ſeeing himſelf in good condition to fight, he made a fierce aſſault; but ſoon found that his men, as it is ordinary in ſuch tumults, began to yield to the Kings old Souldiers. Wherefore deſiring to end his life honourably, he ſpurred on his Horſe to *Pardillian*, and running him into the Vizor with his Tuck, laid him dead upon the ground; whereupon being ſhot in the thigh with a Carabine by *Pardillian*'s Page, who was near his Maſter, he died fighting valiantly; and the reſt of his Companions without much reſiſtance, were for the moſt part all killed upon the place. The next day the reſt of the Conſpirators Troops, hearing of the death of *la Renaudie*, and the defeat of their Companions, and conſidering that the Country about being raiſed upon them, there was no means to ſave themſelves by flight; they reſolved under the conduct of *la Mothe* and *Coccaville*, who were the only Commanders left, to aſſault the walls and gates of *Ambois*. For not knowing that the Prince of *Conde* was ſtraightly guarded, they hoped ſome commotion would be raiſed by him within. The aſſault was at firſt very reſolute and valiant; but finding the walls of the Caſtle in all parts well defended, at length wearied out, and deſparate of effecting their purpoſe, they retreated into the *Fauxbourg*, reſolving to ſtand obſtinately upon their defence; with hope, by help of the night that drew on, to find ſome means of eſcape. But the Cavalry coming in that had been ſcouring the Champaign, preſently ſet fire to the houſes where they were, and ſo burning them, they periſhed in a manner all, without being able in this laſt exigence to perform any memorable act. Thoſe that were taken alive in the places about, the chief of them were preſerved to draw from their confeſſion the particulars of the Conſpiracy; the reſt condemned to die, being hanged upon trees in the fields, and over the Battlements of the Caſtle-wall, butchered and torn by the Souldiers and Executioners, were a moſt lamentable ſpectacle to the beholders, and the firſt beginning of that deſolation and bloodſhed, which continuing for the ſpace of many years after, produced ſuch ſad and miſerable events.

The Conſpirators arrive near *Ambois* where the Court was, and are all defeated.

*The End of the First BOOK.*

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The SECOND BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*THe Second Book contains the perplexity of the Kings Council in remedying the Diſorders diſcovered in the Conſpiracy: The Deliberation to puniſh the diſcontented Princes: The Aſſembly of* Fountain-bleau: *The Reſolution to hold an Aſſembly of the States-General, which are ſummoned by the King to meet at* Orleans: *The Princes of* Bourbon *refuſe to go thither: The King makes them change their Reſolution: The Conſtable with delays procures the benefit of time: The Princes of the Blood arrive at* Orleans: *The Prince of* Conde *is committed to priſon, and condemned to die.* Francis *the Second dieth ſuddenly:* Charles *the Ninth ſucceeds to the Crown, who being in minority, there ariſe great Diſſentions about the Regency. The Queen-Mother is made Regent, and the King of* Navarre *Preſident of the Provinces: The Prince of* Conde *is abſolved, and a tacit liberty granted to the Hugonots. The King is Crowned at* Rheims. *The Conſtable unites himſelf with the* Guiſes: *They joyn together to take away the liberty from the Hugonots: The Edict of* July *follows: The Miniſters demand a Conference, and obtain it; it is kept in* Poiſſy, *but proves fruitleſs: The Hugonots departing from the Conference, preach freely: Great Troubles ariſe thereupon: To remedy which, the States are aſſembled at* Paris, *where by the Edict of* January, *a Liberty of Conſcience is granted openly. The Heads of the Catholick Faction leave the Court: Draw into Confederacy with them alſo the King of* Navarre: *The Queen-Mother being terrified, feigns to make a League with the Hugonots, and ſo adds ſtrength to that party.*

THis multitude thus ſcattered, and the greateſt part of their Commanders either taken or killed, that had brought them from the remoteſt parts of the Kingdom, the fury and violence of the Inſurrection, was in appearance abated and ſuppreſſed. But none having periſhed ſave only the ſeditious rabble, who deſperate in their fortunes, were ready raſhly to run upon any danger: and the Princes of *Bourbon*, with the other Lords of that party, had not diſcovered themſelves to be authors of that Conſpiracy, remaining ſtill unſatisfied, and ready to embrace new counſels, the common peace

peace was ſtill internally, more than ever diſturbed, and the publick ſafety expoſed to new troubles. This being very well known both to the Queen-Mother and the *Guiſes*, as ſoon as the tumult and commotions in the Court could be appeaſed, which by reaſon of the rareneſs of the accident were very great, to make the ſpeedieſt and beſt proviſion that might be againſt ſo great a danger, they preſently called to Council, in the Kings own Chamber, all thoſe who as faithful Miniſters in the preſent Government, they thought might be truſted with the ſecrets of theſe new occurrences. There the reaſons being weighed with long debate of the late ſtirs, it clearly appeared that they proceeded only from the practice and incitation of the Princes of the Blood; and that to maintain the Kings Authority, and the form of Government eſtabliſhed, it was neceſſary in the firſt place to take away the Heads, and remove the Authors of that Inſurrection; they knew that proceeding according to ſtrictneſs of Law, they might juſtly be puniſhed as diſturbers of the publick peace, as favourers and introducers of Hereſie, and finally, as ſuch who had conſpired againſt the Kings liberty, and the ancient Conſtitutions of the Crown; and they doubted not, if the fomenters of that Inſurrection were puniſhed and ſuppreſſed, but the people would ſoon return again to their former quiet and obedience. But the reverence born in all times, to thoſe of the Blood-Royal, and the power of thoſe Princes that were named to have part in the Conſpiracy, would have cauſed every one there to ſuſpend his judgment; it appearing to them a buſineſs of great moment, and on all ſides very dangerous, if the King himſelf exceedingly incenſed, even beyond his natural diſpoſition, at ſo ſudden a Commotion, (which without any fault of his, or ill uſage of his Subjects, he ſaw was raiſed by the Princes in the beginning of his Government) had not with ſharp and ſenſible expreſſions given courage to the reſt to reſolve upon ſome ſuch ſevere courſe as might expreſs a ſenſe of the affront. To which the Queen-Mother (no leſs ſollicitous of her ſons welfare, than her own greatneſs) and the *Guiſes*, to maintain themſelves in their acquired power, readily conſenting; there was not any one who finally concurred not in decreeing the puniſhment and ruine of all thoſe, who either by their counſel or aſſiſtance adminiſtred fuel to that fire. 1560.

After the ſuppreſſion of the Conſpirators, in a ſecret Council held in the Kings Chamber, it is reſolved to puniſh the favourers of the Hugonots.

But becauſe a deliberation of ſo great weight, full of infinite hazards, and that drew after it many great conſequences, was neceſſarily to be governed with exceeding Art, and managed with prudent dexterity; they reſolved to begin with diſſimulation, to feign they had no further knowledge of any thing concerning the Conſpiracy, than the manifeſt apparence of it brought to light, to attribute all the fault to the diverſity of Religions, and ill Government of the Magiſtrates, to ſhew rather a fear and terrour ſtricken into them by the fury and ſudden attempt of the Conſpirators, than any confidence or ſecurity by their ſuppreſſion; in outward apparence to manifeſt a great deſire of regulating the Juſtice of the Kingdom, and to find a way to a new Reformation in the Government, which contenting all pretenders, might reduce with ſatisfaction thoſe turbulent ſpirits to their former quiet. With theſe kind of proceedings, they thought they might lull into ſecurity thoſe anxious minds, who pricked in Conſcience, lived in extream apprehenſions, and by artifices compaſs their deſires, which they knew by force were very difficult to attain unto. And becauſe they conceived, the Conſtable and the King of *Navarre* had both by conſent and aſſiſtance abetted theſe ſtirs, and it was certainly known that the Viſdame of *Chartres* and *Andelot* had been active in them, whom it was agreed upon they could not get into their power but with diſſimulation and time; they reſolved to ſet at liberty the Prince of *Conde*, as well to confirm an opinion that they were confident of his loyalty, and had not penetrated into the depth of the buſineſs, as alſo becauſe to take away or puniſh him alone, if ſuch powerful revengers of his death were left alive, would rather be prejudicial and dangerous, than of any advantage; paſt examples teaching us, that it is in vain to cut down the body of a tree, how high or lofty ſoever, if there be any quick roots left which may ſend forth new ſprouts.

The ſecret intentions for matter of Government thus ſetled, and covered over with the veil of ſo perfect a diſſimulation; they reſolved, that ſoon after a General Aſſembly ſhould be called of the three Eſtates, upon which is divolved the Authority of the whole Kingdom; and that for two reaſons. Firſt, becauſe the Kings reſolution againſt the Princes of the Blood was ſo ſevere, he being but young, and newly entred upon the Government, they thought it neceſſary to ſtrengthen that act by the concurrence and univerſal conſent of the whole Nation. Secondly, becauſe by declaring a publick

1560. To get the favourers of the Hugonots into their power, it is reſolved to call an Aſſembly of the States, at which amongſt others, the Princes of the blood are to aſſiſt.

Treaty concerning remedies for the preſent diſorders, and a form and rules to be obſerved in matters of Religion, and adminiſtration of the future Government, the King might have an apparent and reaſonable occaſion to call to him all the Princes of the Blood, and Officers of the Crown, without giving ſuſpition to any body; neither would there be any colourable excuſe left for them not to come, when it ſhould be given out, that a Reformation was intended, which they themſelves profeſſed that they deſired. But becauſe this Aſſembly of the States was a thing by all Kings ever abhorred, (for whilſt they ſit with abſolute power repreſenting the body of the whole Kingdom, the Kings Authority ſeems in a manner ſuſpended) it was therefore reſolved firſt to call a great Council under pretence of remedying the preſent diſtractions; wherein by perſons ſet on to that purpoſe, it ſhould be propoſed and counſelled, as neceſſary; that ſo the Princes and Lords of the Conſpiracy might not enter into any jealouſie, as though the King, without requeſt made by his Subjects, had voluntarily of himſelf reſolved to call an Aſſembly of the States.

Things thus reſolved upon, preſently were publiſhed Letters Patents directed to all the Parliaments, and Edicts divulged to the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom: In the Preambles of which the King lamenting and complaining, that without any evident occaſion, a great number of perſons had riſen, and taken Arms againſt him: afterwards proceeding, he clearly imputes the blame thereof to the raſhneſs of the Hugonots, that they having laid aſide all belief in God, and love to their Country, endeavoured to diſturb and trouble the peace of the Kingdom: But becauſe it is the duty of a good Prince, to proceed with love and fatherly indulgence, He declared withal, that he was ready to pardon all ſuch, who acknowledging their errour, ſhould retire peaceably to their own houſes, reſolving to live conformably to the Rites of the Catholick Church, and in obedience to the Civil Magiſtrates. Wherefore he commanded all his Courts of Parliament, not to proceed in matters of Religion, upon any paſt Informations, but to provide with all ſeverity for the future, that they ſhould offend no more in the like kind, nor keep any unlawful Aſſemblies. And becauſe he deſired above all things to ſatisfie his people, and to reform abuſes in the Government; That he therefore ſignified his pleaſure to aſſemble all the Princes and eminent perſons of the Kingdom, at *Fountain-bleau*, a place fitly ſituated in the heart of *France*, and but few leagues diſtant from *Paris*, to provide by their counſel for the urgent neceſſities of State; to which purpoſe he gave free leave and power to all perſons whatſoever, to come to the Aſſembly, or elſe to ſend their Deputies and grievances in writing, which he would not only graciouſly hear himſelf, but the ſupplicants ſhould have redreſs in all that was reaſonable or juſt.

With theſe and the like Decrees, divulged on purpoſe and with diſſimulation, (the Court Maſter-piece) they in a reaſonable manner ſecured the great ones from their fears and jealouſies; nor was there any one who believed not, but that the Queen-Mother and the *Guiſes*, being terrified with the ſudden attempt of the Conſpirators, and doubting more than ever new Inſurrections, had determined in a fair and fitting way to ſatisfie the diſcontented Princes, and ſo to regulate the form of Government, that all ſhould again participate according to their merits, the charges and honours of the Kingdom.

The Prince of *Conde*, who was as a priſoner, is ſet at liberty.

In this interim the Prince of *Conde* was diſcharged of his Guard, and left free, either to ſtay at Court, or depart, as he pleaſed; neither the King nor the Queen omitting any demonſtrations of kindneſs that might appeaſe him. But he, grievouſly troubled in mind, not being able to quiet his thoughts, (for if he ſtayed, he ſtayed in danger; and going away, he went as criminal;) at length he reſolved to taſte, in ſome meaſure, the Kings inclinations, and to find out, if it were poſſible, the intention of thoſe that governed. Wherefore being one day at Council, where the Princes of the Blood are always admitted, he laboured by weighty and earneſt ſpeeches to clear himſelf from being guilty of any practice either againſt the Kings perſon or the Queens, as had been falſly ſuggeſted by his enemies: But becauſe things done in ſecret cannot otherwiſe be cleared, that he was ready to maintain his innocence with his Sword in his hand, againſt any perſon whatſoever that durſt calumniate him as a partaker in the late Conſpiracy. Which words, though they were directed to the Princes of *Lorain*, nevertheleſs the Duke of *Guiſe*, not forgetting the reſolutions already taken, moſt cunningly diſſembling, added thereunto, that he knowing the Princes goodneſs and candor, offered himſelf in perſon to accompany him, and hazard his life as his ſecond, if there were any that would accept the challenge.

Theſe

These Ceremonies past over, which were so artificially carried, on both sides, that the most suspitious and least apt to believe, began to think them real; the Prince not at all quiet nor secure within, but thinking he had done enough for his justification, departed presently from Court, and with great diligence went into *Bearn* to the King of *Navarre*. 1560.

They omitted not to use the like artifices with the Constable, the Admiral, and the rest; but entertained them with kind Letters, and Commissions, and charges of trust: Neither was there less care to provide in all the Provinces against any new Insurrections; for which cause the *Gens d' Armes* were sent into several parts of the Kingdom that were most suspected, and the Governours of places, and other Magistrates, were very watchful, that there should be no secret Assemblies, in which they perceived all the mischief was ordered and contrived; and under pretence of the Hugonots, they kept a strict watch upon other people of all sorts and qualities. But about the King, where there was greatest danger, and cause of suspicion, were appointed to wait, the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Duke of *Angoulesme* his Brothers Bands of men at Arms, commanded by men of fidelity and trust, the Duke of *Guises* Company and his Brothers the Duke of *Aumale*'s, the Duke of *Lorain*'s, the Duke of *Nemour*s, Prince *Lodowick Gonzago*'s, Don *Francisco d' Este*'s, the Mareshal of *Brissac*'s, the Duke of *Nevers*'s, the Viscount of *Tavanne*'s, the Count of *Crussol*'s, and *Monsieur de la Brosse*'s; to which were added the Prince of *Conde*'s Band, and the Constable's; for being amongst so many others, they might be carefully enough looked over. All these, which amounted to a thousand Launces, were still quartered about the Court, to be near the Kings person; and to his ordinary Guard were added two hundred Harquebushers on horseback, under the command of *Monsieur de Richlieu*, a man of exceeding fierceness, and absolutely depending upon those that governed. The Princes, Ministers of the Crown, many Prelates and Gentlemen, eminent in birth or quality, were already summoned to the Assembly at *Fountain-bleau*, where those that sate at the Helm, proceeded with such dissimulation, that all men observing in them rather a timorousness, and apprehension of the future events, than any thoughts bent to severity or revenge, the Conspirators themselves believed they might without any more trouble, obtain such a Regulation in the Government as they had designed.

In the mean time, the High Chancellor *Olivier* dying, that dignity was confirmed upon *Michel de l' Hospital*, who to his deep knowledge in the Greek and Latin Letters, having added a great experience in affairs of State, and being of a cautelous subtil wit, the King thought he would prove an excellent Minister for those resolutions that were then in design. The Queen used great industry and no less diligence to advance this Creature of her own to that Office, notwithstanding the Princes of *Lorain* would have brought into it *Monsieur Morvilliers*; a man no way inferiour, either in reputation or wisdom, but who seemed not to desire that place, lest he might gain the displeasure of the Queen-Mother, who beginning to grow jealous of the greatness of that Family, desired to have such a person in so eminent a charge, who depending absolutely upon her will, might also be of ability to manage those great affairs.

By the death of *Olivier*, *Michel de l' Hospital* is made High Chancellor.

But the Election of the High Chancellor thus confirmed, (which for some days kept business in suspence) no delays being to be used in the execution of their purposed designs, the King with those bands before mentioned, and the Court all armed, went to *Fountain-bleau* to celebrate the appointed Assembly with great expectation of all men. There arrived two days after, the Constable accompanied by *Francis* Mareshal of *Momorancy*, and *Henry* Lord *d' Anville* his sons, by the Admiral *Andelot*, and the Cardinal of *Chastillon* his Nephews, the Visdame of *Chartres*, the Prince of *Portian*, and so numerous a gallant company of his friends and adherents that in an open place (as *Fountain-bleau* was) he needed not fear either the Kings strength, or the *Guises* power. The Prince of *Conde* and the King of *Navarre*, though kindly invited, had already refused to come thither; the first, through exasperation of mind, which more than ever inclined his thoughts to new designs; the other, having remitted what concerned their common interests to the Constable and the Admiral, (to whom he sent his Confident *Jacques de la Sague* with Instructions) was resolved to stand at a distance in his own private quiet.

*Anne* of *Momorancy* with all his adherents, goes to the Assembly at *Fountain-bleau*.

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* go not thither.

The day appointed to begin, the Assembly being now come, after they were all met together in the Queen-Mothers Chamber, the King in few words told them his intent, which

The Assembly at *Fountain-bleau*.

1560. which was to prevent the troubles that were riſing, and to regulate ſuch things as were thought neceſſary to be reformed. Wherefore he earneſtly deſired every one there preſent, with ſincerity and candour to deliver his opinion in what concerned the publick good. The Queen-Mother purſued the Kings ſpeech, ſpeaking much to the ſame purpoſe; but more at large exhorting every body there to ſpeak freely their own ſenſe, without any reſpects; for the Aſſembly was called to no other intent, but to regulate and reform ſuch things as were requiſite for the preſent and future quiet. The Chancellor *de l' Hoſpital* made a long ſet Oration much to the ſame purpoſe, but deſcending to more particulars, ſignified it was the Kings opinion, and the Lords of his Council, that the troubles of the Kingdom did proceed chiefly from the diſſentions in Religion; and next, from the exceſſive grievances laid upon the people by the Kings his Predeceſſors; and therefore deſired every one upon thoſe two points eſpecially to ſpeak his opinion, that care might be taken both for the ſetling of mens Conſciences, and for paying the debts of the Crown, without laying more burden upon the Subject, already overcharged, but rather find ſome way to disburden and eaſe them of their oppreſſions: Yet his Majeſty prohibited none, if they diſcovered any other diſorders in the Government, but that they might and ought freely and plainly to propoſe, and repreſent to the Aſſembly, whatſoever they thought might conduce to the re-ſetling the preſent Diſtractions in the State.

After theſe Propoſals, for the better information of thoſe that were to ſpeak their opinions, the Duke of *Guiſe* rendred an account of the Armies, and other things committed to his charge; and the Cardinal of *Lorain* related particularly the eſtate of the Treaſury and publick Revenue, commonly called *Finances*; and with theſe Preambles, that every one might have time to prepare himſelf what to ſay, the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed for that time.

The Admiral preſents a Petition from the Hugonots, in which they demand eſection of Temples, and Liberty of Conſcience.

The next day, before they entred upon any buſineſs, the Admiral more in love with his own Opinions than ever, and conceiving if he could add to the Queens apprehenſions, and the *Guiſes*, they might with more facility obtain ſuch a full Reformation as was aimed at; reſolved to ſet forth the number and force of the Hugonots, notwithſtanding the late ſuppreſſion of the Conſpiracy, and by that means gain the favour and abſolute dependance of that party. Wherefore riſing from his ſeat, and preſenting himſelf before the King, he delivered him a Paper, and ſaid aloud, ſo that he might be plainly heard by every one, *That it was a Petition from thoſe of the Reformed Religion, who in confidence of his Majeſties Edicts, in which he permitted all people freely to preſent their grievances, had deſired him to preſent it; and though there were yet no hands to it, when his Majeſty ſhould ſo order, it would preſently be ſubſcribed by One hundred and fifty thouſand perſons.* The King, who by his Mothers precepts had learned the Art of diſſembling, graciouſly received the Paper, and with affable ſpeeches commended the Admirals confidence in preſenting to him the deſires of his Subjects. This Paper being read by *Aubeſpine*, it appeared to be a Petition from the Hugonots, by which, with many tedious circumſtances, they deſired in ſubſtance *Liberty of Conſcience*, and Temples to be aſſigned them in every City where they might freely exerciſe their Religion. After the reading of which, the Admiral being returned to his place, and the murmur ceaſed, which proceeded from the diverſe ſenſe that men had of this proceeding, every one was appointed in order to deliver his opinion. The Cardinal of *Lorain*, of himſelf ardent, and put on by the obligation of his calling, could not forbear to anſwer the contents of the Petition, which he termed ſeditious, impudent, raſh, heretical and petulant; concluding, that if to ſtrike a terrour into the Kings youth, it had been ſaid, that the Petition ſhould be ſubſcribed by 150000 ſeditious perſons, he made anſwer, *There was above a Million of honeſt men ready to ſuppreſs the boldneſs of ſuch rebellious people, and make due obedience be rendred to the Royal Majeſty.* Whereupon the Admiral offering to reply, a great conteſt would have followed, to the hindrance of the buſineſs intended, if the King, impoſing on them both ſilence, had not commanded the reſt to proceed in order to deliver their opinions.

A National Council propoſed.

For ſo much as concerned Controverſies in Religion, thoſe that favoured *Calvins* Doctrine, as there were many even among the Prelates that inclined that way, propoſed that the Pope ſhould be deſired to grant a free General Council, where the differences in matters of Faith might be diſputed, and determined by common conſent; and if the Pope refuſed to grant it in ſuch manner as was neceſſary for the preſent times, and the general ſatisfaction of all men, the King ought, according to the wiſe example

example of many his Predeceſſors, to call a National Council in his own Kingdom; where, under his protection, thoſe differences might be determined. But the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and the reſt who conſtantly perſevered in the Catholick Religion, and were the major part in the Aſſembly, denied that any other Council was neceſſary, than that by the Popes order many years ſince begun, and now newly entred into again in the City of *Trent*; whither, according to the Canons, and ancient uſe of holy Church, it was free for every body to have recourſe, and to bring all differences in matters of Religion to be decided by the natural competent Judges; and that to call a National Council, whilſt the General was open, would be to ſeparate (through the capriciouſneſs of a few deſperate perſons) a moſt Chriſtian Kingdom from the union and fellowſhip of the holy Church; that it was not neceſſary to look ſo far back: For the General Council of *Trent*, having diſcuſſed and examined the Doctrine of thoſe Teachers that diſſented from the Roman Church, had already for the moſt part reproved and condemned it; That they ſhould endeavour by the beſt means that could be, to purge the Kingdom, and not by hopes or propoſitions of new Councils, increaſe the diſorders, and multiply the confuſions. But if the manners of the Eccleſiaſticks, or abuſes introduced into the Government of the Church of *France* required reformation, or more ſevere conſtitutions; an Aſſembly might be called of Divines and Prelates, in which, without medling with controverſies in Faith, thoſe diſorders might be remedied by common conſent. This opinion was approved by the major part of voices, and finally imbraced by all. 1560.

Then for the concernment of the State, after many Propoſitions and Diſputes, which proceeded from the divers intereſts; *John de Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence*, having by ſecret order from the Queen propoſed an Aſſembly of the States, both parties willingly conſented thereunto. The Conſtable, the Admiral, and their faction, becauſe they hoped from that, a Reformation in the Government: The Queen-Mother and the *Guiſes*, becauſe they ſaw things go on of themſelves to their own ends.

A general Aſſembly of the States is reſolved upon, and the preſent Aſſembly diſmiſſed.

This conſultation ended, the King by his Chancellor thanked the Lords of the Aſſembly, and forthwith Letters Patents were diſpatched by the Secretaries of State to all the Provinces in the Kingdom; containing, That in the Month of *October* next they ſhould ſend their Deputies to the City of *Orleans*, there to hold a general Aſſembly of the States: and order was likewiſe given to the principal Prelates, that in the Month of *February* following, they ſhould all meet at *Poiſſy*, to reform, by common conſent, thoſe abuſes that were introduced in the Government and Miniſtry of the Church; and to take ſuch order, that a conſiderable number of them ſhould go to the general Council of *Trent*. The Aſſembly ended, all were licenſed to return to their houſes, and deſired to meet again at *Orleans*, to aſſiſt at the Aſſembly of the States.

*Saga* a ſervant to the King of *Navarre*, is taken priſoner at *Eſtampes*, with divers Letters about him, and being tortured, confeſſeth certain practices againſt the Crown.

But *Jaques de la Sague*, the King of *Navarre*'s ſervant, being charged with Letters of Inſtructions from the Conſtable, the Admiral and the reſt of the Adherents, directed to his Maſter, as ſoon as he left the Court returning towards *Bearne*; being gone as far as *Eſtampes*, was by ſecret order of the Queen ſtayed priſoner; from whence, with all his papers, he was privately conveyed to Court. The Letters contained only private and general compliments, ſuch as uſe to paſs amongſt friends; and being examined, he conſtantly denied, that he had any other commiſſion than what was plain to be ſeen by the Letters. But being brought to the place of torture to draw the truth from him by force, not enduring the rack, he confeſſed, That the Prince of *Conde* had adviſed, and the King of *Navarre* in part alſo conſented thereunto, that he ſhould leave *Bearne*, and under pretence of coming to the Court, by the way take poſſeſſion of all the principal Towns thereabouts; ſeiſe *Paris* by the help of the Conſtable, (his Son the Mareſhal of *Momorancy* being Governour of it;) make *Picardy* revolt by means of the Lords of *Senarpont* and *Bouchavanne*, and draw *Britanny* to his party by aid of the Duke of *Eſtampes*, who being Governour of that Province, had great dependances there; and ſo armed and accompanied by the Forces of the Hugonots, come to the Court, and force the States to depoſe the Queen-Mother and the *Guiſes* from the Government, and declaring the King was not out of his minority till he came to 22 years of age, create his Tutors and Governours of the Kingdom, the Conſtable, the Prince of *Conde*, and the King of *Navarre*. He added to his confeſſion, that if they put the cover of the Viſdame of *Chartres* Letters which were taken from him, in water, the characters would preſently appear, and they ſhould find there all written that he had ſaid. Thus by the confeſſion of one imployed by them,

and

1560. and the teſtimony of the Letters, the new deſigns of the Conſpirators were diſcovered.

But as the diſcontented Princes (reſolved to bring in Innovations) increaſed in power and dependents; with ſo much the more ſollicitouſneſs and diligence they at Court made their proviſions; where continuing ſtill their wonted diſſimulation, they ſtudied all manner of pretences and colours to draw near to the Kings perſon, or elſe remove out of the ſuſpected Provinces all ſuch, who being united with the Princes of the Blood, had received Commiſſions to trouble or moleſt them. For this cauſe the Duke of *Eſtampes* being ſent for under pretence that he ſhould be imployed as Governour of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was entertained with artificial delays; and *Senarpont* being declared Lieutenant to the Mareſhal of *Briſſac*, coming to receive new Inſtructions in order to his Government, was by the ſame arts hindred from raiſing any commotion in *Picardy*; and ſo all the reſt with ſundry delays and excuſes were in like manner entertained and ſuſpended. But the remedies were not ſufficient, for the wound already feſtered.

The Hugonots having taken courage from the firſt Councils of the Inſurrection at *Ambois*, and the open profeſſion of the Admiral, began to raiſe commotions in all parts of the Kingdom; and laying aſide all obedience and reſpect, not only made open reſiſtance againſt the Magiſtrates, but in many places had directly taken Arms, endeavouring to raiſe the Countries, and get ſtrong places into their hands, whither they might retire with ſafety: which was grown to ſuch a paſs, that from all parts came complaints againſt them to the Court, and news of their deportments. But one thing more important and more grievous than all the reſt, made them haſten their former reſolutions. For the Prince of *Conde*, moved by his old inclinations, and urged by the ſting of Conſcience, not being able to quiet his mind, or moderate his thoughts, reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of a ſtrong place in ſome part of the Kingdom, which might ſerve him afterwards for a retreat or ſtanding quarter, if he were forced to make preparations for the War. Amongſt many others in which he kept ſecret intelligence, none pleaſed him ſo well as *Lions*, being a populous rich City, placed upon two Navigable Rivers, not far from *Geneva*, the principal ſeat of the Hugonots; and placed ſo near upon the Confines, that he might eaſily receive ſpeedy ſuccours from the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and the united Cantons of *Switzers*; and from whence upon any accident or neceſſity, he might ſoon retire into ſome free open place out of the Kingdom.

The Prince of *Conde* practiſeth to poſſeſs himſelf of *Lions*, but without ſucceſs.

Wherefore uſing the aſſiſtance of two Brothers, the *Maligni's* his old ſervants, he found a means to treat with divers principal men of the City, which by reaſon of the Traffick, is always inhabited by many ſtrangers of all Nations, and through the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, was then (though covertly) repleniſhed with people averſe to the Catholick Religion, and inclined to *Calvins* Doctrine. Theſe, when they thought they had got a party ſtrong enough in the City to make inſurrection, endeavoured to bring in privately Souldiers unarmed, and others of their faction; with which being afterwards furniſhed with arms, they might on a ſudden poſſeſs themſelves of the Bridges, and Town-houſe, and at length reduce the Town wholly into their power.

The Mareſchal of *S. Andre* was then Governour of *Lions*; who being ſent for upon the preſent occaſions to Court, left there in his place, with the ſame authority, his Nephew, the Abbot of *Achon*. He, by means of Catholick Merchants jealous to preſerve their own eſtates, and enemies to thoſe Counſels that might diſturb the peace of the City, having perfectly diſcovered the practices of the Hugonots, and the time that they determined to riſe; the night before the fifth of *September*, appointed *Pro* with the chief Deputy of the Citizens, with three hundred Fire-locks, to place a guard upon the Bridges over the *Rhone*, and the *Soane*, and beſiege that part of the City which is placed between the two Rivers, where he knew the Conſpirators were to aſſemble. The *Maligni's* perceiving the Catholicks deſign, not willing to ſtay to be beſieged and aſſaulted where they could not defend themſelves, holpen by the darkneſs of the night, prevented the Governours men, and haſting with great courage, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Bridge over the *Soane*, where they lay watching with great ſilence, in hope that the Catholicks, terrified with a ſudden encounter, would be eaſily diſordered; whereby the paſſage would be free for them to the other part of the Bridge, and to make themſelves Maſters of the great place, and of the chiefeſt ſtrong parts in the Town.

But

But it fell out otherwiſe: For the Catholicks enduring the firſt ſhock without being troubled or diſordered, and afterwards continual freſh ſupplies of men being ſent by the Governour, the Conſpirators could no longer reſiſt. The reſt of their complices ſeeing the beginning ſo difficult, durſt neither ſtir not appear any longer. Wherefore the *Maligni*'s having fought all night, and being wearied out, as the day began to break, perceiving the Gate behind them was open, (which the Governour on purpoſe to facilitate their flight had commanded not to be ſhut, leſt by an obſtinate perſeverance, all might be indangered) they fled away, and many of their faction with them, and others hid themſelves; by which means the City was freed from thoſe great commotions 1560.

Then the Governour calling in thoſe Troops that lay about the Town, and having made diligent ſearch for the Conſpirators; to terrifie the Hugonots with the ſeverity of their puniſhment, condemned many of them to be hanged, and preſerving the reſt alive, ſent them preſently to Court; who ſerved afterwards to confirm the depoſitions of the priſoners againſt the diſcontented Princes.

The news of this attempt being come to Court, the King reſolving to uſe no longer delays, nor give more time for new experiments, departed from *Fountain-bleau* with thoſe thouſand Lances that uſed to attend him, and two old Regiments of Foot, that were newly come out of *Piedmont* and *Scotland*; and taking the way of *Orleans*, ſollicited the Deputies of the Provinces to appear.

The whole French Nation is diſtinguiſhed into three orders, which they call States. The firſt conſiſts of Eccleſiaſticks; the ſecond of the Nobility; and the third of the common people. Theſe being divided into thirty Precincts or Juriſdictions, which they call *Baillages* or *Seneſchauſees*, when a general Aſſembly of the Kingdom is to be held, go all to their chief City, and dividing themſelves into three ſeveral Chambers, every one chuſes a Deputy, who in the name of that Body, is to aſſiſt at the general Aſſembly, wherein are propoſed and diſcuſſed all matters concerning the ſeveral Orders or Government of the State. The three Eſtates of the Kingdom.

In this manner three Deputies are ſent by every Baillage, one for the Eccleſiaſticks, one for the Nobility, and one for the People; which by a more honourable term, are called the third Eſtate. Being all met together in preſence of the King, the Princes of the Blood, and Officers of the Crown, they form the Body of the States-General, and repreſent the Authority, Name, and Power of the whole Nation. When the King is capable to govern, and preſent, they have power to conſent to his demands, to propoſe things neceſſary for the good of their order, to oblige the common people to new taxes, and to give and receive new Laws and Conſtitutions; but when the King is in minority, or otherwiſe uncapable, they have authority when it falls into controverſie, to chuſe the Regents of the Kingdom, to diſpoſe of the principal Offices, and to appoint who ſhall be admitted to the Council; and when the Kings line fails, or a deſcendant of the Royal Family, they have power according to the Salique Laws to chuſe a new Lord. But beſides theſe ſupreme Priviledges, the Kings have always uſed in any urgent weighty occaſions to aſſemble the States, and to determine of matters of difficulty with their advice and conſent; thinking not only by a publick conſent to make the Princes reſolutions more valid, but that it was alſo neceſſary in a lawful Government and truly Royal, that all great buſineſſes ſhould be communicated to the whole body of the Kingdom. Now at that time it plainly appearing, that through the diſſentions among the Princes, and differences in Religion, all things were full of diſorder, and had need of ſpeedy remedy, the Deputies elected by the Provinces, and inſtantly called upon with reiterated Orders from the Court, met together with great diligence at *Orleans*, at the beginning of *October*, where the King himſelf being alſo arrived, with a great company of the principal Lords and Officers of the Crown, he now expected nothing but the coming of the diſcontented Princes. The Conſtable with his ſons ſtayed in the wonted place, at *Chantillii*; the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince his Brother, were retired into *Bearn*; and being ſummoned by the Kings Letters to come to the Aſſembly of the States, they did not plainly refuſe it, but with divers excuſes and many delays put off the time of their appearance.

This kind of proceeding held the King and all his Miniſters in great diſpenſe, doubting, not without reaſon, that the Princes either ſuſpecting ſomething of themſelves, or advertiſed by ſome Confident, by refuſing to appear at the Aſſembly, would fruſtrate all their great deſigns and preparations, which were founded only upon their coming;

1560. And the Prince of *Conde*, who ruled his actions by the guiltineſs of his Conſcience, it appearing to him a thing impoſſible, but that by the priſoners at *Ambois*, *Saga*'s confeſſion, and the Conſpirators taken at *Lions*, there was enough diſcovered to lay open his intents, was grown ſo extreamly jealous, that no reaſons could perſwade him to put himſelf again into the Kings power or his Miniſters, the chief of which he knew were all his mortal enemies. But the King of *Navarre*, either being leſs guilty, or of a more credulous nature than his brother, thought, that by going to the States, they ſhould eaſily obtain a reformation in the Government, which was the thing they had ſo much laboured for, and that by refuſing to go thither, they ſhould condemn themſelves, and leave the field free to the avarice and perſecution of the *Guiſes*. Nor could he poſſibly believe, that in the face of a General Aſſembly of the whole Kingdom, the King yet as it were a Pupil, an Italian woman and two ſtrangers would venture to lay violent hands upon the Princes of the Blood, againſt whom the moſt maſculine Kings and moſt revengeful, had ever proceeded with great regard, as againſt perſons not to be violated, and in a manner *Sacro-ſancti*. Wherefore he was of opinion, whatſoever came of it, to go to the Aſſembly, and to take the Prince with him; not meaning to give them that advantage, to condemn him in abſence, without any kind of defence, as he was ſure they would if he ſtayed ſo far off; whereas if he were there to ſollicite the Deputies himſelf, he hoped his cauſe, if it were not approved of by the rigour of juſtice, yet the equity of his reaſons would at leaſt make it be born with; and at the laſt, (if no better) in conſideration of his quality, and pre-eminence of Blood, pardoned. All their Counſellours and Friends concurred in this opinion, except the Prince's Wife, and his Mother-in-law; both which conſtantly oppoſed it, eſteeming all other loſs inferiour to the danger which they thought evident of leaving their lives there.

Whilſt they were in this debate, there arrived on a ſudden, firſt the Count of *Curſol*, and afterwards the Mareſchal of Saint *Andre*, whom the King had diſpatched one after the other, to perſwade the Princes to come: They repreſented to them, that this grave venerable Aſſembly was called with much expence to the King, and great incommodity to the whole Kingdom, only in conſideration of the Princes of the Blood, and to ſatisfie their inſtances and complaints: That they were obliged to deliver their opinions in regulating the Government, and deciſion of points controverted in Religion, buſineſſes of ſuch weight, as without the aſſiſtance of the chief Princes of the Blood, could not be determined: That the King had great cauſe to think himſelf mocked, and the States, that they were ſlighted by the Princes of *Bourbon*; ſince having ſo often deſired a Reformation in the Government, and to have the Hugonots cauſe examined, now that the time was come, and the States aſſembled for that purpoſe, they took not any care of going thither; as it were contemning the Majeſty of that Aſſembly, which was the repreſentative Body of the whole Kingdom; that hereafter they ought not to blame any body but themſelves, if they were worthily excluded from any part or charge in the Government, ſince they would not vouchſafe to come to receive that portion which the King with the approbation of the States thought good to aſſign them; and ſhewing themſelves thus manifeſtly averſe to the Kings ſervice, and good of the Crown, they ought not to wonder if quick reſolutions were taken to ſuppreſs and extirpate thoſe roots of diſcord, and apparent deſigns of innovation. That the King was reſolved, as he meant to gratifie ſuch who ſhewed themſelves reſpectful and obedient to him; ſo he would bind thoſe to a neceſſary and forced obedience, that had any intents to ſeparate themſelves from his Councils, or to ſtir any commotions in the Cities and Provinces of the Kingdom: Of which delinquency he would think the Princes of *Bourbon* guilty, if they took no care at all to ſhew their innocence, but with their abſence and contumacy ſhould confirm the reports of fame; which being never believed either by the King or his Council, yet his Majeſty deſired, for the honour of the Blood-Royal, that with true demonſtrations of duty and loyalty, and a real union for the publick good, they would teſtifie as much to all *France*, which with wonderful expectation had turned her eyes upon the actions of the preſent times.

This Meſſage was delivered from the King, to the Princes of *Bourbon*, which had little moved the Prince of *Conde*, reſolved not to venture his perſon in a place where his enemies were the ſtronger, if neceſſity had not forced him to break that reſolution. For the Count of *Curſol*, being returned to Court, and having ſignified the Princes backwardneſs

wardneſs to come to the Aſſembly; the *Guiſes* thereupon preſſing and ſolliciting, that force might be uſed to fetch them in, and the Queen not diſſenting from them, (through a deſire ſhe had to ſee the ſeeds of thoſe diſcords eradicated, and her ſons quietly reeſtabliſhed in their States) the King took a reſolution to make ſhew of compelling them by Arms. To which purpoſe the Mareſchal *de Termes* being diſpatched into *Gaſcoigne*, there began an Army to be formed under his command, and all the Troops and Infantry that were diſtributed in the Neighbour-Provinces, were ſent that way. The Princes of *Bourbon* were not only without Arms, and unprovided, but reſtrained alſo in *Bearne*, a narrow Country, at the foot of the *Perinees*, and partly by *France*, partly by *Spain*, ſhut up, and compaſſed in on all ſides: So that they were aſſured, being attacked on one ſide by the French army out of *Gaſcoigne*, and on the other by the King of *Spain*'s forces, (who deſired to extinguiſh thoſe few reliques that remained of the Kingdom of *Navarre*) they ſhould eaſily be oppreſſed and ſubdued. In *France* the Princes deſigns had no where proſpered; and in *Bearne* he had neither men nor money. Wherefore the King of *Navarre* (reſolved, not to hazard the reſt of his ſtate, together with the ſafety of his Wife and Children, who were all in the ſame place) ſhewing the neceſſity, to which all Counſels muſt yield; at length brought his brother to be content to go; all being of opinion, that whilſt the States were ſitting, the *Guiſes* would not dare to attempt any thing againſt them; whereas if they continued obſtinate to ſtay in *Bearne*; they would undoubtedly be forced with eternal infamy to fall under the hateful name of Rebels. 1560.

*Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon* their brother, contributed very much to bring them to this reſolution. For he being a man of a facile good nature, as appeared in the whole courſe of his life, averſe to novelties, and extreamly affectionate to his brothers, when he underſtood the Kings intent, and the preparations that he made, being perſwaded by the Queen-Mother, who deſired their purpoſed deſigns might be effected, without noiſe of Arms, or the hazard of War; he preſently took poſt, and went into *Bearne* to perſwade them to come, by magnifying on one ſide the greatneſs of the forces that were preparing, (againſt which they would not be able to make any reſiſtance) and by aſſuring them on the other, that there appeared not in the King or the Queen-Mother any other ſhew but of good-will, and a deſire of peace and agreement. So leaving the Queen with the young children in *Pau*, they departed all three with a ſmall train, to give leſs cauſe of ſuſpicion, and went together towards the Court.

The Conſtable was ſent for, though not with ſuch earneſtneſs, becauſe he was in a place where they might eaſily get him into their power when they pleaſed. But he proceeded with greater diſſimulation, and more ſecurity: For, having not favoured the Faction of the Male-contents otherwiſe than with his counſel, and that alſo ever tending rather to ſeek redreſs from the States, than to move any Inſurrection or Rebellion; he would not, by refuſing to go to Court, increaſe the ſuſpicion againſt him, but by other arts and diſſimulations defer his coming thither, till he ſaw what became of the Princes of *Bourbon*. Wherefore being come to *Paris*, there feigning he was troubled with a Catarrh, and the Gout, he returned (till he could recover) to his own houſe. Many days after, being again upon the way, under pretence that too much motion offended him, (which by reaſon of his age was eaſie to be believed) he made little journeys, and went out of the way for commodity of lodging, artificially delaying the time, until he could hear that the others were arrived.

It is certain, that, his ſons urging him to make more haſte, and telling him that neither the Queen-Mother nor the *Guiſes* would be ſo bold as to offend a man ſo much eſteemed as he was, and that had ſuch great dependences in the Kingdom; he, grown wiſe through long experience, made them anſwer, That thoſe about the King could govern the State as they pleaſed, without any obſtacle or impediment whatſoever; and yet notwithſtanding ſought contradictions, and aſſemblies of the States; things that could not be without ſome hidden deſign, which with a little patience would be brought to light. By which reply his Sons being ſatisfied, he ſought ſtill by delays to gain the benefit of time.

In the mean while the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, were met upon the Confines by the Mareſchal *de Termes*, who, under ſhew of honour, conducted them with a great body of Cavalry to ſecure thoſe Towns which *la Sague* mentioned in his Confeſſion; and at the ſame time, ſent other Companies of Foot and Horſe to ſhut up and guard the ways behind them; doubting that the Princes might change their reſo-

1560. lution, and endeavour ſecretly to get back again into *Bearn*. But news being come to *Orleans*, that the Princes being in their journey, were come into the Kings dominions, and compaſſed about by *de Termes* his Troops; preſently *Hierom Groſlot* Baily of *Orleans*, accuſed to have held intelligence with the Hugonots, to make that City revolt to the diſcontented Princes, was laid cloſe up; and by order from the King, the Viſdame of *Chartres* was committed to priſon in *Paris*, who ſtill contriving new miſchiefs, had lingred there unadviſedly.

*Andelot* was not ſo eaſily intrapped; who being as wiſe and cautelous in providing againſt dangers, as he was precipitate and bold in contriving them, had ſecretly conveyed himſelf away into the remoteſt parts of *Britany*, near upon the Sea-ſide; being reſolved, in caſe of neceſſity, to paſs over into *England*. But the Admiral, who with great art and dexterity had managed the buſineſs, without being diſcovered, went thither freely at the beginning, with an intent to imploy all his power in the Aſſembly for the advantage of his party; and being very much made of by the King, and uſed (as was her cuſtom) very civilly by the Queen, he had opportunity nearly to obſerve all the paſſages of the Court: of which afterwards with great warineſs, he gave ſecret advertiſement to the Conſtable, and the King of *Navarre*.

But now there was no further need of pretences, inſomuch as the Princes of *Bourbon* being neither met upon the way, nor courted by any body but a few of their intimate familiar friends, arrived at *Orleans* the 29 day of *October*; where (contrary to the cuſtom of the Court, though in time of War) they found not only the Gates of the City guarded with a great number of Souldiers; but the ſtrong Holds ſecured, the places manned, and Watches appointed at the end of every ſtreet, with a terrible ſhew of all warlike inſtruments, and many Companies of Souldiers, which paſſing thorow, they arrived at the Kings lodging, much more ſtrictly guarded, as if it had been the Tent or Pavilion of a General in the midſt of an Army. Being come to the Gate, and intending to go into the Court on horſe-back, (which is a priviledge belonging to the Princes of the Blood) they found the Gate ſhut, and only the Wicket open; ſo that they were forced to alight in the midſt of the High-way; and being neither ſaluted nor met, (but by very few) were conducted to the Kings preſence; who placed between the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and compaſſed about by the Captains of his Guard, received them in a much different manner from that familiarity which the Kings of *France* uſe to all men, but eſpecially to the Princes of their Blood. From thence the King himſelf went with them, but the *Guiſes* followed not, to the Queen-Mothers Chamber; who not forgetting her old Maxims, to ſeem independent, and not intereſſed in any party, received them with the wonted demonſtrations of Honour, and with ſuch an apparence of ſadneſs, that the tears were ſeen to fall from her eyes.

But the King, continuing ſtill the ſame countenance, turning to the Prince of *Conde*, began in ſharp language to complain, that he, without any injury or ill uſage received from him, had, in contempt of all humane and divine Laws, many times ſtirred his Subjects to rebel, raiſed War in divers parts of the Kingdom, attempted to ſurprize his principal Cities, and practiſed even againſt his own life and his brothers. To which the Prince, not at all diſmayed, boldly anſwered, That theſe were the calumnies and perſecutions of his enemies; but that he could ſoon make his innocence appear to all the world. Then replied the King, To find out the truth, it is neceſſary to proceed by the uſual ways of Juſtice: and ſo departing out of the Chamber, commanded the Captains of his Guard to ſeize upon his perſon.

The Prince of *Conde* committed to priſon.

Here the Queen-Mother, who moved with the neceſſity, gave her conſent, but forgot not the various changes of the world, wholly applied her ſelf with kind words to comfort the King of *Navarre*, whilſt the Prince not ſaying a word elſe, but blaming himſelf to be ſo cozened by the Cardinal his brother, was led to a houſe hard by, which being prepared for that purpoſe, had the Windows walled up, the Gates doubled, and was reduced into a kind of Fortreſs flanked with Artillery, and ſtrait Guards on every ſide.

The King of *Navarre*, aſtoniſhed at his brothers impriſonment, after many complaints and long debate with the Queen-Mother, (who laying the fault upon the Duke of *Guiſe* Lieutenant-General, ſought to remove all jealouſies and ill will from her ſelf) was carried to be lodged in a houſe joining to the Kings Palace; where his ordinary Guards being changed, ſaving the liberty of converſation, he was in all other reſpects guarded and kept as a priſoner.

The King of *Navarre* kept as a priſoner.

At

At the very ſame time that the Prince was committed, *Amaury Bouchard*, the King of *Navarre*'s Secretary, was arreſted, and all his Letters and Writings taken from him. 1569.

The ſame night alſo *Tannequy de Carrouge* went from Court towards *Anici* in *Picardy*, a place belonging to *Magdalen de Roye*, the Princes Mother-in-law; and there finding her without ſuſpition of any thing, being but a woman, he ſent her away priſoner to the Caſtle of S. *Germain*, and carried all her Letters and Papers with him to the Court.

But the news of theſe ſtirs (notwithſtanding the Gates of the City were kept ſhut, and Travellers forbidden to paſs) being come to the Conſtable, who was ſtill upon the way, ſome few leagues from *Paris*; he preſently ſtopped his journey, with a reſolution not to go any further till he ſaw what would be the event of them.

The Aſſembly of the States begins.

In the mean while, the Aſſembly of the States began; where the firſt thing that was done, was to make a profeſſion of their Faith; which being ſet down by the Doctors of the *Sorbon*, conformable to the belief of the Roman Catholick Church, and publickly read by the Cardinal of *Tournon*, Preſident of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, was by a ſolemn Oath approved and confirmed by every one of the Deputies, becauſe none ſhould be admitted into that General Aſſembly either unwittingly or on purpoſe, that was not a true Catholick.

This ſolemn Act being paſt, the High Chancellor, in preſence of the King, propoſed thoſe things which were neceſſary to be conſulted of for the Reformation of the Government. Upon which, and the demand of the Provinces, they retired into their ſeveral Chambers; where when they had debated them apart, they were to make their reports thereof in publick. But this was the leaſt thing in every mans thought; for the minds of all men were in ſuſpence, and expecting the iſſue of the Princes impriſonment; whoſe commitment was confirmed by a ſolemn Decree of the Kings Council, ſubſcribed by the King himſelf, the High Chancellor, and all the other Lords, except the *Guiſes*, who, as ſuſpected of enmity, abſented themſelves when the Princes of *Bourbons* cauſe was to be handled, which was remitted to an Aſſembly of Judges Delegates, who forming a Judicial Proceſs, ſhould proceed to a final Sentence. The Delegates were *Chriſtophle de Thou*, Preſident in the Parliament of *Paris*; *Bartholomy de Faye*, and *Jaques Viole*, Counſellors in the ſame Parliament; and according to the Cuſtoms of that Kingdom, *Giles Bourdin*, the ordinary Atturney that proſecutes all Cauſes that either concern the Kings Rights, or tend to the maintenance of the peace and ſafety of his Subjects, Procuror fiſcal to the King, performed the Office of Plaintiff and Accuſer; *John Tilliet*, Chief Notary in the Court of Parliament, wrote the Proceſs; and all the Examinations and Acts paſt in the preſence of the High Chancellor.

In this manner proceeding upon the Examinations of the Priſoners, (which were on purpoſe brought from *Amboyſe*, *Lyons*, and divers other places) they were ready to examine the Prince upon the points already diſcovered and proved. But the High Chancellor and the Delegates coming into the Chamber where the Prince was in priſon, to interrogate him, he conſtantly refuſed to anſwer or ſubmit himſelf to the Examination of any of them; pretending as Prince of the Blood, that he was not under any Juſtice but the Parliament of *Paris*, in the Chamber called The Chamber of Peers, that is, in a full Parliament, the King being there himſelf in perſon; all the twelve Peers of *France*, and all the Officers of the Crown, which was the cuſtom formerly; and therefore he could do no other than appeal to the King againſt ſuch an extraordinary and perverſe way of Judicature. This appeal being transferred to the Kings Council, although according to the ordinary Forms and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom it appeared agreeable to reaſon, notwithſtanding (the preſent eaſe requiring quick and ſpeedy Judgment, and no Law making it neceſſary that the cauſes of the Princes ſhould always be tried with ſuch formality in the Chamber of the Peers) it was declared not valid. But the Prince having often made the ſame appeal, and perſiſting ſtill to make the ſame proteſtations; the Kings Council, upon demand of the Procurer fiſcal, declared at length that the Prince was to be held as convict, becauſe he had refuſed to anſwer the Delegates. So being forced to ſubmit himſelf to examination, they proceeded judicially, and with great expedition in the reſt of the circumſtances, till the very laſt pronouncing of Sentence. Into ſuch calamity were the Princes of *Bourbon* brought,

The Prince of *Conde* excepts againſt his trial, and appeals to the King; but the appeal is not accepted.

1560. brought, that they were like to expiate with their Blood their paſt crimes; yet was there not any body ſo much their enemy among the French Nation, that, conſidering the great Birth and noble Education both of the one and the other brother, was not moved with exceeding compaſſion towards them. Only the *Guiſes*, men of a reſolute nature, either really believing it was expedient for the common good, peace and welfare of the Kingdom; or elſe, as their ill-willers affirmed, being eager to oppreſs their adverſaries, and confirm their own greatneſs, conſtantly purſued their firſt deſigns, without any regard either to the quality or merit of the perſons: nay, boaſted with arrogant and bold ſpeeches, *That at two blows only they would cut off at the ſame time the Heads of Hereſie and Rebellion.*

But the Queen-Mother, though perhaps ſecretly ſhe gave her conſent, and was willing enough they ſhould proceed to execution; yet deſiring notwithſtanding, that all the hate and blame ſhould fall upon the *Guiſes*, as ſhe had ever artificially contrived it, and having an aim ſtill to preſerve her ſelf Neuter for any accidents that ſhould happen in the uncertain changes of the World; her countenance expreſſing ſadneſs, and her words ſorrow, ſhe often ſent, ſometimes for the Admiral, ſometimes for the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, and ſhewed an earneſt deſire to find ſome means or other to ſave the Princes of *Bourbon*. With the ſame arts ſhe entertained *Jacqueline de Logent*, Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, a Lady of ſincere intentions, who being far from diſſimulation, judged of others by her ſelf, yet ſhe was inclined to the Doctrine of the Hugonots, and being withal nearly intimate with the King of *Navarre*, ſhe ſerved by carrying Meſſages from one to the other, to maintain a kind of correſpondence between them; which kind of proceedings, though directly oppoſite to her deſigns, the effect whereof could not be concealed, they were nevertheleſs ſo excellently diſſembled, that even thoſe who perceived moſt, were in doubt whether they were true or no; conſidering how profound the ſecrets of men are, and how various the affections and intereſts that govern the force of worldly actions.

Sentence pronounced againſt the Prince of *Conde*.

The Commiſſaries had now pronounced the Sentence againſt the Prince of *Conde*; That being convict of Treaſon and Rebellion, he ſhould loſe his head at the beginning of the Aſſembly of the States-General, before the Royal Palace. Nor was the execution deferred for any other reaſon, but to ſee if they could catch in the ſame net the Conſtable, who being earneſtly called upon, did not yet appear; and to involve in the ſame execution the King of *Navarre*, againſt whom nothing could be found ſufficient to condemn him; when one morning, the King being under the Barbers hands, (which he uſed often) was on a ſudden taken with ſuch a grievous ſwooning, that his ſervants laid him upon the bed for dead; and though in a ſhort time he returned again to his ſenſes, yet he had ſuch mortal accidents, that he gave very little hopes of life. In which tumult of general amazement and confuſion, the *Guiſes* ſollicited the Queen-Mother, that whilſt the King was yet alive, the Judgment ſhould be executed upon the Prince of *Conde*; and the ſame reſolution taken againſt the King of *Navarre*; by which means they ſhould cut off the way to all Innovations that might happen upon the Kings death. Withal, they perſwaded, that it was the only way to preſerve the Kingdom to her other Sons yet in minority, and to diſſipate thoſe clouds of future diſſention which already appeared in divers parts of the Kingdom. For although the Conſtable were wanting, whom in this neceſſary and haſty reſolution they could not get into their hands; notwithſtanding, the authority and priviledges of the Blood-Royal, the prudence of the King of *Navarre*, and the Princes fierceneſs being once taken away, there was little to be feared from him, who would neither be followed by the Nobility, nor have the adherence of the Hugonots, as the Princes of *Bourbon* had. That there wanted nothing to perfect their deſigns, (with ſo much art and patience brought to maturity) but the very laſt point of execution, which by no means was to be hindred, if the King ſhould chance to die. For the Kingdom falling by right upon his Brothers, both they and the Queen-Mother would ſtill have the ſame reaſons and intereſts. But the Queen having had the dexterity in apparence to preſerve her ſelf as it were Neuter, was not ſo ſtreightly neceſſitated as to precipitate her deliberations. Wherefore conſidering, that under her Sons, yet Pupils, the face of things would be wholly changed, and the exceſſive greatneſs of the *Guiſes*, if it remained without counterpoiſe or oppoſition, was no leſs to be feared than the continual practices of the Princes of the Blood; ſhe leſſened the report of her Sons weakneſs, and often gave it out, that there was great hopes of his recovery; ſeeking by

The King under the Barbers hands taken with an Apoplexy.

that

that means to gain time, and defer the execution of what was determined, that ſhe might afterwards conform her ſelf to the preſent occaſions In purſuit of this reſolution, which was confirmed by the advice of the High Chancellour; as ſoon as they knew the King was paſt hopes, ſhe cauſed the Prince *Dolphin*, Son to *Jacqueline* and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, to bring the King of *Navarre* in the night ſecretly into her Chamber; where, with her wonted arts and many effectual arguments, ſhe ſought to perſwade him, that ſhe had ever been averſe to the late proceedings, and that ſhe was deſirous to join with him to oppoſe the unlimited power of the *Guiſes*. Which, though it were not abſolutely believed, was not altogether unuſeful for the future: for with this and other negotiations, a correſpondence being ſtill maintained between them, it was not ſo hard to treat upon agreement when occaſion ſhould ſerve, as it would have been, if ſhe had paſſionately declared her ſelf a principal agent in what was done, and an open enemy to the Princes of the Blood. 1560.

In the mean while, the Kings weakneſs ſtill increaſed, who from the beginning was thought to have an Impoſtume in his head, over the right ear, becauſe he was ever from his infancy troubled with defluxions and pains in that part, which afterwards coming to break, the abundance of matter and corruption falling into his throat, choaked him; ſo that the fifth day of *December* in the morning he paſſed out of this life, leaving all things in extream diſorder and confuſion.

All men for the moſt part believed at the preſent, that he was poiſoned by his Barber; and it was ſaid that the Phyſicians had diſcovered evident ſigns of it, which the ſuddenneſs of the accident and time of his death would have made believed by men of beſt underſtanding, if the diſeaſe of which he died had not been known to be nouriſhed and grown up with him from his cradle. He left behind him the opinion of a good Prince, free from vice, inclined to Juſtice and Religion; but reported to be of a weak heavy underſtanding, and of a nature rather apt to be awed by others, than able to govern of himſelf. However, it would have been expedient for the peace of *France*, either that he had never come to the Crown, or elſe that he had lived till the deſigns then on foot had been fully perfected. For as the force and violence of thunder uſeth in a moment to overthrow and ruine thoſe buildings which are built with great care and long labour; ſo his unexpected death, deſtroying in an inſtant thoſe counſels, which with ſo much art and diſſimulation were brought to maturity and concluded; left the ſtate of things (already in the way (although by violent and rigorous means, yet) to a certain and ſecure end) in the height of all diſcord, and more than ever they were formerly, troubled, wavering, and abandoned.

*Charles* the Ninth, Brother to *Francis*, and ſecond Son to the Queen, ſucceeded to the Crown, being yet but a Child about eleven years old. In ſo tender an age, there was no doubt but he ſhould be committed to the care of a Guardian, who ſhould ſupply his defect in the Government; in which caſe the ancient cuſtoms of the Kingdom, and the Laws often confirmed by the States, called rightfully to that charge, as firſt Prince of the Blood, the King of *Navarre*. But how could the Kings youth, and the Government of the Kingdom, be ſafely committed into his hands, who upon great ſuſpicions to have practiſed againſt the State, was kept in a manner priſoner, and his Brother for the ſame crime already condemned to die? The *Guiſes* had governed with ſupreme authority under the late King, and with great conſtancy applied all manner of frank remedies to recover the proſperity and peace of the State: ſo that committing the Government to them, the ſame Councils might be continued, and the ſame deliberations followed. But how could the Guardianſhip of a King in minority be conferred upon thoſe that were in no manner of way allied to the Royal Blood, againſt all the Laws of the Kingdom, and in ſuch a time when the major part of the great Lords being already wakened and advertiſed, would earneſtly oppoſe it? The States had often committed the Regency and Government of Infant-Kings to the Mothers; and in ſuch diviſion of opinions and factions, the life of the King, and cuſtody of the Kingdom ought not in reaſon to be truſted in other hands. But how could a woman that was a ſtranger, without dependences, and without favourers, pretend to the ſupreme authority with two ſo powerful and already-armed factions? *Charles* the IX.

Wherefore, when the late King *Francis* beginning to grow worſe, ſhewed evident ſigns of death; the *Guiſes* foreſeeing what might eaſily happen, entred into a ſtreight league of friendſhip with the Cardinal of *Tournon*, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Mareſchals of *Briſſac* and *S. Andre*, the *Sieur de Sipierre* Governour of *Orleans*, and many other

1560. other great Lords, continually providing what force they could to maintain themſelves and their power. On the other ſide, the King of *Navarre*, conceiving good hopes for the future, making a confederacy with the Admiral, the Cardinal of *Chatillon*, the Prince of *Portian*, Monſieur *de Jarnac*, and the reſt of his dependents, had ſecretly armed all his Family, and by ſundry meſſengers ſent for the Conſtable, who, having underſtood the Kings death, haſted his journey, which he uſed to delay, was every hour expected at *Orleans*. So that both Factions having put themſelves into a poſture of defence, and the whole Court and the Souldiers divided between them, and not only all others, but even the Deputies of the States themſelves taking part according to their inclinations and ſeveral intereſts, there was no place left for any third reſolution; but with the inſtant danger that every hour the Factions would affront each other, every place was full of tumults and terrour, and all their proceedings tended to a manifeſt ruine.

All the Nobility and the Militia is divided between two Factions

Notwithſtanding, the unbridled deſire of Rule did not ſo ſway their minds (as yet accuſtomed to reverence the Majeſty of Laws) that through private diſcords, publick obedience ſhould be denied to the lawful King, though in minority: but both Factions with tacite and unanimous conſent ſtriving who ſhould be the firſt, they ſaluted and did homage to King *Charles* the Ninth of that Name, the ſame day that his Brother died; all agreeing to acknowledge him for their lawful and natural Prince.

This was the foundation and baſis whereon to form thoſe things which were left ſo ſtrangely diſordered. For the Queen, who knew ſhe could not truſt the life of her children, and the Government of the State to either Faction, the one grievouſly offended and exaſperated, the other full of boldneſs and pretenſions, and both of them powerful in adherents, and inclined to undertake any great attempt, deſired to preſerve in her ſelf, not only the cuſtody and care of her children, but alſo the Government and adminiſtration of the Kingdom; which in the laſt days of *Francis* his life, and in the diſorders at his death, appeared to her ſo difficult, that ſhe little leſs then deſpaired of ſafety. But this firſt point confirmed, of obedience rendred to the Kings Perſon by both parties; which, as appeared manifeſtly, was done through jealouſie and mutual fear the one had of the other, each doubting his adverſary would arrogate the authority to rule, and uſurp the power of the Government; the Queen laying things together, conceived, that drawing from theſe diſcords and preſent confuſion, an advantageous reſolution for her ſelf, ſhe might, as Mediatrix between them, get the ſuperiority of both, being ſupported by the proper intereſts of the one and the other Faction; who not agreeing among themſelves, nor able eaſily to attain to that end they aimed at, would agree upon her, as a mean between the two extreams; being contented that the Authority and Power ſhould reſt in her, which by reaſon of the oppoſition of their adverſaries they could not obtain for themſelves. In which reſpect the *Guiſes* would eaſily join with her, that the King of *Navarre* might not acquire the abſolute Government; and the King of *Navarre* would perhaps be content with leſs authority than of right belonged to him, rather than hazard the whole, by contending with the *Guiſes*. So that if the buſineſs were dextrouſly carried, the ſupreme Authority would fall upon her.

This conception was the likelier to take effect, becauſe the Queen, though united with the *Guiſes*, had in apparence preſerved her ſelf Neuter; by which means ſhe was confident to one party, and not thought an enemy to the other.

But two great difficulties traverſed this deſign. One, that the King of *Navarre* being exaſperated with the injuries paſt, it was a very difficult matter to appeaſe him. The other, that beginning to treat with him, ſhe might give cauſe of ſuſpition to the *Guiſes*; and ſo greatly endangered the loſing that ſupport, before ſhe had time to ſettle the affairs. Which obſtacles though they appeared invincible, yet the urgency of the occaſion inforced a neceſſity to try all kind of policies, though never ſo doubtful. The firſt thought was to aſſure the *Guiſes*: for it had been but an unwiſe counſel, to abandon all old friendſhip already confirmed, before there was any manner of aſſurance that it was poſſible to contract a new one. But a buſineſs of that nicety, and on every ſide full of ſuſpition, was not to be managed but by perſons of great dexterity. Wherefore having thought upon many, the Queen at length reſolved there was no inſtrument ſo proper for that negotiation as the Mareſchal S. *Andre*. For being a great Confident to the *Guiſes*, privy to all their ſecreteſt thoughts, and beſides that, a man of prudence

and

and ſingular quickneſs; he would not believe the Queen could have any hope to cozen him, and the buſineſſes treated by him would have credit and great authority with his own Faction. So that having ſent for him, and deplored the ſtate of the preſent affairs, ſhe enquired what reſolution the Princes of *Lorain* meant to take; profeſſing that ſhe would not differ from them, but follow any advice that they, by agreement amongſt themſelves ſhould think moſt reaſonable. To which he making a doubtful reply, with an intent rather to penetrate into the Queens deſigns, than to diſcover to her the intentions of his own party; after many ſeveral diſcourſes, at laſt all their arguing ended in this concluſion; That the differences between the two Factions could not be accommodated without great troubles, and the danger of a doubtful War, if both parties did not yield ſomething in their reaſons, and retire (as it is commonly ſaid) a ſtep backwards, leaving to her to mediate between them; who both as a Judge and Moderatrix, and as an indifferent party, might limit the pretentions of the Princes in ſuch a manner, that one ſide ſhould not ſeem to yield to the other, but through modeſty and reſpect that they bore to the Mother of their King, forget all paſt injuries, and ſo things might remain equally balanced between them. This counſel proceeding in a manner wholly from the Mareſchal, the Queen feigning rather to take than give advice, they began to conſult which way was beſt to proceed. Then ſhewing that the King of *Navarre* was a man of right intentions, and of a facile moderate nature, ſhe doubted not but ſhe could perſwade him to it, ſo the Princes of *Lorain* would be content. The Mareſchal, that was free from any private paſſion, and knew the ſlippery dangerous condition in which the *Guiſes* ſtood, took upon him the charge to manage the buſineſs with them; which being propoſed to the Duke and the Cardinal, and afterwards debated in a meeting of their Confederates, they all approved of it. But the two Brothers were of different opinions: For the Duke being more placable and moderate, conſented to an accommodation, provided his Governments and Revenues that he enjoyed by the favour of the late Kings, might remain untoucht. But the Cardinal being of a more ambitious nature, and vehement diſpoſition, deſired ſtill to perſiſt in the ſtrifes they had begun, and to endeavour to preſerve themſelves in the ſame authority they had obtained and exerciſed during the life of *Francis*. Notwithſtanding, not only the Cardinal of *Tournon* concurring with the Duke in opinion, as deſirous to avoid the tempeſt of War, but alſo the two Mareſchals of *Briſſac* and S. *Andre*, and eſpecially the *Sieur de Sipierre*, whoſe opinion, through the fame of his wiſdom, was of great eſteem amongſt them, and conceiving they got enough, if, preſerving their reputation, their eſtates and honours which they poſſeſſed, they could preſerve themſelves for times of better conjuncture; leave was given to the Queen, by means of the ſame Mareſchal, to try all the ways ſhe ſhould think good to make an agreement with the King of *Navarre*. 1560.

This difficulty being overcome, the greateſt obſtacle was yet to paſs through; which was to appeaſe the Faction of the diſcontented Princes: a thing judged by many not poſſible to be brought to paſs, and abſolutely deſparate. But the Queen, knowing the nature and inclination of thoſe ſhe had to deal with, (a thing chiefly neceſſary for the effecting any great deſign) did not doubt to compaſs her deſire. The intimate Counſellors to the King of *Navarre* were *Francis de Cars*, a Gaſcoigne, and *Philip de Lenon-court*, Biſhop of *Auxerre*; That, a man of ſmall judgment, and little experience in the world; This, of a deep reach, extreamly vigilant, and altogether intent upon thoſe intereſts that were moſt for his own advancement. Theſe being ſecretly gained by the working of the Queen-Mother, with ſuch means as were moſt likely to prevail over their ſeveral humours, (for ſhe ſought by rewards, and apparent ſpecious reaſons, to corrupt and perſwade *de Cars*, and to *Auxerre* ſhe offered honours and Eccleſiaſtical preferments; which by means of the King of *Navarre* only he could not ſo eaſily attain unto) they became Miniſters to the Queens deſigns, and under the name of faithful ſincere Counſellors, were ready to favour thoſe negotiations that tended to an agreement, and the advancement of her greatneſs. The firſt overtures of this accommodation were made by the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, by reaſon of her goodneſs and candid diſpoſition very inward with the Queen, and a great friend to the King and Queen of *Navarre*, through the inclination ſhe had to the Hugonots Religion; and in the progreſs of the buſineſs, came in by little and little *Tannegny de Carrouges*, and *Louis de Lanſac*, men of approved wiſdom, in whom the Queen repoſed great confidence: and theſe three continually employed their endeavours to

1560. ſhake the King of *Navarre*'s reſolution; who, being now drawn from his wonted inclinations to peace and quietneſs, and incited by the ardour of enmity, and the memory of dangers paſt, had his thoughts ſo confuſed, that he ſtood in ſuſpence, and doubtful what courſe to take. Three conditions were propoſed from the Queen; Firſt, that all priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, and particularly the Prince of *Conde*, Madam *de Roye*, and the Viſdame of *Chartres*, cauſing the Parliament of *Paris* to declare *null* the Sentence pronounced againſt the Prince by the Judges Delegate. Secondly, that the King of *Navarre* ſhould have the Government of all the Provinces in the Kingdom, provided the Queen ſhould enjoy the name and authority of Regent. And the third, that the Catholick King ſhould be ſollicited to the reſtitution or change of *Navarre*; and the Iſle of *Sardinia* was particularly named. Theſe conditions being propoſed by the Queens Agents, the Kings Counſellors highly approved them; ſhewing, that the Regency, a Title without ſubſtance, and only an airy name, was abundantly recompenced by the authority and power over the Provinces, wherein conſiſted the real command and eſſential Government of the Kingdom: to which being added the honourable releaſe of the Prince, with the ſuppreſſion of his enemies, and hope to recover an eſtate befitting his quality and birth, there was not any doubt at all to be further made. They added, that their affairs for the preſent were in ſo doubtful a condition, that putting themſelves upon the rigour of the Laws againſt ſuch potent enemies, and with the prejudice of their paſt machinations, it was rather to be feared they would be utterly ruined, than advanced to thoſe honours they deſired: that the States then at *Orleans* depended wholly upon the Queens will and the *Guiſes*, by whoſe means they were with great regard aſſembled; for which cauſe they were for the moſt part united and joined with them: wherefore it was greatly to be feared, if their cauſe were remitted to the arbitrement and determination of the States, that they being incenſed by their former practices, would exclude the Princes of the Blood from the Government, and commit it to the *Guiſes*, as perſons they could more confide in; upon which would follow the inevitable deſtruction of the whole family of *Bourbon*. That it was neceſſary to ſtop this precipice with moderate Counſels; and ſhewing they deſired nothing but what was juſt and reaſonable, by yielding to the Laws, clear themſelves from ſuſpition and their former contumacy; and although the change propoſed with the Catholick King were very uncertain and doubtful, yet it would be great imprudence any way by pretending to the Government of other States, to weaken the hopes of recovering his own, and the inheritance belonging to his children. Theſe reaſons wrought upon the King of *Navarre*, of himſelf inclined to ſuch kind of thoughts; but he was ſpurred on to the contrary by the inſtigation of the Prince his Brother, though rather with a violent paſſion of revenge, than any founded reaſon. Notwithſtanding, there being joined to that party which perſwaded an accord, the authority of the Duke of *Montpenſier* and the Prince *de la Rocheſur-yon*, both of the ſame family of *Bourbon*, but who being many degrees removed from the Crown, had not intereſted themſelves in theſe late buſineſſes; the King of *Navarre* inclining to come to an agreement with the Queen, propoſed, by the ſame perſons that treated the Accommodation, beſides the three Conditions offered, two others: The firſt, that the *Guiſes* ſhould be deprived of all places of command at Court; The other, that Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be granted to the Hugonots.

When *Calvins* Doctrine was firſt preached, the ſeeds thereof were planted in the family of *Henry*, King of *Navarre*, and *Margaret* his wife, father and mother to *Jane* the preſent Queen; and as the minds of thoſe Princes were ill-affected to the Apoſtolick See, being deprived of their Kingdom under pretence of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, thundred out by Pope *Julio* the Second againſt the Kingdom of *France* and the adherents of the ſame, with which *Navarre* was then in confederacy; ſo it was likelieſt, they ſhould apply themſelves to that Doctrine, which oppoſing the Authority of the Roman Biſhop, by conſequence concluded thoſe Cenſures invalid, by vertue whereof they had loſt their Kingdom. Wherefore the Miniſters (ſo they call them of *Calvins* Religion) frequenting the houſe of thoſe Princes, and there teaching their Opinions, they made ſuch an impreſſion in Queen *Jane*, that departing from the rights of the Catholick Church, ſhe had wholly entertained and embraced the Religion of the Hugonots. Whereupon being married to *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, (at the preſent King of *Navarre*) ſhe not only continued in the ſame belief, but had in great part drawn her Husband to that Opinion, being beſides perſwaded by the zealous eloquence of *Theodore Beza*,

Pope *Julio* the ſecond excommunicates the Kingdom of *France* and the Adherents thereof; in which the King of *Navarre* being included, he applieth himſelf to follow the opinions of *Beza* and *Peter Martyr*.

*Beza*, *Peter Martyr Vermeil*, and other Teachers that went freely into *Bearne* to preach their new Doctrine. And the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and other principal men of the Faction of the Princes of the Blood, having at the ſame time, partly through Conſcience, partly through intereſts of State, embraced thoſe Opinions, with ſo much the greater conſtancy, the King of *Navarre* perſevered to continue the protection of the Hugonots. For this cauſe he deſired of the Queen in the Treaty of Accommodation between them, that Liberty of Conſcience might be granted to the *Calviniſts*: and ſhe, who thought all other things inferiour to the evident danger, (wherein ſhe ſaw the Kingdom to be loſt both to her ſons and her ſelf) not to interrupt the Treaty of agreement, would not abſolutely deny thoſe two Conditions, though very hard ones, but ſhewing, that to deprive the *Guiſes* of their charges at Court, was immediately contrary to the Accord then in agitation, and to the thought of reducing the wavering eſtate of the Kingdom into peace and repoſe, (for they being armed and powerful, would never ſuffer ſo great and manifeſt an affront, but joining with the Catholick Faction and the greater part of the States, would to maintain their dignity, ſoon have recourſe to Arms) notwithſtanding, ſhe obliged her ſelf, that with time and art ſhe would continually leſſen their authority and power; which, they being by degrees deprived of their Governments, would ſoon fall to nothing. And for ſo much as concerned the liberty of the Hugonots, being a thing of too great importance to be granted upon ſo little deliberation, and which the Parliaments and the States themſelves would undoubtedly oppoſe; ſhe was content to promiſe ſecretly, that governing by common conſent with the King of *Navarre*, ſhe would by indirect by-ways, and upon the emergencies of occaſions which might happen every day, ſo work under-hand, that by little and little they ſhould in great part obtain their deſires. 1560.

The Queen promiſed theſe things, being forced by the preſent neceſſity; yet with an intent, when the Government was eſtabliſhed, and the King of *Navarre* appeaſed, to obſerve none of them; but delaying the execution of them with her wonted artifices, at length with dexterity to render them altogether vain. For ſhe thought it not expedient for her own intereſts, and the preſervation of her ſons, wholly to ſuppreſs the *Guiſes*, (who ſerved marvellouſly to balance the power of the Princes of the Blood) and to permit a Liberty of Conſcience, ſhe knew it would not be done without great ſcandal to the Apoſtolick See, and all other Chriſtian Princes, nor without great diſorder and diſſention in the Kingdom; but reſerving many things to the benefit of time and future induſtry, ſhe endeavoured by all manner of means to provide for, and remedy the preſent diſtractions.

Now the Accommodation being in a manner confirmed upon theſe Conditions, the King of *Navarre* declared, that he would not conclude any thing without the conſent and authority of the Conſtable, who was already near upon his arrival; ſo that it was neceſſary to return to the old arts to overcome this laſt impediment, eſteemed by many no leſs difficult to maſter than the former. Wherefore the Queen, who very well knew the nature and inclination of the Conſtable, thought by reſtoring him to the authority of his place, and ſeeming to acknowledge from him both her own greatneſs, and the welfare of her ſons yet in minority; that he, ambitious to be held the Moderator and Arbitrator of all things, would eaſily be brought to favour her Regency, and to ſhew himſelf Neuter to both Factions. So that having the conſent of the King of *Navarre* and the *Guiſes*, (who on both ſides were now inclined to thoughts of peace) ſhe made ſhew of confeſſing that all things depended upon his power; giving order that the Captains of the Guard and the Governour of the City at his entry into the Gates ſhould deliver up to him the chief Command of the Souldiers, acknowledging him as in effect was but juſt, for General of the Militia. By which teſtimony of favour, the ancient ſparks of loyalty and devotion reviving in him, wherewith he had ſo many years ſerved the Grandfather and the Father of the preſent King, turning himſelf about to the Captains with the ſame majeſtical countenance that he uſed always to have, he told them, *That ſince the King had again intruſted him with the command of the Armies, they ſhould not need to ſtand long with ſuch watchfulneſs upon the Guard in a time of peace; for he would ſoon take ſuch an order, that though he were yet in age of minority, he ſhould be obeyed in all parts of* France *by his Subjects without the force of Arms.*

The Conſtable *Anne of Montmorency* reſtored to his Command.

1560. So being come to the Kings Palace, where the Queen received him with great ſhews of honour, and he doing homage to the young King with tears in his eyes, exhorted him not to have any apprehenſion of the preſent troubles; for he and all good French men would be ready to ſpend their lives for the preſervation of his Crown: From which the Queen, taking courage, without any delay, entring into private diſcourſe with him about the preſent affairs, not to give time to the practices of others, told him, that ſhe had placed all hope of her own welfare and her Sons in him only; that the Kingdom was divided between two pretending Factions, which reſolving to perſecute each other, had forgotten their obedience to their Prince and the publick ſafety; that there was no other perſon of Authority, who, ſtanding neuter, could ſuppreſs their pretences; that there was no hope of preſerving her children in poſſeſſion of the Crown, which was aimed at, and aſpired to by ſo many, if he (mindful of his Loyalty, of which he had given ſo long a teſtimony) did not undertake the protection of the young King, of the Kingdom afflicted with ſuch diſtractions, and of the whole Royal Family that was then in a very ſlippery dangerous condition, and relied only upon the hope of the fidelity and aid from thoſe who had been obliged and advanced by their Predeceſſors. To which words adding all the womaniſh flatteries that either the time or buſineſs required, ſhe ſo wrought him to her will, that he not only conſented to the accomodation treated with the King of *Navarre*, but ſeeing the *Guiſes* already leſſened, and the charge of the affairs with the firſt dignity of the Kingdom returned again into his own hands, forgetting all private intereſts of particular Factions, propoſed that he would unite himſelf with the Queen for the conſervation of the Crown, by which only he pretended to hold that place, which in the courſe of a long life he had taken ſuch pains to attain unto.

The accommodation then agreed upon and confirmed by the Authority of the Conſtable, without further delay they aſſembled the Kings Council, at which were aſſiſtant all the Princes and Officers of the Crown that were preſent. Where the Chancellor propoſing according to ordinary uſe in the Kings preſence, it was unanimouſly reſolved upon, That the Queen-Mother ſhould be declared Regent of the whole Kingdom, the King of *Navarre* Preſident and Governour of the Provinces, the Conſtable Superintendent of all the Forces, the Duke of *Guiſe* as Grand-Maſter-Keeper of the Palace, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* High Treaſurer. That the Admiral, the Mareſchals and Governours of the Provinces, ſhould enjoy and execute their charges, without being intrenched upon by Strangers; that the Supplications and Letters of the Provinces ſhould be addreſſed to the King of *Navarre*, who ſhould make report thereof to the Queen, and return ſuch anſwers as ſhe and the Council thought good; that all Embaſſies and Letters of Negotiation with Foreign Princes ſhould be brought immediately to the Queen, and ſhe to communicate them to the King of *Navarre*; that in the Kings Council where the Princes of the Blood were to aſſiſt, the Queen ſhould preſide, and make all Propoſitions, and when ſhe was away, the King of *Navarre*, or in abſence of them both, the High Chancellor; all diſpatches whatſoever paſſing under the common name of the Governours of the Kingdom; Conditions, by which the Princes of the Blood had in ſhew a great part of the Government, but in ſubſtance all authority and power remained in the Queen. She promiſed further than this, (although ſecretly, by little and little) to open a way to Liberty of Conſcience for the Hugonots, and by the ſame addreſs in a ſhort time to remove the *Guiſes* from all Miniſterial dignities: which were the two conditions finally propoſed by the two diſcontented Princes, and by her through a final neceſſity feignedly accepted of.

The Prince of *Conde* ſet at liberty, and the Sentence pronounced againſt him declared void.

The precipice of things being thus ſtopped, and the beſt order taken that could be for the Government of the Kingdom, the Prince of *Conde*, according to the Agreement, was ſet at liberty; and departing from the Court to ſhew how free he was, within a few days after returned thither again; and laſtly, was by an honourable Edict in the Parliament of *Paris* abſolved from the imputation laid upon him, and the Sentence declared *null* and irregular which was pronounced againſt him by the Judges Delegates, as incapable of judging the Princes of the Blood. The Viſdame of *Chartres* enjoyed not the benefit of this Agreement; for when he was firſt taken priſoner, being put into the Baſtile, (a fortreſs placed upon the skirts of the City of *Paris*) he grew into ſuch a diſcontent and indiſpoſition of body, that he died before the Accommodation was fully concluded.

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Things being in this ſtate, ended the year 1560: but in the beginning of the year after, the Regent and the King of *Navarre*, not willing that the affairs thus ſetled ſhould be diſturbed by any new practiſes, diſmiſſed the Aſſembly of the States, after they had celebrated the Ceremonies of the firſt Seſſion; having cauſed by their dependents this reaſon to be alledged from the beginning, That the Deputies being ſent by their Commonalty to treat with the late King, their Commiſſion was expired by his death; and therefore they had no power under the reign of the preſent King, either to treat or conclude any thing concerning the State: Yet notwithſtanding they gave Commiſſion, that the Deputies upon the firſt opportunity ſhould meet at a place appointed to conſult of a means to pay the debts of the Crown without oppreſſing the people with new Taxes; but not to meddle with any thing elſe. 1561.

The Aſſembly of the States diſmiſſed.

The States thus broken up, they applied themſelves to ſettle the Government. But for all this, the diſcords and troubles of the Court were not quieted. For the *Guiſes*, who had gotten ſo little a ſhare, and which conſiſted rather in apparence than any real power, being accuſtomed to govern, could not conform their minds to their preſent condition: and being ill ſatisfied with the Queen, for having performed much leſs than ſhe had promiſed, they ſought all manner of opportunities, whereby they might again raiſe themſelves to their former greatneſs; and on the other ſide, the Prince of *Conde*, being exaſperated, but not withdrawn from his wonted deſigns, burnt more than ever with an implacable deſire of revenge; and the Lords of *Chatillon*, who firmly continued to protect the Hugonots party, deſiſted not to attempt the raiſing of Tumults, by which they might augment their own power. Both Factions were intent to draw to their party the Conſtable, who having declared that he would depend only upon the Kings will and the Queens, maintained himſelf Neuter: and ſo much the rather, becauſe the King of *Navarre*, contented with his preſent condition, continued ſtill a good correſpondence with the Regent, and perſevered in the deſire to eſtabliſh a Peace. Wherefore there was not any apparent reaſon for the Conſtable not to remain conſtant in his firſt reſolution.

But the Admiral and his Brothers, together with the Prince of *Conde*, hoped that the nearneſs of Blood would at lenth prevail to win him to their ſide; and the *Guiſes* knowing him affectionate to the Catholick Religion, and averſe to that of *Calvin*, ſo ſeverely perſecuted by him in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, deſpaired not, under a colour to defend the Faith, and extirpate the Hugonots, to draw him to their party.

Theſe ſtirs were kept in motion by the obſtinacy of the King of *Navarre*, who very urgently preſſed the Queen, that ſhe would apply her ſelf to perform thoſe promiſes which ſhe made unto him in favour of the Hugonots. And ſhe, who contented her ſelf with the preſent ſtate of things, which, being equally balanced, and not enclining more to one ſide than the other, ſecured her greatneſs and her Sons Kingdom, avoided all that was poſſible the being brought to a neceſſity of diſcontenting him, leſt he ſhould alter his reſolutions. But on the other ſide, conceiving it neither juſt nor ſafe to give ſo much liberty to the Hugonots, ſhe found out quaint excuſes, and divers pretexts to delay the execution of her promiſe; hoping indeed, that in progreſs of time the King of *Navarre* would grow leſs inſtant in his deſires. But it fell out altogether otherwiſe: for being ſtirred up by the continual inſtigations of the Prince and the Admiral, and the perpetual incitements of the Queen his Wife, he grew every day more violent in preſſing the performance of that promiſe which was made him at the beginning.

The High Chancellour *de l' Hoſpital*, though covertly, favoured his deſire; who either believing that it was indeed expedient for the quiet of the Kingdom; or elſe through an inclination that he had to the Hugonots Doctrine, took off as much as he could from the ſeverity of other Magiſtrates, and adviſed the Queen, to ſtay the effuſion of blood, to ſettle mens Conſciences in peace, to take away all ground of ſcandal, and not to give an occaſion of bringing things again into confuſion, which with ſo much pains and art were ſet right and compoſed. Many alſo of the Kings Council yielded to the inſtances of the King of *Navarre*, who profeſſed that he was moved to compaſſion, to ſee ſo many of the Kings Subjects that were continually ſcattered about in the Kingdom, abandoning their own houſes through fear of puniſhments; and that he deteſted ſo often to goar his hands in the bowels of the French Nation. And the Hugonots themſelves, among whom were many men of wit and courage, omitted no

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1561. art nor care that might any way help them: but ſometimes with little Treatiſes artificially ſcattered abroad, ſometimes by Petitions ſeaſonably preſented, otherwhile by the effectual perſwaſions of thoſe that favoured them, endeavoured to move the great perſons to commiſerate their condition.

The Queen therefore being forced to yield to the conſent and authority of ſo many, and conceiving perhaps it would be beſt, willingly to intermit that ſeverity which by no means could be longer continued, (ſince thoſe threats which are not reſolutely put in execution by force, prove always damageable) ſhe gave way, that by a Decree of Council paſſed the 28 day of *January*, the Magiſtrates ſhould be ordered to releaſe all priſoners committed only for matters of Religion, and to ſtop any manner of inquiſition appointed for that purpoſe againſt any perſon whatſoever; nor to ſuffer any diſputations in matters of Religion, nor particular perſons to revile one another with the names of *Heretick* and *Papiſt*: but that all ſhould live together in peace, abſtaining from unlawful Aſſemblies, or to raiſe ſcandals and ſedition.

A kind of toleration permitted to the Hugonots.

Thus *Calvins* Religion, under the obſcure pretence of hindering the effuſion of more blood, (which carried an apparence of much Chriſtianity and piety) was, though not authoriſed, at leaſt covertly protected and tolerated. A greater conteſt ſeemed likely to ariſe about the depreſſion of the Duke of *Guiſe*. For the King of *Navarre*, putting the Queen in mind of the promiſes ſhe ſecretly made him, required, that as the Kings Lieutenant-General, the Keys of the Palace ſhould be aſſigned to him; which the Duke of *Guiſe*, as Grand-Maſter, always kept. But the Queen, though ſhe ſaw that ſhe was greatly upheld and honoured by the King of *Navarre* and the Conſtable, and on the contrary knew the *Guiſes* were grown very averſe to her; yet ſhe imployed all her power to hinder their depreſſion. For on one ſide, the Hugonots party maintaining it ſelf under the protection of the Prince of *Conde* and the *Admiral*; and the Catholicks on the other ſide, under the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorain*; conceiving that between theſe two Factions, as between two ſtrong banks, ſhe might remain ſecure in a calm: She would not ſo much weaken the Catholick party, as they ſhould be forced afterwards to receive Laws from the Hugonots. Wherefore ſometimes by delays, ſometimes by complying with him in other demands, ſhe ſought to remove the King of *Navarre* from that thought.

But he perſiſting in his demand, and growing every day more earneſt, as he ſaw her more backward; not in an inſtant to diſſolve that agreement which with ſo many difficulties was effected, it was thought convenient to command the Captains of the Guard, that from thence forward they ſhould not carry the Keys of the Kings Lodgings, as the cuſtom had been, to the Grand-Maſter, but to the Lieutenant-General, as the man to whom that dignity belonged. Whereat the Duke of *Guiſe* was exceedingly incenſed, and much more the Cardinal his Brother; not ſo much for the importance of the thing, or the injury received, (which at the firſt was otherwiſe determined in the Kings Council) as becauſe they manifeſtly ſaw, that the King of *Navarre's* intention, which drew along with it the Queens conſent, was wholly to ſuppreſs and tread under foot their greatneſs. But knowing they were thought to be men of paſſion and ambition, and ſeeing themſelves not able in a private diſpute to deal with the Princes of the Blood, who had then in their hands all the Kings force and authority, they diſſembled the affront done unto them, and made ſhew only of being moved and offended at the tacite toleration that was permitted to the *Calviniſts*; covering in this manner with a pious pretence under the Vail of Religion, the intereſts of private paſſion.

The Keys of the Kings Palace taken from the Duke of *Guiſe*, and delivered to the King of *Navarre*.

So by degrees the diſcords of great men were confounded with the diſſentions of Religion; and the Factions were no more called the diſcontented Princes and the Guiſarts; but more truly and by more ſignificant names, one the Catholick, and the other the Hugonot party. Factions, which under the colour of piety, adminiſtred pernicious matter to all the following miſchiefs and diſtractions. The Queen Regent and the Conſtable held the Kings party, as it were in the middle of a balance; and the Conſtable, though he hated *Calviniſm*, and lived conformable to the Roman Church, nevertheleſs, both in reſpect of his Nephews, and to preſerve the publick peace, was contented that they ſhould proceed warily in matters of Religion, until ſuch time as the King, being come to age, ſhould be able to govern himſelf.

The private intereſts and enmities are covered with the vail of Religion; and the two Factions take the name of *Hugonot* and *Catholick*.

But to confirm in the mean while the Kings Authority and Empire, although in minority, it was thought expedient by thoſe that governed, that he ſhould be acknowledged

ledged with the uſual Ceremonies belonging to the Kings of *France*. Wherefore they reſolved to carry him to *Rheims*, and in that place, where the holy Oyl is kept with great veneration, which ſerved at the Coronation of the firſt Chriſtian King *Clovis*, to cauſe him to be anointed, or as they commonly call it, *Sacré*; and from thence to conduct him to the City of *Paris*, there to reſide, as the Kings for the moſt part are accuſtomed in the principal City of the Kingdom. At the Ceremonies of the Coronation there aroſe a new ſtrife for precedency between the Princes of the Blood and the Duke of *Guiſe*. For theſe pretended to the firſt place, as they were firſt in dignity before any whoſoever; and the Duke of *Guiſe*, as firſt Peer of *France*, pretended in waiting at the Ceremony to precede every man; and though the Kings Council determined in favour of the Duke of *Guiſe*, (becauſe at the Crowning of the King, the preſence and aſſiſtance of the Peers (which are twelve, ſix Eccleſiaſticks, and ſix Secular) is requiſite; and the Princes of the Blood having not any thing to do, their attendance is not neceſſary) notwithſtanding, they being apt to take fire at every little ſpark, this was enough very much to incenſe and exaſperate them. In the mean while, the Admiral and the Prince of *Conde* had uſed all poſſible endeavour to draw the Conſtable to the protection of their party; but though *Francis* Mareſchal of *Momorancy* his eldeſt ſon, who was ſtreightly united with them, uſed great induſtry to perſwade his Father; yet nothing could move his conſtancy; being reſolved not to make himſelf in his old age head of a Faction, or an Author of new diſſentions in Religion. Wherefore the Admiral, always an Inventer of ſubtile counſels, thought with himſelf, that he would make him concur with them by ſome other way.

1561. At *Rheims* a vial is kept with the oyl whereof the firſt Chriſtian King *Clovis* was conſecrated.

The Duke of *Guiſe* as firſt Peer of *France* is declared to precede all the reſt. The Peers are twelve; ſix Eccleſiaſtical, and ſix Secular.

At *Pointoiſe*, a Town ſeven leagues from *Paris*, the Aſſembly was held of certain Deputies of the Provinces, to conſult of a means to pay the debts of the Crown, which by reaſon of the paſt Wars, amounted to a very important ſum: and although the Mareſhal of *Momorancy* preſided in this Aſſembly, yet the Admiral had ſome of his neareſt Familiars that were of it, by whoſe means he had the commodity to cauſe any thing to be propoſed there that he pleaſed. Wherefore the Brothers of *Coligni* and the Prince of *Conde* reſolved by means of their Confidents, to propoſe in the Aſſembly, That all thoſe who had received any Donations from the Kings, *Francis* the Firſt, or *Henry* the Second, ſhould be obliged to reſtore them into the publick Treaſury; making account; that in this manner, without impoſing new Taxes, they might pay the greateſt part of the debts, which within and without the Kingdom occaſioned both to the publick and particulars, ſo great trouble. They made this Propoſition, becauſe the partakers of the late Kings bounty were the *Guiſes*, the Dutcheſs *Diana*, the Mareſchal *S. Andre*, and the Conſtable: And for thoſe, they deſired to ſee the effect of it to their utter ruine; but for the Conſtable, it was deſigned to put him only in fear, and neceſſitate him to unite himſelf with the Faction of the Princes, to avoid the danger of loſing his eſtate, which was the fruits of ſo many years ſweat and labour; and ſuch was the animoſity of the Factions, that even his Nephews made themſelves the Miniſters to bring theſe ſtreights and cares upon their Uncle.

But as Counſels too ſubtile and forced uſe often to produce contrary and unthought-of ends; ſo this attempt had an effect much different from that which the contrivers thereof deſigned; for in this reſtitution of Goods, the Conſtable and *Guiſes* having an equal intereſt; *Diana*, who was joyned in affinity with both of them, having already regained a confidence with them, began, as concerned in the ſame buſineſs, to treat of it with the Conſtable: and as ſhe was a woman of great wit, well inſtructed in what ſhe was to do, ill-affected towards the Queen, and greatly terrified with the reſtitution which was ſpoken of; ſhe uſed her skill to paſs from this to other diſcourſes tending to a reconcilement with the Catholick Faction, and the Princes of *Lorain*: and from a conſult how to hinder the propoſed reſtitution, coming to inviegh againſt the Admiral; and the Prince of *Conde*, who was ſuſpected to be the Author of it, at laſt they fell to a deploration of the preſent ſtate, in which, under the rule of a Pupil King, and a ſtranger woman, things were governed with ſuch peſtiferous and deſtructive Counſels, that to promote ambition and private paſſions, the publick peace and tranquility were deſtroyed, with introducing ſhameleſly into the Kingdom thoſe hereſies, which being condemned by the Catholick Church, were ſo carefully puniſhed with ſword and fire by the juſt ſeverity of the late Kings. Nor made ſhe an end with this condoleance, but went on with the ſame efficacy: that the whole Kingdom was extreamly amazed, and very much troubled, that one of the houſe of *Momorancy*, which firſt received the

Chriſtian

1561. Christian Religion, who in the course of his past life had with great praise of Piety and Justice executed the chiefest Authority of the Kingdom, should now, as if he were charmed by the arts of a woman, suffer himself to be led by her appetite, and one of so little wisdom as the King of *Navarre*, to consent to those things which they did to the prejudice of Gods Church: That he, who had strength and power in his hands, was streightly obliged to disturb and hinder those wicked Counsels which then prevailed, and once more to lend that help with which he had oftentimes formerly supported the Crown afflicted, and Religion wholly abandoned: That he should call to mind his own Maxim, so constantly observed in the glorious actions of his youth, according to which he had ever condemned and opposed the power of strangers, which always tends to the ruine, not edifying of States; and not now suffer two women, one an Italian, the other a Navaroise, so perversly to destroy the foundations of the French Monarchy, chiefly established upon the Basis of Piety and Religion: That he should remember, this was that same *Catherine*, whose manners and disposition he had ever blamed and detested; That these were the very same Hugonots whom he had so fiercely persecuted in the Reign of *Henry* the Second; that the persons were not changed, nor the quality of things; but every one would believe that he in his old age suffered himself to be led, either by ambition, or inclinations of others, to shew himself altogether different from those Maxims by which formerly he had guided his Actions.

To these perswasive speeches, many times on purpose reiterated, and adding many other reasons, and by often visiting and sollicitation, finding that the Constable began to yield, partly through indignation conceived against his Nephew, for what concerned his estate, and partly through the hate of Calvinism; at length *Magdalen de Savoy* his wife undertook the task wholly to vanquish his resolution; who being not well pleased to see him bear such an ardent affection to his Nephews *de Coligni*, and desirous to insinuate into the same place of his favour *Honore de Savoye* Marquis of *Villars*, her Brother, she let pass no occasion whereby she might prejudice them, and advance his interest.

Nor did the practice end there; but by the means of *Diana*, the Mareshal of Saint *Andre* being also brought in; who was no less concerned in the restitution, they so wrought with him, that partly to unite himself with those who had the same interest, partly through the hate to his Nephews, and partly through the just apparence of the preservation of the Catholick Religion, to which he was ever affected, he began to incline to a friendship with the *Guises*. Which when they once perceived, they omitted not any artifice nor submission, or other means that might conduce to draw him absolutely to their party: having conceived new hopes to recover this way some part, if not all of their former power in the Government. And it so fell out, that *Diana*, Wife to the Mareshal of *Momorancy*, (who was the only obstacle to this Treaty) being sick at *Chantilly*, his affection forc'd him to leave his Father to visit her; so that he being thus removed out of the way, the friendship was finally concluded, and a league made between the Constable and the *Guises* for the preservation of the Catholick Religion, and mutual defence of their several Estates.

But when this combination was known to the Queen, she conceiving she had lost her greatest stay, and that the Princes of *Lorain*, so much increased in strength and reputation, being ill satisfied with her proceedings, would endeavour to deprive her of the Government; thought it so much more necessary to enter into a streighter union with the King of *Navarre*, to counterpoize as much as was possible, the other party: knowing she was to be very studiously vigilant to preserve things in an equality so, as neither the Kings safety, nor stability of the Government should be endangered. Wherefore the King of *Navarre* sollicting it, and the Queen not disliking that his party should increase, under the pretence to keep the Kingdom in peace during the Kings minority, to appease the people formerly exasperated, and at their first entring upon the Government to gain a plausible name of clemency; it was commended to all the Parliaments by new Edicts and Decrees, not further to molest any body for matter of Religion; and to restore the goods, houses, and possessions of all such who for suspicion of Calvinism had been formerly deprived of them. Which Edicts, though the Parliament of *Paris* opposed, and many Magistrates refused to obey them: nevertheless the Hugonots having so specious a colour as the declared will of the King, and the Regent, approved of by the Council of State, they of themselves took upon them to exercise

An Edict that no body should be molested for matters of Religion with the restitution of confiscated goods.

exerciſe a Liberty of Conſcience, encreaſing ſtill in number and force; which perhaps would have fallen out according to the Queens intention, if the multitude of the Hugonots had known how to contain themſelves within the limits of modeſty and reaſon. But they on the contrary, as thoſe uſe who are led by a popular rage, without the bridle of a formal Government, finding themſelves now ſupported and favoured, looſed from the fear of puniſhment, and laying aſide all reſpect due to Magiſtrates, by open Aſſemblies, inſolent ſpeeches, and other odious acts, provoked againſt themſelves the hate and diſdain of the Catholicks: from whence ariſing in all parts obſtinate jars, and bloody Factions, every thing was full of tumult, and all the Provinces of the Kingdom troubled with ſeditious rumours. So that contrary to the intention of thoſe that governed, and contrary to the common opinion, the remedy applied to maintain the State, and preſerve an union of peace during the Kings minority, fell out to be dangerous and deſtructive, and upon the matter, occaſioned all thoſe diſſentions and perils, which with ſo much care they ought to prevent. 1561.

The Hugonots grow inſolent towards the Catholicks.

This gave opportunity to the *Guiſes*, being encouraged and increaſed in ſtrength, to begin to oppoſe the preſent Government. Inſomuch as the Cardinal of *Lorain*, taking a time to ſpeak at the Council-Table, without bearing any regard to the Queen or the King of *Navarre* who were preſent, began to enter upon the point of Religion, and with hot words and effectual ſpeeches, to ſhew with what indignity to the moſt Chriſtian Kingdom, what ſin towards God, and with how great ſcandal to all the world, Liberty of Conſcience was permitted to thoſe, who profeſſing manifeſt hereſies already condemned in all Councils, went about ſcattering monſtrous opinions in Religion, corrupting the youth, ſeducing ſimple perſons, and in all places of the Kingdom ſtirring up the people to tumult, contempt, and Rebellion. Already the Prieſts could no longer celebrate their Sacrifices in Churches for the inſolencies of the Hugonots; already the Preachers durſt not go into the Pulpit, for the arrogancies of the Calviniſts: the Magiſtrates were no longer obeyed in their Juriſdictions, through the Rebellion of Hereticks; all places raged with diſcords, burnings and ſlaughters, through the preſumption and perverſeneſs of thoſe who aſſumed to themſelves a liberty of teaching and believing after their own faſhion: and now the moſt Chriſtian Kingdom, and firſt-born of the Church, was ready to turn Schiſmatick, to ſeparate it ſelf from the obedience of the Apoſtolick See, and the Faith of Chriſt, only to ſatisfie the capritious humours of a few ſeditious perſons. Upon this ſubject he ſo enlarged himſelf with his wonted eloquence, by which he uſed to prevail in all diſputes, that, not any of the Hugonots favourers being able to anſwer the reaſons he alledged; but the King of *Navarre* holding his peace, the Queen-mother not replying a word, and the Chancellor ſtartled and confounded; it was reſolved with great alacrity of all the Council, who were exceedingly ſcandalized at the exceſſive licenſe of the Hugonots, that forthwith all the principal Officers of the Crown ſhould aſſemble at the Parliament at *Paris*, there in the Kings preſence, to debate theſe matters, and reſolve upon ſuch remedies as were moſt neceſſary for the future. It was impoſſible to hinder them from coming to the Parliament, which was appointed upon the thirteenth day of *July*: for the King of *Navarre* durſt not openly oppoſe it, leſt by declaring himſelf a Hugonot, he ſhould gain many Enemies: and the Queen-Mother, although ſhe deſired not to ſee the Catholick party increaſe in ſtrength, yet ſhe was very much perplext in mind, and above all things apprehenſive, leſt the advancement and eſtabliſhment of hereſie ſhould be imputed to her.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* in the Kings Council inveighs againſt the Hugonots.

The Edict of *July*.

The conteſtations in the Parliament were very great: and although the Protectors of the Hugonots employed their uttermoſt endeavours to obtain them a Decree for Liberty of Conſcience, by which Declaration they pretended that theſe ſtirs and diſſentions would ceaſe; yet all was in vain. For indeed, it being clearly, not only againſt the intention and authority of the Catholick Church, but alſo contrary to the ancient cuſtoms of the Kingdom: and the Councellors of the Parliament being exaſperated by the continual complaints which were brought them from all parts, againſt the inſurrection of the Hugonots. It was with a general conſent expreſly ordered, that the Miniſters ſhould be expelled out of the Kingdom, with a prohibition to uſe any other rites or ceremonies in Religion, than what were held and taught by the Roman Church: and all Aſſemblies and Meetings forbidden in any place, either armed or unarmed, unleſs in the Catholick Churches to hear Divine Service, according to the uſual cuſtom. And to give ſome balance to the other party, the ſame Edict contained, that all Delin-

The Parliament of *Paris* expels the Hugonots out of the Kingdom.

1561. The judgment of hereſie committed to the Biſhops.

quencies found in matter of Religion before the publication thereof, ſhould be pardoned; and that for the future all accuſations or complaints of Hereſie, ſhould be brought to the Biſhops, their Vicars, or Surrogates; and the Civil Magiſtrates to be aſſiſting to them upon all occaſions; and that they ſhould not proceed againſt thoſe convict of Hereſie further than baniſhment, but abſtain from any corporal puniſhment, or effuſion of blood.

This Deliberation comprehended in a ſolemn Edict, approved, and ſubſcribed by the King, the Queen, and all the Princes and Lords of both Factions, abſolutely reſtrained the liberty of Religion, and gave heart to the Catholick party, which was not a little dejected. But the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral grieving at the depreſſion of the Hugonots, in whoſe number and force they had founded the ſtrength of their Faction, not able other ways to hinder the execution of the Edict, (which being imbraced with great affection by the Parliaments, and the greater parts of the inferiour Magiſtrates, they durſt not oppoſe) they adviſed, to procure that the Calviniſt Miniſters ſhould deſire a conference in the Kings preſence, accompanied with his Prelates, to propoſe and examine the Articles of their Doctrine; hoping by indirect ways to bring it ſo about, as again to introduce a liberty of Religion. This demand of the Hugonots was oppoſed by many of the Catholick Prelates, and in particular, by the Cardinal of *Tournon*, ſhewing that it was uſeleſs to diſpute matters of Faith with men ſo extreamly obſtinate, and who perſiſted in opinions condemned by the Holy Church; yet if they had a mind to have their reaſons heard, they might addreſs themſelves to the General Council at *Trent*, where under ſafe conduct they ſhould be permitted to propoſe and diſpute their opinions. But the Cardinal of *Lorain* was not againſt it, either moved through hope by evident reaſons to convince the Doctrine of the Hugonots, and by that means diſabuſe the Conſciences of ſimple people, or ſet on (as thoſe that were emulous ſaid) with the vanity to ſhew his learning and eloquence, and to render himſelf in ſuch a publick Aſſembly ſo much the more eminent and renowned. Howſoever his intentions were, certain it is, that he, not contradicting the Miniſters demand, drew to his opinion the other Prelates: and finally, they all conſented to the King of *Navarre*; who, being deſirous to hear a ſolemn diſpute for the ſetling of his own Conſcience, ſollicited it with great earneſtneſs in favour of the Hugonots.

Safe conducts then being ſent to the Miniſters that were retired to *Geneva*, and *Poiſſy* (a Town five leagues from *Paris*) appointed the place for the conference; beſides the King and the Court, there came thither on the Catholick party the Cardinals of *Tournon*, *Lorain*, *Bourbon*, *Armagnac*, and *Guiſe*, and with the Biſhops and Prelates of beſt eſteem, many Doctors of the *Sorbon*, and other Divines ſent for from the moſt famous Univerſities of the Kingdom. There appeared for the Hugonots *Theodore Beza*, head of all the reſt, *Peter Martyr Vermeilo*, *Francis de St. Paul*, *John Raimond*, and *John Virelle*, with many other Preachers, which came ſome from *Geneva*, ſome out of *Germany*, and other neighbouring places. There *Theodore Beza* with great flouriſhes of Rhetorick, having firſt propoſed his opinions, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* with ſtrength of Reaſon, and authority of Scripture, and of the Fathers of the holy Church, ſtrongly oppoſed him, The Council of State thought it not fit that the King, who being but young, and not yet able to judge or diſcern of the truth, ſhould come any more to the Diſputation; leſt he ſhould be infected with ſome opinions leſs exact, or leſs conformable to the Doctrines of the Catholick Church. Wherefore the Diſpute, from being publick, by degrees grew more private; and finally, after many meetings, brake off, without any concluſion or benefit at all. The Catholick party got only this advantage, that the King of *Navarre* himſelf remained little ſatisfied with the Hugonots, having diſcovered, that the Miniſters agreed not amongſt themſelves about that Doctrine which they too unanimouſly preached; but that ſome followed ſtrictly *Calvin's* Opinions, others inclined to the Doctrine of *Ecolampadius* and *Luther*; ſome adhering to the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, others to the *Auguſtan*: at which uncertainties being very much troubled, from thence forward he began to leave them, and incline to the Roman Religion.

The conference of *Poiſſy*.

The divers opinions of the Hereticks.

But the Hugonots got much greater advantage by the Conference, to which end only they deſired it: For being departed from the Diet, they divulged abroad, that they had made good their Opinions, convinced the Catholick Doctors, confounded the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and gotten licence from the King to preach. Whereupon, they

they began of their own authority to aſſemble themſelves in ſuch places as they thought moſt convenient for their purpoſe, and to celebrate their preachings publickly; and were frequented with ſuch a confluence of the Nobility, and common people, that it was not poſſible any longer to ſuppreſs or hinder them. And if the Magiſtrates moleſted them in their Congregations, or the Catholicks attempted to drive them out of their Temples, they were grown to that inſolence, that without reſpect of any authority, they took arms to right themſelves. Whereupon cruel contentions ariſing with the name of *Heretick* and *Papiſt*, the whole Kingdom was turned up-ſide down; the Magiſtrates oppoſed in their Juriſdictions, the People diſquieted, the Collectors for the Kings Revenue not ſuffered; and in the midſt of a full peace were ſeen the effects of a tacite, but deſtructive War. 1561.

Thoſe that ſate at the Helm moved with this neceſſity, and finding that the ſeverity of the Edict of *July* had rather increaſed than diminiſhed the diſorders; they called another Aſſembly of all the Eight Parliaments of the Kingdom, to conſider the ſtate of every particular Province, and by common conſent to make ſuch Ordinances as ſhould be thought moſt expedient for the ſetling of this buſineſs. Which, continually varying with the intereſt of State, and paſſions of great men, it is no marvel, though after ſo many, and ſuch divers orders taken, it became more confuſed and diſordered. For, through inconſtancy and often change, it could not receive that form which proceeds only from conſtancy and an exact obedience to the ſupreme power. There are Eight Parliaments in *France*.

This Aſſembly met in *Paris* in the beginning of the year 1562; where, the Queen conſenting (as altogether intent to balance the Factions, and not to ſuffer the one to advance, or to oppreſs the other, leſt ſhe ſhould remain a prey to that which got the ſuperiority) and moſt of the Council approving it: (partly perſwaded, that ſo great a multitude moved with the zeal of Religion could not eaſily be reſtrained; partly moved with pity, to ſee ſo much blood ſpilt unprofitably) that famous and ſo much celebrated Edict of *January* was made: by which was granted to the Hugonots a free exerciſe of their Religion, and to aſſemble at Sermons, but unarmed, without the Cities, in open places, and the Officers of the place being preſent and aſſiſtant. The Parliaments, though at firſt they refuſed to accept this Edict, and the Magiſtrates greatly oppoſed it; notwithſtanding by reiterated Orders from the King and his Council, it was at length regiſtred and publiſhed by way of proviſion, with this expreſs clauſe and condition; Until ſuch time as the general Council, or the King himſelf ſhould order it otherwiſe. 1562. The Edict of *January*.

This Edict diſmayed the Heads of the Catholick party; and not willing that the World ſhould believe they conſented to what was done, the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Conſtable, and the Cardinals, (amongſt which the Cardinal of *Tournon* was lately dead) with the Mareſhals of *Briſſac* and *S. Andre*, left the Court, already contriving how they might hinder the execution of the Edict, and oppoſe the Hugonot Faction. But becauſe they ſaw, that whilſt the King of *Navarre* ſtood united with the Regent, they had no manner of right to intermeddle with the Government of the Kingdom, and therefore whatſoever they ſhould do, would prove of no effect, they propoſed to themſelves to diſſolve that union. And knowing that the Queens thoughts and intentions were diſpoſed to continue with the ſame power till her Son came of age, they thought it more eaſie to gain the King of *Navarre*. It hindred not, but rather advanced the deſign, that they were abſent from the Court. For the buſineſs being of ſuch difficulty and length, it might be managed with the greater ſecreſie; and there came in under hand to treat it, *Hippolito d' Eſt*, Cardinal of *Ferrara*, the Popes Legate, and Don *Juan Manriquez*, Ambaſſador from the Catholick King; who being favoured by the Counſellors of that Faction, found an eaſie way to promote their intentions. The Cardinal *Hippolito d' Eſt* Legat in *France*.

The King of *Navarre* was already very much averſe to the Hugonots Religion, by reaſon of the different opinions he found amongſt thoſe of that ſect about the points in controverſie. Wherefore after the conferenee held at *Poiſſy*, having there not found the ſame conſtancy in *Theodore Beza*, and *Peter Martyr Vermeil*, which they uſed to ſhew in their Sermons when no body oppoſed them, he ſent for Doctor *Baldwin*, a man skilled in holy Scripture, and verſed in the diſputes of Religion, by whom he was wholly taken off from the *Helvetian* and *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, and perſwaded to re-unite himſelf to the Religion taught in the univerſal Catholick Church. And although he conſented to the Edict of *January*, he did it rather through an old opinion, That mens Conſciences were not to be forced, and through the perſwaſions of

1562. thoſe who affirmed that it was a means to quiet the troubles and tumults in the Kingdom, than for any particular liking of it; having already an intent to reconcile himſelf with the Church. Which inclination of his being known to many, by means of his near Counſellors of late diſpoſed to ſerve ſecretly the Catholick party, it gave courage to the Legate and the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, to enter into their propoſed Treaty.

But to accompany the Spiritual Conſiderations with profit, and Temporal Intereſts, they jointly propoſed, that repudiating Queen *Jane* his wife with a Diſpenſation from the Pope, by reaſon ſhe was manifeſtly tainted with Hereſie, the *Guiſes* ſhould obtain for him the Queen of *Scotland* their Neece, widow to *Francis* the ſecond; who, beſides her youth and excellent beauty, brought with her a Kingdom. But ſeeing that, through love to her children, he conſented not to the Divorce, they went about to introduce that Treaty ſo often proved vain, to give him with certain Conditions the Iſle of *Sardinia* for *Navarre*; knowing, that it was the trial, which, as it touched neareſt, would work moſt inwardly with him. And although the hopes thereof were almoſt quite loſt; yet the Treaty being never abſolutely broke off, the Ambaſſador *Manrique* with the wonted arts began ſo effectually to revive the thoughts and belief of it, that he was ſoon raiſed to new hopes. For, beſides the ordinary aſſurances of the Catholick Kings affection, they were gone ſo far, that they already treated the manner of the change, and the quality of the Tribute that in acknowledgment of ſuperiority he ſhould pay to the Crown of *Spain:* ſeriouſly diſputing upon the Capitulations and Articles of Agreement, as if the Treaty were meant really to be effected.

Propoſitions to exchange *Navarre* for *Sardinia.*

That which furthered the Catholicks deſign, was his natural inclination, by which he was diſpoſed to plain honeſt counſels. It availed them, that he began to diſcover the paſſions and intereſts which were covered under the vail of Chriſtian charity, and the cloke of Religion: beſides, it conduced not a little to their ends, that he was entered into a ſuſpicion, that the Admiral with his too much knowledge ſought to arrogate to himſelf ſuch an Authority, as to make the World believe he ſwayed and ruled his actions. But above all, the way was facilitated to perſwade him, in that he ſaw the whole Faction made their addreſſes to the Prince of *Conde*, admiring and exalting the boldneſs, generoſity and promptneſs which he ſhewed; and on the contrary, deſpiſed his facility and too much mildneſs. He was moved with one Conſideration more of exceeding great conſequence; ſeeing the King of *France* and his Brothers were in an age unable to have Children, by nature of a weak complexion, of little heat, and ſubject to dangerous indiſpoſitions; he was not altogether without hope, but that in a ſhort time he might attain to the Crown, which as firſt of the Blood belonged to him. In which caſe he knew, that to be a favourer and Head of the Hugonots, would be a great obſtacle unto him, and almoſt an invincible impediment. Wherefore deſiring to remove all ſuch contrarieties as might hinder him in that pretence, he inclined to join himſelf with the Catholick party, and to gain the Popes favour and the King of *Spains*, together with the forces of the beſt united and moſt powerful Faction. To all theſe reſpects being added the effectual promiſes and lively perſwaſions of the Legate, and the Ambaſſador *Manriquez*, and growing ſuſpicious of his Wives counſels, as given without meaſure to *Calvins* opinions, and naturally an enemy to thoughts of peace, he reſolved finally to enter into a league with the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe*, profeſſing by their ſpeeches, and declaring in writing that they were confederated for the defence of the Catholick Religion. But the truth was in effect beſides thoſe Conſiderations, the King of *Navarre* left that party in which he knew he was inferiour to his Brother, to join himſelf with this, which fed him with many great hopes. Likewiſe the *Guiſes* were moved with deſire of riſing again to their former reputation and greatneſs.

The union of the King of *Navarre* with the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable, which the Hugonots called the *Triumvirat.*

This was the Union which taught the French Subjects without their Kings conſent to enter into any combinations; and which with ſo many execrations and maledictions, was by the Hugonots, in reſpect of the three chief Confederates, called the *Triumvirat.*

Queen *Jane* was incredibly diſpleaſed at this ſo unexpected deliberation of her Huſband; and, not able to indure to ſee him a principal Perſecutor of that Religion which ſhe conſtantly profeſſed, and into which ſhe conceived ſhe had not only perſwaded, but abſolutely confirmed him, through diſdain thereof, ſhe reſolved to leave the Court; and thereupon carrying with her Prince *Henry* and the Princeſs *Catherine* her children, whom ſhe brought up in the *Calviniſts* Religion, ſhe retired into *Bearne*; being determined

mined to ſeparate her ſelf from the counſels and converſation of her Husband. But if Queen *Jane* were greatly afflicted at ſo ſudden and almoſt incredible a change, the Queen Regent was no leſs terrified; who, ſeeing with this union her deſigns deſtroyed, of balancing the Factions, and that equality ſo unequally broken, in which conſiſted (with ſuch jealouſie and diſcontent of the Princes) the ſecurity of the State, began greatly to fear the ruine both of her Sons Kingdom, and her own greatneſs: conceiving, that theſe reciprocal changes, and this uniting of intereſts ſo wholly different, could not be without ſome hidden deſign of great attempts, and a foundation of high hopes. 1562.

She knew the *Guiſes* had already diſcovered her arts, and that full of deſire and pretenſions, they ſought by all manner of ways poſſible to attain to the Government. It appeared to her, that the King of *Navarre* would not have been induced to leave the friendſhip of his Brother and his other adherents, to unite himſelf with thoſe who had been his bitter enemies, without great reward for ſuch a lightneſs. She well knew what power Ambition and the thirſt of Rule had over the minds of men, though never ſo juſt; and looking round about her, ſhe diſcovered her own weakneſs, and the craſie uncertain condition of her young Sons. In which Conſideration, neither believing, nor relying any longer upon the ſincerity of the King of *Navarre*, nor the profeſſions the Catholicks made, that they would not innovate any thing in the State, being full of fears and jealouſies, ſhe ſaw not where ſecurely to reſt her thoughts. Inſomuch as in the long watchings and frequent conſultations which ſhe held with her Confidents, amongſt whom the principal were the Biſhop of *Valence*, and the Chancellor *de l' Hoſpital*, at length ſhe concluded (being adviſed by them, and what more imported, being forced by neceſſity) to make a league with the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral; and fomenting their deſigns, make her ſelf a Buckler of their Forces; by this means, equalling and counterpoiſing as much as was poſſible, the power of the Factions: this reaſon prevailing among many other, that even God in the Government of the World oftentimes draws good from evil; and ſince the Hugonots had till then been the cauſe of ſo much care and trouble, it was but reaſonable to make uſe of them for the preſent, as an antidote to cure thoſe evils which with their venom were like to infect the moſt noble and moſt eſſential parts of the Kingdom.

Queen *Catherine* in oppoſition to the *Triumvirat* joins with the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral.

The Hugonots, by the publication of the Edict of *January*, being free from the fear of puniſhment, had already begun to take ſtrength and vigour; and aſſembling themſelves publickly upon all occaſions, it appeared that their number was great and conſiderable, not only for the quantity, but alſo for the quality of the perſons; inſomuch as their force was not contemptible. The Prince of *Conde* took upon him openly to be the Head of them, who, though in apparence reconciled by the Kings command with the *Guiſes*, perſevered firmly in his former deſigns, and burnt impatiently with deſire to revenge his paſt affronts upon thoſe that were his chief perſecutors. His power and boldneſs was moderated by the wiſe counſel of the Admiral of *Chaſtillon*; who, through deſire of Rule, was together with his Brothers, more ſtraightly united with the Hugonot party. Their Authority led after them, being of the ſame Faith, the Prince of *Porcien*, the Count *de la Roch-fou-cant*, Meſſieurs *de Genlis*, *de Grammont*, and *Duras*, the Count of *Montgommery*, the Baron *des Adrets*, Meſſieurs *de Bouchavane*, and *Sonbize*, and many other the principal in the Kingdom; in ſuch manner, that upon every little heat that they received from thoſe who governed, they preſently put themſelves into a poſture of defence, and boldly oppoſed the contrary Faction.

Wherefore the Queen being forced to take hold of the opportunity of this conjuncture for her own defence and her Sons, and being reduced into neceſſity to imbrace for the preſent any whatſoever dangerous party, leaving the iſſue thereof to future occurrences, began to feign that ſhe was moved with the Doctrine and reaſons of the Hugonots, and inclined to entertain their Religion. To confirm them in which opinion as much as ſhe could with outward teſtimonies, ſhe would often hear their Preachers argue and diſcourſe in her own Chamber, confer with great confidence and profeſſions of affection with the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral; and was often in diſcourſe with the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, whom (making her believe whatſoever ſhe pleaſed with her excellent diſſimulation) ſhe uſed as a means to entertain with hopes many other the principal of them. And to lead them on with open demonſtrations to a belief of her private proteſtations and practices, ſhe wrote obſcure letters of ambiguous ſenſe to the Pope, one while demanding a Council, ſuch in every point as

The Queen feigning an inclination to the Hugonots Religion.

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1562. the *Calviniſts* deſired; then licence to call a National one; ſometimes deſiring that the Communion might be adminiſtred under both Species; otherwhile requiring a diſpenſation for Prieſts to marry; now ſolliciting that Divine Service might be ſaid in the vulgar tongue; then propoſing other ſuch like things wiſhed for and preached by the Hugonots; in which ſhe knew ſo well how to diſſemble, by the help of Monſieur *de l' Iſle* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, that putting the Pope in doubt, and the Catholick party, and ſo neceſſitating them to proceed warily, leſt they ſhould finally alienate her wholly from the Roman Religion: at the ſame time ſhe won the Hugonots, making them believe that ſhe was altogether inclined to favour them, that of bitter enemies they became her greateſt friends and confidents.

Nor were the vulgar only deluded by theſe artificial diſſimulations, but the Admiral alſo, who was by nature ſo wary, and of ſuch a ſubtile wit, gave ſuch credit to them, that he was induced to give the Queen a full accompt of the number of the forces and deſigns of his Faction, of the adherents they had both within and without the Kingdom, and every other particular; She ſeeming deſirous to be informed at large, before ſhe declared her ſelf; and promiſing openly to take that party, when they were once ſo eſtabliſhed and provided with force, as ſhe ſhould not need to fear the power of the Catholicks, or the *Triumvirat*.

Thus with a ſudden, and in apparence incredible change, the King of *Navarre* went over to the Catholick party; and Queen *Catherine*, though diſſemblingly, took upon her the protection of the Hugonots. Which change, to them that knew not the true ſecret reaſons of it, appeared ſtrange and extravagant, and therefore many did then attribute it to lightneſs in the one, and womaniſh inconſtancy in the other; and many that have written ſince, aſcribe the fault alſo to the ſame cauſes, not penetrating into the hidden foundations upon which the engines of this counſel were moved.

*The End of the Second* BOOK.

THE

1562.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The THIRD BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*THe Third Book relates the Deliberation of the King of* Navarre *to drive the Prince of* Conde *(already become formidable) out of* Paris; *for this purpoſe he ſends for the other Catholick Lords to Court. The Duke of* Guiſe *makes a Journey thither, and paſſing by* Vaſſy, *lights upon an Aſſembly of Hugonots at their devotions; thereupon follows accidentally a bloody conflict; to revenge themſelves of which, the Hugonots riſe in all parts of the Kingdom. The Prince of* Conde *leaves* Paris: *The Queen, together with the King, becauſe ſhe would not be conſtrained to declare her ſelf for either party, retires to* Fountain-bleau: *On the other ſide, the Princes of each Faction endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of the perſons of the King and Queen; The Catholicks prevent the Hugonots, and lead them both to* Paris. *The Prince of* Conde, *having loſt his opportunity, takes other reſolutions; poſſeſſes himſelf of* Orleans, *and prepares for the War. The Catholick Lords under the Kings Name likewiſe raiſe an Army. Many Writings are publiſhed on each ſide. Both Armies go into the Field. The Queen-Mother avoids the War, and labours for a Peace: To this end ſhe comes to a parley with the Prince, but without ſucceſs; notwithſtanding ſhe continues to treat of an Agreement, which at length is concluded. The Prince by the perſwaſion of the reſt, repents himſelf thereof, and again takes arms: purpoſeth to aſſail the Kings Camp by night, but fails of his deſign. Forces come to the King out of* Germany, *and many thouſands of* Swiſſes: *thereupon the Prince is forced to retire unto the Walls of* Orleans; *where not being able to keep the Army together, he divides it. He ſends for ſuccours into* Germany *and* England: *conſents to give* Havre de Grace *to the Engliſh, and to receive their Gariſons in* Deipe *and* Rouen, *to obtain aids of them. The Queen is offended, and grievouſly afflicted therewith, and for that cauſe joyning with the Catholick party, cauſeth the Hugonots to be declar'd Rebels. The Kings Army takes* Blois, Tours, Poictiers *and* Bourges; *beſiegeth* Rouen *and*

*takes*

1562. *takes it: The King of* Navarre *is kill'd there. Succours come to the Prince out of* Germany, *with which being reinforced, he makes haſte to aſſault* Paris: *The King and the Queen arrive there with the Army; wherefore after many attempts, he is neceſſitated to depart. Both Armies go into* Normandy, *and there follows the Battel of* Dreux; *in which the Prince of* Conde *is taken priſoner on the one ſide, and the Conſtable on the other: The Duke of* Guiſe *being victorious, layeth ſiege to* Orleans, *and is ready to take it, but is treacherouſly ſlain by* Poltrot. *After his death follows the general Peace, and the Kings Army recovers* Havre de Grace *from the Engliſh. The King cometh out of his minority; The Queen uſeth divers arts to work the diſcontented Princes to her will; and to compaſs her ends, together with the King, makes a general viſitation of the Kingdom; cometh to a parley at* Avignon *with the Popes Miniſters, and at* Bayonne *with the Queen of* Spain. *It is agreed between the moſt Chriſtian and Catholick King, to aid each other in the ſuppreſſion of ſeditions. The Queen of* Navarre *cometh to the Court. The King maketh a reconciliation between the Families of* Chaſtillon *and* Guiſe; *but within few days after, they return to their former enmities. The Queen of* Navarre *in diſtaſte leaves the Court, and plots new miſchiefs. Divers Marriages are celebrated, but the civil diſſentions nevertheleſs continue.*

AFfairs of the State being thus on the ſudden put into another poſture, there were none ſo ſhort-ſighted who did not clearly perceive that the animoſity of the Factions would finally ſhew it ſelf in a War; and that there wanted nothing to make this cloud break into a ſtorm, but the conjuncture of ſome fit occaſion. Which (as if all things had concurred to haſten the calamity of *France*) did forthwith ariſe from a marvellous opportunity.

The King of *Navarre*, after he had declared himſelf of the Catholick party, ſtayed, as by chance, in *Paris*; which City, as it is placed in the middle of *France*, ſo in frequency of people, riches, dignity, and power, far ſurpaſſeth all others in the Kingdom. Wherefore believing that the reſt would follow the example which that ſhould give, he endeavoured very ſollicitouſly, as was agreeable to the natural inclination of the inhabitants, to hinder there the preachings and aſſemblies of the Hugonots; and in all his other actions of the Government, having ſtill a regard to that end, he hoped with the benefit of time, by degrees to take away their credit and force; and laſtly, their liberty of Religion; which maintained in being, and gave increaſe to that party.

The Prince of *Conde* was likewiſe in *Paris*; who on the contrary, encouraging the Preachers, and enlarging as much as he could their licenſe and liberty, under colour of making the Edict of *January* to be obſerved, arrogated to himſelf (more by force than reaſon) a great authority in all the affairs of State.

It appeared neceſſary to the King of *Navarre*, by ſome means or other to make the Prince of *Conde* leave *Paris*. For already, either the deſire of peace, or the envy that he bore him, had rendred him exceeding violent againſt him; and Reaſon perſwaded to preſerve that City from tumults and ſeditions upon which the Catholick party chiefly relied; but knowing his own forces were not ſufficient, or willing to communicate this reſolution with the other Confederates before any thing were put in execution, he ſent for the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable, that they might unite all their forces in the ſame place.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, after he retired from Court, dwelt at *Jainville*, a place of his own, upon the confines of *Champagne* and *Picardy*; and having received advice from the King of *Navarre*, being accompanied with the Cardinal his Brother, with a train of many Gentlemen his dependants, and two Squadrons of Lances for Guard, was upon the way to be at *Paris* at the time appointed. But the firſt day of *March* in the morning paſſing thorow a little Village in the ſame confines called *Vaſſy*, his people heard an unuſual noiſe of Bells; and having asked what was the reaſon of it, anſwer was made, That it was the hour wherein the Hugonots uſed to aſſemble at their Ser-

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mons. The Pages and Lacqueys of the Duke that went before the reſt of the com- 1562.
pany, moved with the novelty of the thing, and a curioſity to ſee, (for then thoſe Congregations began firſt to be kept in publick) with jeſting ſpeeches, and a tumult proper to ſuch kind of people, went towards the place where the Hugonots were aſſembled at their devotion; who underſtanding that the Duke of *Guiſe* was there, one of their chief perſecutors, and ſeeing a great troop come directly towards them, fearing ſome affront, or elſe indeed incenſed with the words of deriſion and contempt which the rudeneſs of thoſe people uſed againſt them, without any further conſideration, preſently fell to gather up ſtones, and began to drive back thoſe that advanced firſt towards the place of their aſſembly. By which injury the Catholick party being incenſed, (who came thither without intent of doing them harm) with no leſs inconſideration betaking themſelves to their Arms, there began a dangerous ſcuffle amongſt them. The Duke, perceiving the uproar, and deſiring to remedy it, ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, without any regard put himſelf into the midſt of them; where, whilſt he reprehended his own people, and exhorted the Hugonots to retire, he was hit with a blow of a ſtone upon the left cheek, by which, though lightly hurt, yet by reaſon he bled much, being forced to withdraw himſelf out of the hurly-burly, his followers, impatient of ſuch an indignity done to their Lord, preſently betook themſelves to their Fire-arms, and violently aſſaulting the houſe where the Hugonots retired to ſecure themſelves, killed above ſixty of them, and grievouſly wounded the Miniſter; who climbing over the tyles, ſaved himſelf in ſome of the adjoining houſes. The tumult ended, the Duke of *Guiſe* called for the Officer of the place, and began ſharply to reprehend him for ſuffering ſuch a pernicious licenſe to the prejudice of paſſengers; and he, excuſing himſelf, that he could not hinder it, by reaſon of the Edict of *January*, which tolerated the publick Aſſemblies of the Hugonots. The Duke no leſs offended at his anſwer than at the thing it ſelf, laying his hand upon his Sword, replyed in choler, *This ſhall ſoon cut the bond of that Edict, though never ſo binding.* From which words, ſpoken in the heat of anger, and not forgotten by thoſe that were preſent, many afterwards concluded, that he was the author and contriver of the enſuing War.

In a conflict between the Duke of *Guiſe* his ſervants and the Hugonots, the Duke is hurt with a ſtone.

A ſaying of the Duke of *Guiſe* which made him thought the author of the enſuing War.

But the Hugonots, exceedingly incenſed by this chance, and being no longer able to keep themſelves within the limits of patience, not contented with what they had done formerly, both in *Paris* (where killing divers men, they fired the Church of S. *Medard*) and in other Cities all over the Kingdom; now full of malice and rage, ſtirred up ſuch horrible tumults and bloody ſeditions, that, beſides the ſlaughter of men in many places, the Monaſteries were ſpoiled, Images thrown down, the Altars broken, and the Churches brutiſhly polluted. By which actions every body being much incenſed, and the people in all places running headlong to take Arms, the Heads of the Factions upon the ſame occaſion went about gathering forces, and preparing themſelves for a manifeſt War.

But the Lords of both parties ſaw plainly, that in the ſtate things were then in, they could not take Arms without running into an open Rebellion; there being no pretext or apparent colour that covered with the ſhew of Juſtice the raiſing of Arms: for the Catholick party could not oppoſe the Edict of *January* without apparently contradicting an Act of Council, and treſpaſſing againſt the Royal Power by which the Edict was authorized: and on the other ſide, the Hugonots having the Liberty of Conſcience given them which was appointed by the Edict of *January*, had no juſt cauſe to ſtir. Wherefore each Faction deſired to draw the King to their party, and ſeizing upon his perſon, by aboliſhing the Edict, or interpreting it under his Name according to their own ſenſe, to make a ſhew of having the right on their ſides; and the contrary party by oppoſing the Kings will, and reſiſting him in perſon, to run into an actual Rebellion.

The Queen-Mother, very well knowing theſe deſigns, and deſiring as much as was poſſible to preſerve her own liberty and her Sons, continued her wonted artifices ſo to balance the power of the great ones, that by their tyranny they might not prejudice the ſecurity of the State; and having left *Paris*, that ſhe might not be conſtrained by either Faction, ſhe went to *Fountain-bleau*, a houſe of pleaſure belonging to the Kings of *France*; which being a free open place, ſhe conceived ſhe could not be forced to declare her ſelf, and hoped by doubtful ſpeeches and ambiguous promiſes to maintain her credit with both parties. Where ſhe gave aſſurances to the Prince of *Conde* and

1562. the Lords of *Chaſtillon*, (who being inferiour in ſtrength to the Catholicks, were gone out of *Paris* to arm themſelves) that ſhe would join with them as ſoon as ſhe ſaw they had aſſembled ſuch a force as might be ſufficient to reſiſt the power of their Adverſaries. And on the other ſide, ſhe made proteſtations to the King of *Navarre*, the Conſtable, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, that ſhe would never forſake the Catholick party, nor ever conſent to the eſtabliſhment of the Hugonots further, than granting them a moderate liberty, ſuch as by the advice of perſons well-affected ſhould be thought neceſſary for the quiet of the State. Her Letters concerning this buſineſs were no leſs ambiguous than her words; nor did ſhe declare her ſelf more openly abroad to foreign Princes, than at home within her own Kingdom: but often changing the tenour of her diſcourſe, and varying the inſtructions ſhe gave to Ambaſſadors in other Courts, and particularly to Monſieur *de l' Iſle* who reſided in *Rome*, ſometimes reſtraining them, other while giving them a larger ſcope, ſo confounded the underſtandings of all men, that they could not conclude any thing.

But now ſhe began to have a hard task. For the heads of both parties were grown by experience to be no leſs their Crafts-maſters than her ſelf; and in ſuch a long time that ſhe had held the Regency, they had had the commodity to diſcern and underſtand her arts; beſides now that the King began to grow of age, ſhe was neceſſitated to cut off thoſe delays which ſhe formerly uſed; many things being in apparence juſt, which when He ſhould come to years to govern of himſelf, depended abſolutely upon his judgment and arbitrement; which none could oppoſe without manifeſt delinquency of Felony; whereas at the preſent every one might pretend that they did not withſtand the Kings will, but the wicked pernicious counſels of his Miniſters.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, who being of a more violent diſpoſition and reſolute nature than the reſt, abſolutely ſwayed the reſolutions of his party, having already drawn to his opinion the Conſtable and the King of *Navarre*, perſwaded them that going preſently together to Court, they ſhould bring the King and the Queen-Mother to *Paris*, and afterwards make them confirm ſuch Determinations and Edicts as ſeemed neceſſary for the preſent times; and not by expecting, run the hazard of being prevented, or ſuffer their Adverſaries to ſeize firſt upon the Kings perſon, and ſo inveſt themſelves with the authority of his Name.

The Prince of *Conde* had the ſame intention; who when he left *Paris*, retired firſt to *Meaux*, a Town in *Brye*, ten leagues diſtant from thence; and then to *la Ferte*, a place of his own, there to aſſemble his Forces. To this reſolution he was adviſed by the Admiral, invited by the promiſes of the Queen-Mother, and perhaps further induced by the deſign of the Catholicks, which was not concealed from him, (as for the moſt part in civil diſſentions, through the infidelity of Counſellors and frequency of ſpies, it is very eaſie to penetrate into the very thoughts of the Enemy.) But the Catholick Lords with their ordinary followers were ſufficient to manage this deſign; beſides, they were near to *Paris*, which depending abſolutely upon their wills, afforded ſtrength and commodity to effect it: Whereas on the other ſide, the Prince of *Conde* being far weaker than they, and but few of his men armed, he was forced to expect the other Lords and Gentlemen of his party; who being ſent for from divers Provinces of the Kingdom, were not ſpeedily to be brought together.

In the mean while the Catholicks prevented them, and on a ſudden appeared in great numbers at the Court. Yet the Queen, nothing diſmayed at their ſo unexpected coming, though doubtful that her former arts would no longer prevail, began to perſwade the King of *Navarre*, that the Princes and other Lords that came with him ſhould preſently withdraw themſelves from about the Court, that every one plainly perceived the cauſe of their coming; which was, to force her being unarmed, and the King yet in minority, to order things in the State according to their humours, and to accommodate publick affairs to paſſions and private intereſts; which was not only far from the loyalty and integrity they profeſſed, but abſolutely contrary to the peace and ſafety of the Kingdom, which they pretended only to deſire. For to ſeek new Edicts and new Inſtitutions different from thoſe which were already enacted, was no leſs than to arm the Hugonots; who, bold enough of themſelves, and ready for Inſurrections, would believe and publiſh to all the World, that they had reaſon on their ſide, if without any cauſe that Edict ſhould be recalled, which by a general conſent was confirmed and eſtabliſhed. That it was expedient, whilſt the King was under age, to avoid the neceſſity of a War, and the troubles and inconveniencies that accompanied it; leſt

beſides

beſides the univerſal prejudice, a greater brand of infamy might be fixed upon them who held the greateſt authority in the Government. That ſhe for this reaſon conſented to the Edict of *January*; for this cauſe left *Paris*; to take away all manner of pretence and opportunity for that miſchief to break out, which ſecretly crept up; and that to return to a place ſuſpected, and to diſturb the Edict already publiſhed, would be openly to foment the violence of it. Withal, ſhe put the King of *Navarre* in mind, and the other Catholick Princes, that to raiſe Civil Wars was only proper to thoſe who were either of unſetled or deſperate fortunes: and not for ſuch who, poſſeſſing riches, dignities, eſtates and honours, lived in a flouriſhing eminent condition. That the King of *Navarre* ſhould enjoy the principal Command of the whole Kingdom, which already without contradiction he was poſſeſſed of; the other Princes ſhould enjoy their eſtates, greatneſs and dignities; and ſhould comply with the people, that by enjoying, or believing they enjoyed a borrowed and momentary liberty, they might ſuffer the King without War to accompliſh the age of his majority. That nothing had been done which was not forced by an abſolute neceſſity; That only was given, which could not be ſold; and that liberty granted to the Hugonots, which of their own power they arrogated to themſelves. And therefore the Catholick Princes ſhould have patience, that this ſo frantick humour might be overcome with art and dexterity; and not wilfully be an occaſion, by anticipating the remedies before the time the King came of age, to anticipate likewiſe the diſeaſe; which would carry along with it many adverſe revolutions and dangerous accidents: and if they were poſitively reſolved to regulate the Edict, that it was to be done inſenſibly, and with opportunity of times and occaſions, and not with ſuch open violence, which would afford that commodity to the ſeditious, which they themſelves deſired and ſought after. 1562.

Perſons of deſparate fortunes, the incendiaries of Civil Wars.

Theſe reaſons effectually expreſſed and reiterated, would have moved the King of *Navarre*, and perhaps the Conſtable alſo, if the Duke of *Guiſe* had conſented thereunto. But he having ſetled his hopes, not only to recover, but enlarge his former greatneſs by the fortune of the war; and deſirous, as ancient Protector and Head of the Catholick party, that thoſe things reſolved upon without his conſent ſhould by any means whatſoever be diſturbed, and the honour of diſturbing them redound apparently upon himſelf; he peremptorily oppoſed all the Queens arguments; ſhewing, that they ſhould at the ſame time loſe their credit and reputation, when they ſuffered themſelves to be ſo eaſily deluded by a woman, who did all with a deſign to throw her ſelf into the arms of the contrary party; if fondly giving credit to her words, they ſhould ſo eaſily be perſwaded to depart from the Court; that it would too much prejudice the juſtice of their cauſe, if it ſhould appear by their own confeſſion, that the end of their coming was not for the publick good or preſervation of the Royal Authority, but through private paſſions, and particular intereſts; and that through an inward guilt, they had not purſued thoſe intentions which they purpoſed to effect. That they ought not, by the artificial perſwaſions of the Queen, to be diverted from a deliberation ſo maturely weighed, and unanimouſly reſolved upon; nor to ſatisfie her will, ſuffer thoſe things to be laid aſide which were dictated by Reaſon, preſcribed by Juſtice, and commanded by Religion; the preſervation and reſpect of which had chiefly brought them thither: But howſoever, it was no longer ſeaſonable to defer or ſpend time in diſcourſes: The Prince of *Conde* with an armed power was already at hand, the Hugonots had already joyned their forces; who without doubt would carry the King along with them, if they did not firſt take order for his ſecurity. And therefore this being a buſineſs not to be determined by perſwaſions, it was neceſſary to uſe force, and carrying away the King, leave the Queen to take that party which pleaſed her beſt. For having with them the perſon of the lawful King, and the firſt Prince of the Blood, to whom the Government naturally belonged, they needed little to regard what ſhe ſhould do with her ſelf. And it was true, that the Prince of *Conde*, joyned with the Lords of *Chaſtillon*, and the reſt of his adherents, already drew near to the Court. Wherefore the Conſtable and the King of *Navarre* being confirmed by theſe reaſons, and ſeeing it was neceſſary to break off all treaties and delays, gave the Queen perſonally to underſtand, that ſhe muſt inſtantly reſolve; for they had determined, whatever hapned, to carry the King and his Brothers with them to *Paris*, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Hugonots, who, (as they had advertiſement) were not far off; that it was not fit for them to leave their lawful Prince a prey to Hereticks, who deſired nothing more than to have him a priſoner, that they might under

1562. his name ſubvert the foundations of the Kingdom: That there was now no time to be loſt, nor means to put it off; that they would diſpoſe of the King as their allegiance and the common good required. For what concerned her ſelf, that they would not determine any thing, but, as it was their duty, leave her free to do what ſhe pleaſed.

Though this intimation were peremptory and ſudden, yet the Queen was not at all ſurpriſed therewith, having long foreſeen it, and deſigned what in ſuch a caſe would be fitteſt to do. Wherefore being neceſſitated to declare her ſelf, though it were againſt her will, and ſhe foreſaw War would quickly enſue thereupon; ſhe would not by any means ſeparate her ſelf from the Catholick party; not only becauſe reaſon and juſtice ſo adviſed, but becauſe ſhe likewiſe conceived, that both her own ſafety and her Sons depended upon their ſtrength. So that with her wonted vivacity of courage preſently reſolving, ſhe returned anſwer to the King of *Navarre* and the Conſtable; That ſhe was no leſs a Catholick, nor leſs ſollicitous of the general good of that Religion, than any other whatſoever; that for this time ſhe would rather believe the counſel of others, than her own judgment; and ſince all agreed that it was beſt to go, ſhe was ready to ſatisfie them. And ſo without any other reply, ſhe preſently put her ſelf in a readineſs to depart: notwithſtandig, at the ſame time ſhe diſpatched Letters to the Prince of *Conde*, lamenting that ſhe could not diſcharge the promiſe ſhe had made to put both the Kings Perſon and her own into their hands; for the Catholicks coming firſt, had carried them by force to *Paris*; but that they ſhould not loſe their courage, neglect their care for the preſervation of the Crown, nor ſuffer their enemies to arrogate to themſelves the abſolute power in the Government. So being mounted on horſeback with the King and her other Sons, and compaſſed about with the Catholick Lords, who omitted no obſervance or demonſtrations of honour that might appeaſe her, they went that night to *Melun*, the next day to the *Bois de Vincennes*, and with the ſame ſpeed the morning after to *Paris*.

The Queen is forced to declare her ſelf for the Catholicks, and at the ſame time maintains hopes in the Hugonots.

*Charles* the IX. wept at his reſtraint.

It is moſt certain, that the young King was ſeen that day by many to weep, being perſwaded that the Catholick Lords reſtrained him of his liberty; and that the Queen-Mother being diſcontented that her wonted arts prevailed not, and foreſeeing the miſchiefs of the future War, ſeemed perplexed in mind, and ſpake not a word to any body; of which the Duke of *Guiſe* making little account, was heard to ſay publickly, *That the good is always good, whether it proceed from love or force.* But the Prince of *Conde* having received this news upon the way, and finding that he was either prevented by the Catholicks, or deluded by the Queen, he preſently ſtopt his horſe, and ſtood ſtill a good while, doubtful what reſolution to take; all thoſe future troubles that were like to enſue repreſenting themſelves before him with a face of terrour. But the Admiral, who was ſomewhat behind, overtaking him, they conferred a little together, and after a deep ſigh, the Prince ſaid, We are gone ſo far forward, that we muſt either drink or be drowned; and without any further diſpute, taking another way, he went with great ſpeed towards *Orleans*, which he had formerly deſigned to poſſeſs himſelf of.

*Orleans* is one of the principal Cities of the Kingdom, ſome thirty leagues diſtant from *Paris*, of a large compaſs, abundance in proviſion, commodious for buildings, and very populous; which being in the Province of *Beauſſe*, ſtands as it were the Navel of the Kingdom, upon the River of *Loire*, anciently called *Ligeris*, a great Navigable River; which paſſing thorow many Provinces, at length runs into the Britiſh Sea. This City, by reaſon of the Navigation, the fertility of the Soil, the eminency of it, and the mutual commerce it had with many other places, ſeemed to the Prince very convenient for a ſtanding quarter, and to oppoſe againſt *Paris*, by making it the principal ſeat for their Faction. For which reaſons having many months before caſt his thoughts upon it, he had taken pains to hold ſecret intelligence with ſome of the Citizens which were of *Calvins* Religion, and by their means to raiſe a great party of the youth, who were of unquiet ſpirits, factious, and inclined to a deſire of Novelties. So that the diſpoſition of the Inhabitants anſwering the inſtigation of the complices, already a great part of the people were willing to take Arms. And that things might be done in due order, the Prince had the day before ſent Monſieur *de Andelotte* to the City, who entring thereinto ſecretly, (at the ſame time that the Prince ſeiſed upon the Court) ſhould endeavour likewiſe to make himſelf Maſter of the Town. But though it ſo fell out, that the Prince could not arrive at Court;

*Andelotte*

*Andelotte* not knowing what had happened, armed three hundred of his followers, and at the day appointed ſuddenly ſeiſed on S. *John's* Gate. Upon which accident Monſieur *de Monterau*, Governour of the City, getting together ſome few men of Monſieur *de Sipierres* company, who by chance were then thereabouts, very hotly aſſaulted the Conſpirators, with no little hope that they ſhould be able to drive them away, and recover the entrance of the Gate, where they had not had time enough to fortifie themſelves; ſo that joyning in a bloody fight, after a conflict of many hours, *Andelotte* at length began to yield to the multitude of the Catholicks, who ran thither armed from all the parts of the Town, and had ſurely received an affront, if he had not been opportunely aſſiſted by an unexpected ſuccour. For the Prince of *Conde*, not finding the Court at *Fountain-bleau*, and therefore deſiſting from his voyage, returned much ſooner than he thought, and marching with great diligence, approached near to *Orleans* at the ſame time that the fight began; and knowing it to be very violent by the continual ſhot and inceſſant ringing of Bells, which might be heard many miles off, he preſently gallopped with all his Cavalry towards the City to ſuccour his Confederates, who were already in great danger of being defeated. 1562.

They were more than three thouſand horſe, and ran headlong with ſuch fury, that the peaſants, though aſtoniſhed with the unuſual ſpectacle of civil arms, in the midſt of their fright and wonder could not forbear to laugh, ſeeing here a horſe fall, there a man tumbled over, and nevertheleſs without regarding any accident, run furiouſly one over another as faſt as their horſes could go, upon a deſign which no body knew but themſelves. But this haſte, ſo ridiculous to the Spectators, had very good ſucceſs to the Princes intentions. For coming with ſuch a powerful ſuccour, and in ſo fit an opportunity of time, the Governour being driven away, and thoſe that reſiſted ſuppreſſed; at laſt the Town, which was of exceeding conſequence, was reduced into his power, and by the Authority of the Commanders preſerved from pillage. But the Churches eſcaped not the fury of the Hugonot-Souldiers, who with bruitiſh examples of barbarous ſavageneſs, laid them all waſte and deſolate.

*Orleans* made the ſeat of the Hugonot Faction.

Thus the Prince having taken *Orleans*, and made it the ſeat of his Faction, he began to think upon War. And firſt having appointed a Council of the principal Lords and Commanders, he adviſed with them of the means to draw as many Towns and Provinces to his Party as was poſſible, and to get together ſuch a ſum of money as might defray the expences, which at the beginning of a War are ever very great.

The Catholick party were intent upon the ſame ends; who being come to *Paris* with the young King and the Queen, held frequent conſultations how beſt to order the affairs for their own advantage: in which Councils the Duke of *Guiſe* openly declared, that he thought it moſt expedient to proceed to a War with the Hugonots, ſo to extinguiſh the fire before it burſt out into a conſuming flame, and to take away the roots of that growing evil. On the contrary, the Chancellor *de l' Hoſpital*, ſecretly ſet on by the Queen, propoſing many difficulties, and raiſing doubts and impediments upon every thing, perſwaded an agreement; by which both parties abſenting themſelves from the Court, the power of the Government ſhould be left free and quiet to the Queen and the King of *Navarre*. But being ſharply reproved by the Conſtable, and after the news of the revolt of *Orleans*, injuriouſly treated, under pretence of being a Gown-man, he was excluded from the Council, that was now called the Council of War; by which means alſo a principal inſtrument was taken from the Queen, who having no power left in that Council, for there were newly admitted to it *Claud* Marqueſs *de Roiſy*, *Honore* Marqueſs *Villars*, *Louis de Lanſac*, Monſieur *de Cars*, the Biſhop of *Auxerre*, the Sieurs *de Maugiron*, and *la Broſſe*, (who all abſolutely depended upon the Conſtable and the *Guiſes*) every thing on that ſide likewiſe tended to the raiſing of Arms.

The Prince of *Conde's* Manifeſt.

At the firſt (as it ever falleth out) their pens were more active than their ſwords. For the Prince of *Conde* and his adherents, willing to juſtifie in writing the cauſe of their taking Arms, publiſhed certain Manifeſts and Letters in print, directed to the King, the Court of Parliament in *Paris*, the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and to other Chriſtian Princes; in which very largely, but no leſs artificially dilating themſelves, they concluded, that they had taken Arms to ſet the King at liberty, and the Queen his Mother, who by the Tyrannical power of the Catholick Lords were kept priſoners; and to cauſe obedience to be rendred in all parts of the Kingdom to his

Majeſties

1562. Majeſties Edicts, which by the violence of certain men, that arrogate to themſelves a greater Authority in the Government than of right belonged to them, were impiouſly deſpiſed and trodden under foot; and therefore that they were ready preſently to lay down their Arms, if the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Conſtable, and the Mareſhal *de St. Andre*, retiring themſelves from the Court, would leave the King and the Queen in a free place, in their own power; and that liberty of Religion might be equally tolerated and maintained in all parts of the Kingdom.

The Parliament of *Paris* Anſwer to the Princes Manifeſt.

The Parliament at *Paris* anſwered their Manifeſt, and the Letters, ſhewing, that the pretence was vain, by which they ſought to juſtifie their taking of Arms, which they had immediately raiſed againſt the Kings Perſon and his Royal Authority: for ſo far was the King or the Queen his Mother from being deprived of liberty, or retained in priſon by the Conſtable and the *Guiſes*, that on the contrary they were in the capital City of the Kingdom, where the chief Parliament reſided; and in which commanded as Governour *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Brother to the Prince of *Conde*, and one of the Princes of the Blood. That the King of *Navarre*, Brother alſo to the ſame Prince of *Conde*, held the chief place in the Government, and the Queen-Mother the charge of the Regency; both choſen by the Council, according to the ancient cuſtom, and confirmed by the conſent of the States-General of the Kingdom: that every day they aſſembled the Council compoſed of eminent perſons to conſult of fit remedies for the preſent evils; that the Edict of *January* was intirely obſerved with full Liberty of Conſcience to thoſe of the pretended reformed Religion, (notwithſtanding it depended wholly upon the Kings will to call in thoſe Edicts whenſoever he ſhould think fit, eſpecially that of *January*, made by way of proviſion, and which was accepted by the Parliaments only for a time;) That the Hugonots had of themſelves violated the Edict made in their favour; becauſe, contrary to the form thereof, they went to their aſſemblies armed, without the aſſiſtance of the Kings Officers, conditions expreſly mentioned in the ſame. And beſides this raſhneſs, they were likewiſe ſo bold, as in all places to raiſe tumults, and commit diſorders and ſlaughters. Wherefore their rebellion could not be excuſed with ſo ſlight a pretence, ſeeing many Towns were openly ſeized upon, Souldiers raiſed, the Munition conſumed, Artillery caſt, Moneys coyned, the publick Revenues ſpent, Churches thrown down, the Monaſteries laid deſolate, and infinite other proceedings, no way agreeing to the Duty of Subjects, but expreſs acts of Felony and Rebellion. Wherefore they exhorted the Prince of *Conde*, that following the example of his Anceſtors, he ſhould return to the King, abandoning the ſociety of Hereticks and factious perſons, and not ſo cruelly wound the boſom of his own Country; the welfare whereof, as Prince of the Blood, he was obliged to maintain with the hazard of his own perſon, even to the laſt period of his life.

The Conſtable likewiſe and the *Guiſes* made an Anſwer in their own behalf; and after a long narration of the ſervices they had done to the Crown, concluded, that they were ready not only to depart from the Court, but to enter into a voluntary exile, upon condition that the Arms taken up againſt his Majeſty might be laid down, the places kept againſt him delivered up, the Churches that were ruined reſtored, the Catholick Religion preſerved, and an intire obedience rendred to the lawful King under the Government of the King of *Navarre*, and the Regency of the Queen-Mother.

The Anſwer of the King and Queen.

After which Declarations paſt on both ſides, the King and the Queen together, by the advice of the Council, made another Anſwer to the Prince of *Conde*, and cauſed it to be divulged in print, in which they avowed, That they were in full liberty, and that they had voluntarily removed the Court to *Paris*, to remain there in great ſecurity, and to adviſe with the Officers of the Crown, how to remedy the preſent diſorders: That they were ready to continue the obſervation of the Edict of *January*, and to ſee it ſhould be entirely kept, until ſuch time as the King came of Age: And ſince the Catholick Princes, whoſe loyalty and vertue was ſufficiently known to all *France*, were contented to retire themſelves from Court: That the Prince of *Conde* nor his Adherents had any manner of excuſe longer to keep at ſuch a diſtance, and in Arms; but that they ought preſently to put both themſelves and the places they poſſeſſed into obedience of the King; which if they did, beſides a pardon for what was paſt, they ſhould be well lookt upon by their Majeſties as good Subjects, and punctually maintained in all their priviledges and degrees.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the Queen endeavoured to bring it ſo to paſs, that both parties (to colour their proceedings, and not to ſeem to condemn themſelves of any violence to the Kings perſon) ſhould retire to their ſeveral charges, and leave the Government of the State to her and the King of *Navarre*; who being of a facile nature, was a fit inſtrument for the eſtabliſhment of her Sons in the Kingdom. But after much Treating, and many Declarations on both ſides, all was reduced to this point, That neither of them would be the firſt to disband their forces; and upon this cavil they made large Propoſitions in writing, without concluding any thing in fact. 1562.

At the ſame time that theſe Manifeſts were publiſhed to the world, and every man buſie about the Treaty, the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral uſed means to draw all the greateſt Towns, and thoſe that lay moſt convenient for them, to their party. To which purpoſe, having ſcattered men of underſtanding and truſt in the ſeveral Provinces, they with divers policies, by the aſſiſtance of the Hugonots, and other ſeditious perſons which abounded in all parts of the Kingdom, eaſily made themſelves Maſters of the principal Cities, and other ſtrong places of greateſt conſequence. With theſe practices revolted the City of *Rouen*, (the reſidence of the Parliament of *Normandy*) and in the ſame Province *Diepe* and *Havre de Grace*, ſituated upon the Ocean on that Coaſt that looks toward *England*. In *Poictou* and *Touraine*, with the like skill they got into their hands *Angiers*, *Blois*, *Poictiers*, *Tours*, and *Vendoſme*. In *Daulphine*, *Valence*; and at laſt, after many attempts, the City of *Lyons* alſo; and in *Gaſcoigne*, *Guienne*, and *Languedoc*, where the Hugonots ſwarmed moſt; except *Burdeaux*, *Thoulouſe*, and ſome other Fortreſſes, they had in a manner poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Cities and walled Towns. By which Inſurrections all *France* being in an uproar, and not only the Provinces, but private houſes and families divided amongſt themſelves, there enſued ſuch miſerable accidents, that every place afforded ſpectacles of deſolation, fire, rapine and bloodſhed.

And becauſe the Contributions they had from the Hugonots, (though they gave very largely) and their own private Revenues, with the pillage they had in thoſe Towns that they took, was not ſufficient to maintain the charge of the War; the Prince of *Conde* made all the Gold and Silver in the Churches to be brought to him, and coyned it publickly into money, which was no little help to them. For the ancient piety of that Nation had in every place adorned the reliques, and filled the Temples with no ſmall Treaſure. Nor was their diligence leſs to provide Munition and Artillery. For in the Towns which they ſurpriſed, and particularly in *Tours*, having found a great quantity, they ſent it to *Orleans* to ſupply their preſent occaſions; where, having appointed the Convent of Franciſcan Fryars for a Magazine, they kept there in very good order all the Stores and Proviſions that they made with exceeding induſtry for the future.

The Prince of *Conde* coyns the Plate belonging to Churches.

But the Governours of the Kingdom having reſolved and determined a War, with no leſs diligence brought the Catholick Army together near about *Paris*; where entering into conſultation what they ſhould do concerning the Edict of *January*, though there was ſome difference in their opinions, they all concluded it ſhould be obſerved: partly, not more to ſharpen the humours already too much ſtirred; and partly, not to add ſtrength or colour to the Hugonots cauſe; who, whilſt the Edict was maintained, had no manner of reaſonable pretence to take Arms.

But becauſe the People of *Paris* reverencing (as in the greateſt troubles they have ever done) the Catholick Religion, inſtantly deſired that no Congregations of the Hugonots might be permitted amongſt them; First to take away an occaſion of tumults and dangers in the principal City, which was the foundation of the Kings party, it being beſides very indecent that where his Majeſty remained in Perſon any other Religion ſhould be exerciſed but that which he himſelf profeſſed: Theſe reaſons laid together, they reſolved the Edict of *January* in all things elſe remaining in force, to forbid the Hugonots to keep any Aſſemblies in the City of *Paris*, or the Precincts thereof; or in any other place where the Court reſided, where none could live that were not conformable to the Rites of the Catholick Religion obſerved in the Roman Church.

An Edict publiſhed at the inſtance of the Pariſians to forbid the Hugonot Aſſemblies in their City, or near the Court.

After the publication of this Decree, followed other Proviſions in purſuance of the Civil and Military affairs. And the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who loved not to engage himſelf in troubleſome buſineſſes, having in theſe times of difficulty ſurrendred up the Government of *Paris*, they conferred it upon the Mareſhal of *Briſſac*; that they might be

1562. be ſure to have in the power of one they truſted the moſt potent City in all *France*; which alone gave more aſſiſtance to that party it favoured, than half the reſt of the Kingdom could. They appointed other Commanders in divers other parts to withſtand the attempts of the Hugonots; amongſt which the principal were *Claude* Duke of *Aumale* in the Province of *Normady*; *Louis de Bourbon* Duke of *Monpenſier* in *Touraine*; and in *Gaſcoigne*, *Blaiſe*, *Sieur de Monluc*, a man famous for wit and valour, and much more for experience in the War.

But having already a great power on foot, thoſe who commanded in chief reſolved to go directly towards *Orleans*, where the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral gathered their Forces, and not to give them longer time for the proviſions that they made, but to endeavour to ſuppreſs them before they encreaſed in ſtrength or reputation. The Kings Army conſiſted of four thouſand Horſe, the chief Gentry in the Kingdom, and ſix thouſand French Foot, all choſen men and old Souldiers; and the Swiſſes were expected, who being hired by the King, were already advanced to the confines of *Burgundy*. With this number of men, and a convenient train of Artillery, the Army moved towards *Orleans*, commanded by the King of *Navarre* with the Title of the Kings Lieutenant-General; but with the conſent and authority of the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable, who for their experience and age had the chief credit in directing buſineſſes of weight or conſequence.

The Kings Army moves towards *Orleans*.

On the other ſide, the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, by whoſe advice all things were governed, having already aſſembled ſuch a force as was able to encounter with the Kings Army, reſolved to iſſue out of *Orleans*, and to take the field likewiſe; judging it the beſt way to uphold their reputation, which in all, but eſpecially in Civil Wars, is always of great moment to maintain and encreaſe a Faction; there being an infinite number of men that follow the rumour of fame, and proſperity of fortune. Being marched forth into the field with three thouſand Horſe and ſeven thouſand Foot, they quartered themſelves in a place naturally ſtrong, ſome four leagues diſtant from the City, juſt upon the great Road; that ſo they might cut off the Catholicks paſſage to the Town, and with greater facility have proviſions brought them in from the Country about.

But whilſt the Armies thus approached one another, the Queen was greatly troubled in mind to ſee things at laſt break out into a War, in which ſhe doubted ſhe ſhould certainly remain a prey, whoſoever obtained the Victory; believing that ſhe could no more truſt her ſelf to one party, than be ſecure of the other. For though the Catholick Lords made ſhew of paying her a great reſpect, and ſeemed to promiſe, ſhe ſhould continue her wonted authority of Regent; ſhe feared not without good ground, that the contrary party once ſuppreſſed, and the obſtacle taken away that contained them within the bounds of reaſon, they would make but little accompt of a Pupil King, or a woman that was a ſtranger, and prefer their own greatneſs before all other reſpects. And for the Prince of *Conde*, who, beſides his reſtleſs diſpoſition and vaſt thoughts that wholly ſwayed him, thought himſelf alſo injured and betrayed by her, ſhe could by no means depend upon his ſupport. Beſides, the exaltation of the Hugonots ſhe knew would abſolutely ſubvert the State, and kindle ſuch a laſting fire, that the miſerable Country of *France* would never be able fully to recover the quiet it formerly enjoyed. Wherefore deſiring a peace, and that things ſhould remain in machination, and (as they call them) * *Brigues* of the Court, without breaking out into the violence of Arms, ſhe endeavoured to promote propoſitions of accommodation by means of the Biſhop of *Valence*; who at laſt, after many difficulties, concluded a parley between her and the Prince of *Conde*, in a place equally diſtant from both Armies; that by diſcourſing together they might find a means to ſecure and ſatisfie both parties. To which purpoſe the Queen, being come to the Catholick Camp, accompanied with the King of *Navarre* and Monſieur *d' Anville* the Conſtables Son, ſhe advanced as far as *Toury*, (a place about ten leagues from *Orleans*) whither came the Prince of *Conde* with the Admiral and the Cardinal his Brother, who called himſelf Count *de Beauvais*, (of which place he held the Biſhoprick though he had changed his Religion.) Where meeting altogether in an open Campaigne which on every ſide extended as far as they could diſcern, the Prince and the Queen withdrew themſelves from the company, and diſcourſed very long together; but what paſſed between them was unknown; only it is certain, that they parted without concluding any thing; and each of them retired to their own company in great haſte. This meeting ſatisfied thoſe who doubted it, that the

* *Brigues* a French word ſignifying factions, or contentions.

The Cardinal of *Chaſtillon* changing his Religion, calleth himſelf Count of *Beauvais*.

The Parley between the Queen-Mother and the Prince of *Conde*.

the Queen only diſſembling with the Hugonots for her own ends, would not in any wiſe forſake the Catholicks. For ſhe was there in ſuch a place, that ſhe might have gone away with the Prince if ſhe had pleas'd; who perhaps came to the parley principally through ſuch a hope. 1562.

Now the Prince being returned to his Army, (as if he had received courage from the Treaty he had with the Queen, or elſe to encreaſe the jealouſies which the Catholicks generally had of her) propoſed much higher Conditions than formerly, and ſo exorbitant, that they moved a diſdain even in the King himſelf, though yet in ſuch an age that he referred all things to the arbitrement of his Council. For he demanded, That the *Guiſes* and the Conſtable ſhould depart out of the Kingdom; That the Hugonots might return again to live in the Cities, and have Churches publickly appointed them; That all the Edicts ſhould be nullified that were made ſince the Duke of *Guiſe* returned to the Court; That he might hold the Towns he was poſſeſſed of, till the King was out of his minority, and command in them as free abſolute Lord; That the Popes Legat ſhould be commanded to leave the Kingdom, that the Hugonots might be capable of all charges and publick Magiſtracies; That the Emperour, the Catholick King, the Queen of *England*, the Republick of *Venice*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Commonalty of the Swiſſes, ſhould give ſecurity, That neither the Duke of *Guiſe*, nor the Conſtable, ſhould return into the Kingdom, or raiſe any Army, until ſuch time as the King came to the age of two and twenty years. Every man being incenſed with theſe Conditions, the Governours of the Kingdom reſolved to ſend Monſieur *de Freſne*, one of the Kings Secretaries, to *Eſtampes* in the mid-way between *Orleans* and *Paris*, who with a publick Proclamation ſhould warn the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, *Andelot*, and the reſt of their Adherents, within ten days after to lay down their Arms, to deliver up the Towns they poſſeſſed, and to retire privately to their own houſes: which if they did, they ſhould obtain pardon and remiſſion for all that was paſt; but if they refuſed to obey this his Majeſties expreſs Command, it being an immediate Act of Treaſon and Rebellion, they ſhould be deprived of their eſtates and dignities, and proceeded againſt as Rebels. Which being publiſhed accordingly, it was ſo far from working any thing upon the Hugonots, that on the contrary, either through deſperation or diſdain become more reſolute, they united themſelves by a publick Contract in a perpetual Confederacy, to deliver as they ſaid, the King, the Queen, and the Kingdom from the violence of their oppreſſors; and to cauſe obedience to be rendered to his Majeſties Edicts through all his Dominions. They declared the Prince of *Conde* Head of this Confederacy, and with their wonted liberty publiſhed in print a long Narration of the cauſes and end of this their Union.

The Prince of *Conde*'s demands in favour of himſelf and the Hugonots.

The Kings Edict ſlighted by the Hugonots.

The Queen for all this, ſtill employed her thoughts how to compaſs an agreement. For beſides the hopes ſhe had to effect it, nothing was more advantageous to her then gaining of time; and by delaying the War, to keep things from coming to an iſſue, till her Son was out of his Minority, which they pretended was at fourteen years of age. She began already to endeavour by her uſual arts to regain the Conſtable and the *Guiſes*; and having given evident proof of her reſolution to perſevere in the Catholick Religion, and continue conſtant to that party, ſince when ſhe was even in the Hugonots Camp ſhe returned notwithſtanding back to them again; ſhe had in great part removed and purged her ſelf of thoſe jealouſies which they were wont to have of her inclinations; inſomuch as, beſides that they left her a more abſolute power in the Government, they ſought by complying, to make her approve of their proceedings. Wherefore having more hope than ever to find ſome means of accommodation, ſhe began to deal with the Catholick Lords under the pretence of Juſtice, and deteſtation of a Civil War; that to ſhame the Hugonots, and for their own honour, they ſhould be content to depart firſt from the Court, as they were the firſt to come thither. She laid before them, how greatly it would commend their ſincerity, by one action only to extinguiſh that horrible flame which was now kindling in every part of the Kingdom to conſume all things both ſacred or prophane. That they would merit much more of their Country by this ſo pious a reſolution, than by all their former exploits put together, though never ſo glorious and beneficial. For this would bring ſafety, whereas thoſe added only greatneſs and reputation. She told them further, that to abſent themſelves from the Court, was but a ceremony of a few months: for, if nothing happened before to make it neceſſary to call them back again, when the King came to age, which would be ſhortly, he would ſoon ſend for them; and in the

The Queen perſwadeth the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable, and the Mareſhal *de S. André*, to leave the Court, which they promiſe.

1562. mean while, this ſhort time of abſence might be employed to their honour and advantage. For every one retiring to their ſeveral Governments with which they were intruſted, they might with induſtry keep the Provinces in peace, and purge thoſe that moſt needed it, of the peſtiferous humours that infected them; whereas ſtaying at the Court, they ſerved for nothing elſe but to foment and ſtir up a War. She aſſured them, ſhe would never change reſolution in matters of Religion, or the Kings Education; that never any thing of importance ſhould be determined without their privity; that the preſent Inſurrections once quieted, ſhe would take care, that with the firſt poſſible opportunity they ſhould be recalled; and that in all times they ſhould find her gratitude anſwerable to ſo great a benefit, if really they reſolved to perform what ſhe propoſed. With which kind of practiſes ſhe ſo far prevailed, that at the laſt the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Conſtable, and the Mareſhal *de St. Andre*, were contented to depart firſt from the Court and the Army; provided, that the Prince of *Conde* came preſently without Arms to render himſelf to the Queens obedience, and to follow ſuch orders as ſhe ſhould think moſt expedient for the welfare of the Kingdom: which though every one of them thought a very hard condition, yet ſuch was the general applauſe that reſulted from thence to their own augmentation and glory, and ſo firm the belief, that the Prince would never be perſwaded to return to the Court unarmed as a private perſon, that they were induced to conſent to it; believing withal perhaps, that there could not want pretences and interpretations ſpeedily to licence their return; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the King of *Navarre*, being then ſo exaſperated that they thought him irreconcileable with his Brother, remaining ſtill an aſſiſtant in the Government, they were in a manner ſecure, that the form of things would not be changed, and that they ſhould have the ſame power in their abſence as if they were preſent.

But the Queen having gotten this promiſe from them, and keeping it very ſecretly to her ſelf, forthwith ſent the Biſhop of *Valence*, and *Rubertette*, one of the Secretaries of State to the Prince of *Conde*, who having given them this anſwer, That if the Catholick Lords departed firſt, he would not only lay down his Arms and return into obedience to the Queen; but alſo for the more ſecurity, forthwith leave the Kingdom; and often reiterating, and making large profeſſions of the ſame; though with an aſſured opinion, that thoſe Lords would neither for their reputation nor ſafety be willing firſt to lay down their Arms and depart: The Biſhop and *Rubertette* praiſing his readineſs, deſiring he would write what he had ſaid to the Queen; ſhewing, that whereas for the preſent he was held for the Author of theſe ſcandals, and of the War, by this free offer he would ſilence his enemies, and confound the Faction of the *Guiſes*; juſtifying to all the World the candour of his intentions and counſels. The Prince, perſwaded by the fair apparence of the propoſition, and with hope to add to his force a ſhew of reaſon, (which is always of very great moment among the people) was content to write to the Queen, That when the Catholick Lords were retired to their houſes without either Arms or command; he, with the principal of his Adherents, for the Kings ſatisfaction, and the quiet of the State, willingly promiſed to go out of the Kingdom, and never to return till he were recalled by the general conſent of them that governed.

The Queen having received this ratification written and ſubſcribed by the Princes own hand, inſtantly advertiſed the Catholick Lords, that they ſhould forthwith retire themſelves, only with their ordinary followers; who readily obeying her command, having put over their men to the King of *Navarre*, went to *Chaſteau Dame*, with a full intention to be gone as ſoon as the Prince on that part began to perform his promiſes. The Lords having left the Camp on a ſudden, the Queen without any delay, the very ſame night let the Prince know by *Rubertette*, that the Catholick Lords being already departed from the Army, and their commands, it remained that he with the ſame readineſs and ſincerity ſhould perform what he had ſo aſſuredly promiſed under his own hand-writing.

The Queen having it under the Princes hand that he would retire himſelf, the Catholick Lords leave the Camp.

This unexpected reſolution not a little perplext the Hugonots, having never imagined that the Conſtable and the *Guiſes* would yield to this condition. Wherefore repenting themſelves that the Prince through his facility had promiſed ſo much, they began to conſult how they might break off and hinder the Agreement. The Admiral making little account of outward appearance, and deeming that after a Victory all things ſeemed juſt, and juſtice by an overthrow would loſe her authority; adviſed preſently

preſently to ſend back *Rubertette*, and without further ceremony to break off the Treaty. *Andelot*, according to his manner, mingling brags with his reaſons, wiſhed that he were ſo near the Catholicks, that he might come to try it out by force; and it ſhould ſoon appear whom it concerned moſt in reaſon to abandon their Country; it being againſt all right, that ſo many gallant men, who voluntarily had taken Arms, ſhould be deluded by the crafty Treaties of the Queen and the Catholicks It appeared hard to the Prince to gain-ſay his word, and hardeſt of all to relinquiſh his command in the Army, and at one Treaty to fall from ſuch great hopes, to a neceſſity of forſaking his Country, without knowing whither to retreat. 1562.

The Hugonot Miniſters interpoſing their Divinity with matters of State, alledged, that the Prince having undertaken the maintenance of thoſe who had imbraced the purity, as they called it, of the Goſpel, and made himſelf by Oath Protector of Gods Word; No obligation afterwards could be of force to prejudice his former oath or promiſe. Others added to this reaſon, that the Queen having at the beginning failed of her word to the Prince, when ſhe promiſed to bring over the King to his party, he likewiſe was not bound by any promiſe made to her, who firſt committed ſuch a manifeſt breach of Faith. Amongſt which, rather tumultuous than well directed opinions, applying themſelves (as in matters of difficulty it is uſual) to a middle way, it was at laſt, not without much diſpute, determined, that the Prince ſhould go to the Queen, making ſhew to perform his promiſe, and confirm a peace; but that the morning after, the Admiral and the other Hugonot Lords coming on a ſudden, ſhould take him away ſuddenly as by force, and carrying him back to the Camp; giving out that he had not violated his promiſe, but that he was conſtrained by thoſe of his party to obſerve his firſt Oath, and the confederacy a little before ſo ſolemnly contracted. That which made them think of this deceit, was the great commodity of putting it in execution; for the Queen, to meet with the Prince, being come to *Talſy*, ſix miles from the Army, where ſhe was accompanied only with her ordinary Guards, and the Courtiers, the Prince could not fear the being ſtayed by force; and the other Lords of his party might go thither and return, without any danger or impediment.

So it was punctually effected as they had reſolved amongſt themſelves. For the Prince, accompanied with ſome few attendants, went to the Queen, with great ſhew of humiliation, and was received with much familiarity. But whilſt he raiſed difficulties, and interpoſed delays in ſubſcribing the condition, which by order from the King and the Council were propoſed to him by *Rubertette*; and whilſt Monſieur *de Lanſac*, a man of ſharp wit and underſtanding, ſent by the Queen, perſwaded him to perfect the ſpecious promiſe he had made, the Hugonot Lords arrived, who had licence to come to ſalute the King and the Queen; and ſeeming greatly offended that the Prince had abandoned them, made him as it were by force get on horſeback. And though the Queen, angry to be ſo deceived, loudly threatned every one of them, and the Biſhop of *Valence*, *Lanſac*, and *Rubertette*, endeavoured to perſwade the Prince to remain at Court, without any further mention of leaving the Kingdom; yet the deſire of command and intereſt of rule prevailing, without more delay, the Queen not having time to uſe force, he returned the ſame day, which was the 27 of *June*, to the Hugonots Camp, re-aſſuming, to their great content, the charge of Captain-General in this Enterpriſe. Thus all hopes of Peace being cut off, the War was kindled, and began between the two Factions under the name of ROYALISTS and HUGONOTS.

The Prince of *Conde* returneth to his Army.

ROYALISTS and HUGONOTS.

The Treaty of an Agreement being broken, which the Queen, with wonderful policy keeping things from coming to an iſſue, had continued many months; the Prince of *Conde*, deſirous to aboliſh the infamy of breaking his word by ſome notorious famous action, determined the ſame night to ſet upon the Kings Army in their own quarters. Two things chiefly encouraged him to ſo bold a reſolution: the one, that the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable were abſent, whoſe valour and reputation he eſteemed very much: the other, that at that time a Peace being in a manner concluded, and publiſhed, many were gone from their colours, and the greateſt part of the Cavalry, for commodity of quarter, were ſcattered up and down in the neighbouring Villages; by which means the Army was not a little diminiſhed and weakned. Theſe hopes moved him to venture upon this attempt, though it appeared a new thing to undertake the ſurpriſal of a Royal Camp within their own trenches. But he was neceſſitated

1562. ceſſitated alſo to try the fortune, though doubtful, of a battel; knowing, that the Kings Swiſſes were within a few days march; and when they were joined with the reſt of the Army, he ſhould not be able, being far inferiour in number, to keep the field; but be conſtrained to withdraw his forces to defend thoſe forts he was poſſeſſed of; a matter, through the little hope of ſuccours, both difficult and dangerous. Wherefore he deſired to do ſomething whilſt he had time, to free himſelf from that neceſſity which he ſaw would fall upon him. With this reſolution he departed when it was dark, from *la Ferte d'Ales* where he lay; and the Army being divided into three Squadrons, the firſt of Horſe led by the Admiral, the other of Foot under the conduct of *Andelot*, and the third mingled both with Horſe and Foot, which he commanded himſelf, he marched with great ſilence and expedition to aſſault the Enemies Camp about midnight.

The Hugonots through the faults of their guides, march all night without advancing

But fortune fruſtrated his deſign: for though the way were plain through a free open Country, yet the guides that led the firſt Squadron, either through treachery or amazedneſs, or elſe through ignorance, loſing their way, they ſo wandred up and down, that the next morning at break of day he found that he was advanced but little more than a league from the place whence he ſet out over night, and ſtill two great leagues from the Kings Camp. Notwithſtanding, neceſſity compelling to attempt the greateſt difficulties, the Commanders reſolved to purſue their deſign, and the ſame order to perform that in the day which they could not effect in the night. But Monſieur *d' Anville*, who with the light horſe quartered in the front of the Kings Army, having preſently advertiſement by his Scouts of their coming, had by ſhooting off two pieces of Cannon, given notice thereof to the Camp that lay behind him. Whereupon the Souldiers and Gentlemen running from all parts to their colours, he going before to make good the high-way, that they might have time to put the Army in order, having divided his Horſe into divers little Squadrons, began to skirmiſh fiercely with the firſt Troops of the Hugonots. By reaſon whereof they being forced to march ſlowlier and cloſer together, often making halts through the heat of the skirmiſh, and not to diſo der themſelves in the face of the Enemy, the King of *Navarre* had more commodity of time to get his men together, and to order them for a Battel. So the Princes Army ſtill advancing, and the King of *Navarre* ranging his men in a Battalia upon the plain, but with the Camp behind them, at the laſt about noon both Armies faced one another, that there was nothing between them but a little plain, without any manner of impediment. But though the Ordnance plaid fiercely on both ſides, yet no body advancing to begin the battel, it was perceived, the Commanders were not of opinion to fight. For the Prince, who thought to have ſurpriſed the Catholicks on a ſudden, before they could either get together, or put themſelves in order, ſeeing them all together, and drawn out in excellent order for the Battel; and not believing that his men, who were but newly raiſed, would be able to ſtand againſt the Kings Foot, that were all choice old Souldiers, had more mind to retreat than to fight. And the King of *Navarre*, who knew, that within a few days his forces would be increaſed, would not in abſence of the other Catholick Lords, expoſe himſelf without any provocation to the hazard of a Battel. Wherefore after they had ſtood ſtill facing one another at leaſt three hours, the Prince retiring more than a league backwards, quartered with his Army at *Lorges*, a little Village in *Beauſſe*, and the King of *Navarre* drew off his men, but in much better order, to the place where they encamped before.

The Armies face one another, and retreat without fighting.

The ſame evening arrived from *Chaſteadune* at the Army the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe*, being ſent for in great haſte; and cauſing all the Guards to be doubled, they commanded quite thorow the Quarters, at every hundred paces great piles of wood to be made; which being ſet on fire, if the enemy came to aſſault them by night, the Souldiers might the better ſee what they were to do, and the Canoneers how to point their Ordnance. Which orders being known to the Prince of *Conde*, and finding that the enemy was not to be ſurprized; after he had ſtayed three days at *Lorges*, the ſecond day of *July* in the morning he roſe with all his Army, and went to take *Baugency*, a great walled Town, and with the pillage thereof to refreſh his Souldiers, which were in great want of money, and not over-abounding with victuals. Nor was the enterpriſe of any great difficulty; for the wall being battered with four peeces of Cannon, brought thither for that purpoſe, and an aſſault given in another part by the Regiment of Provenſals, at a certain breach they made by ſapping,

ping, it was taken the ſame day, and ſackt, with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants. 1562.

Whilſt the Hugonots aſſaulted *Baugency*, there arrived at the Kings Army ten Cornets of German Horſe, led by the *Rhinegrave*; and ſix thouſand Swiſſes, under the conduct of *Jeroſme Freulich*, a man for experience and valour of great eſteem among his own Nation. With which Forces the Catholick Lords deſigned without any delay to ſet upon the Enemies Army. But the Prince of *Conde* being advertiſed of the arrival of thoſe foreign ſupplies, having ſlighted *Baugency*, that the Catholicks might make no uſe of it, in great haſte retired to *Orleans*, abſolutely quitting the field, without making any other attempt.

In *Orleans* it was no longer poſſible to keep the Army together, partly through want of money to give the Souldiers their pay, without which, being ſhut up in the Town, they could not poſſibly live; partly, becauſe the Nobility that followed the War as Voluntiers, having ſpent what they brought with them, could no longer ſubſiſt. Wherefore having called a Council, the chief of the Hugonots determined to turn this neceſſity to their beſt advantage. For not being able to reſiſt the Kings Army with the Forces they then had, nor to remain ſhut up within thoſe walls; they took a reſolution to ſeparate themſelves into divers places, and to defend thoſe Towns and Fortreſſes which they held in other parts of the Kingdom; in this manner ſubſiſting as well as they might, until they could have ſuch aids from their friends and confederates, that they might again meet the Enemy in the field.

Their chief hopes of Succours were from the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, (ſo they call thoſe, who ſeparated from the Catholick Church, do follow the opinions of *Luther*) and from *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, not only an adherent to the ſame Religion, but alſo deſirous, through the ancient Maxims of that Nation, to have ſome footing in the Kingdom of *France*. The Princes of *Germany* had already freely promiſed them their aid; and there wanted nothing but only to ſend Commanders and Money to conduct and pay the Souldiers. But the Queen of *England* propoſed harder and more difficult conditions, without which ſhe denied to afford them any Succours. For ſhe offered to imbrace the protection of the Confederates, and to ſend into *France* an Army of eight thouſand Foot, with a great train of Artillery, at her own charge, and to maintain it there till the War were fully ended; that at the ſame time with her Fleet mann'd with Land-forces ſhe would invade the Coaſts of *Normandy* and *Britany*, to divert and divide the Kings Forces; but upon theſe terms, That the Confederates ſhould promiſe in recompence, to cauſe *Calais* to be reſtored to her, (a ſtrong place ſituated upon the narrow Sea in *Picardy*, held many years by the Kings of *England* her Predeceſſors, and at laſt recovered by the Duke of *Guiſe* in the Reign of *Henry* the Second.) But becauſe the Hugonots were not Maſters of that place, ſhe demanded that in the mean time they ſhould conſign to her *Havre de Grace*, a Fortreſs and Port of leſs conſequence upon the coaſt of *Normandy*; and that they ſhould receive her Garriſons into *Diepe* and *Rouen*. Theſe conditions ſeemed to many intolerable, and not to be conſented unto through any neceſſity whatſoever; knowing the infamy and publick hate they ſhould undergo, if they made themſelves inſtruments to diſmember the Kingdom of ſuch important places, and bring into them the moſt cruel implacable enemies of the French Nation. But the Miniſters, who in all deliberations were of great Authority, and in a manner reverenced as Oracles, alledged, that no conſideration was to be had of worldly things, where there was queſtion of the heavenly Doctrine, and propagation of GOD's Word. Wherefore all other things were to be contemned, ſo as Religion might be protected, and Liberty of Conſcience eſtabliſhed.

The Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral being deſirous to continue their Commands, and neceſſitated by their own private affairs to purſue the enterpriſe, were of the ſame opinion: ſo that their Authority overcoming all oppoſition, after many conſultations, it was at laſt concluded, to ſatisfie Queen *Elizabeth*, and by all means to accept the conditions propoſed. To which effect they preſently diſpatched Monſieur *de Briquemaut*, and the new Vidame of *Chartres*, with Letters of credit from the Prince and the Confederates to confirm the agreement in *England*. *Andelot* and the Prince of *Portian*, with ſuch a ſum o' money as they could get together, went to ſollicit the levies of the *Germans*; the Count *de la Roch-foucaut* went to *Angouleſme*; the Count *de Montgomery* retired into *Normandy*; Monſieur *de Soubize* to *Lyons*; the Prince, the Admiral, *Genlis*, and *Bouchavenes*, ſtayed to defend *Orleans*, and the places adjacent. But many

The Proteſtants of *Germany* are Lutherans.

Conditions offered by Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* to the Hugonots.

That *Montgomery* who killed *Henry* the Second.

1562. many of the Commiſſioners for the confederacy which was treated with *England*, not being able to endure ſuch diſhonourable conditions, began to forſake them: amongſt which, Monſieur *de Pienne* went over to the Kings Army, and the Sieur *de Morvilliers*, choſen by the Prince to be Governour of *Rouen*, that he might not be forced to admit an Engliſh Garriſon into a Town of ſuch conſequence, leaving that charge, retired into *Picardy* to his own houſe.

Whilſt by theſe means the Hugonots endeavoured to provide themſelves with Forces, the Catholicks deſigned to make an attempt upon *Orleans*, as the chief ſourſe and ſeat of all the War. But in regard it was exceedingly well provided for Defence, and furniſhed with Munition of all kinds, they knew it was an enterpriſe of great difficulty. Wherefore firſt, to cut off from it the hopes of ſuccours, they reſolved to take in the places round about, that ſo they might afterwards with more facility ſtraighten it with a ſiege; or being deprived of ſuccours, aſſault it by force. For which purpoſe they raiſed their Camp the 11 of *July*, and the Duke of *Guiſe* leading the Van, and the King of *Navarre* the Battalia, whilſt every one of both ſides expected to ſee them ſetled before *Orleans*, they leaving that Town on the left hand, and paſſing ſixteen leagues farther, on a ſuddain aſſailed *Blois*; which though it were full of people, beautified with one of the nobleſt Caſtles for a Kings houſe in the whole Kingdom, and ſituated upon the ſame ſide of the River of *Loire*; yet it was not ſo fortified that it could hope to make any long reſiſtance againſt the Kings Army Wherefore, after the Souldiers which were in guard ſaw the Cannon planted, being terrified with the danger, they paſſed the River upon the Bridge, and throwing away their Arms, ſought to ſave themſelves by flight: which though the Duke of *Guiſe* knew, who with the Van-guard was neareſt to the wall, yet being more intent to take the Town than to purſue thoſe that ran away, whilſt the Citizens diſpatched their Deputies to capitulate, he ſent a party of foot to make an aſſault; who finding the breach forſaken that was made by a few Cannon ſhot, took the place without reſiſtance; which by the fury of the Souldiers (their Commanders not forbidding them) was miſerably ſackt.

*Blois* taken and pillaged by the Kings Army, and *Tours* the firſt Aſſaule.

From *Blois* the Army marched towards *Tours*, a much more noble, populous and ancient City, wherein the name of the Hugonots firſt took vigour and force: but the people, who for a few days at the bginning of the Siege made ſhew that they would ſtand reſolutely upon their defence, when they perceived the Trenches were made, and the Artillery planted, of their own accord caſt out the Commanders, and rendered the place, ſaving their goods and perſons; which conditions were intirely obſerved.

In the mean while, the Mareſhal *de St. Andre* with the Rear of the Army went another way to beſiege *Poictiers*, a City likewiſe famous for antiquity, great and ſpacious, where the Catholicks thought they ſhould find a ſtrong reſiſtance. But it fell out to be a work of much leſs difficulty than they imagined For the Mareſhal having battered it two days together with his Artillery, and made an aſſault upon the Town, rather to try the reſolution of the Defendants, than with any hope to gain it; the Captain of the Caſtle, (who till then had ſhew'd himſelf more violent than any other of the Hugonot party) ſuddenly changing his mind, began to play from within with his Cannon upon thoſe who ſtood ready to receive the Aſſault: by which unexpected accident the Defendants loſing their courage, not knowing in ſuch a tumult what way to take for their ſafety, as men aſtoniſhed, left the entry of the breach free to the Aſſailants; who not finding any reſiſtance, entered furiouſly into the Town, which by the example of *Blois*, was in the heat of the fight ſackt, and many of the people put to the ſword.

*Poictiers* taken and ſackt.

The Catholicks having thus in a few days taken thoſe Towns which from *Poictou* and *Touraine* backed and ſuccoured *Orleans*, and ſtopt the paſſage for ſupplies from *Guyenne*, *Gaſcoigne*, and other places beyond the River; it remained, that turning backwards, and paſſing to the other ſide, they ſhould take in *Bourges*; ſo to cut off thoſe aids that might come from *Auvergne*, *Lyonoiſe*, and other Provinces joyning to *Daulphine*. *Bourges* (anciently called *Avaricum*) is one of the greateſt and moſt populous Cities in *France*; a reſidence for Students of all ſorts, but eſpecially famous for the Civil Law. This Town being within twenty leagues of *Orleans*, and by reaſon of the Traffick of Wooll, as alſo through the great concourſe of Scholars, much repleniſhed with ſtrangers, was at the beginning poſſeſt by the Hugonots; and afterwards, as an important paſſage for the Commerce of thoſe Provinces that being neareſt depended

pended upon it, diligently guarded and fortified; ſo that now foreſeeing a Siege, Monſieur *d' Ivoy* Brother to *Genlis*, was entered thereinto, with two Thouſand French foot, and four Troops of horſe, a Gariſon both in conſideration of it ſelf, and for the reputation of the Commander, eſteemed ſufficient to make a long defence; and indeed with theſe Forces at the firſt coming of the Kings Army, which was the tenth of *Auguſt*, the Defendants ſhewed ſuch fierceneſs and confidence, that they not only valiantly defended the Walls, but continually ſallying out night and day, vext the Camp with hot skirmiſhes; in one of which advancing juſt to the Trenches, though they could not do ſo much hurt as they intended, yet they killed five Captains, with many Gentlemen and common Souldiers; and Monſieur *de Randan*, General of the Foot, was ſo grievouſly wounded, that notwithſtanding the great care that was had of him, he died within few days after. 1562.

In the mean while, the Admiral iſſuing out of *Orleans*, over-ran all the Country about with his horſe; and having had intelligence of a great quantity of Artillery and Munition that was going from *Paris* to the Army, he ſet upon it in the night at *Chaſteaudune*, where after a long diſpute, having defeated the Convoy which was of four Companies, he brake the greateſt pieces, and burning the Engins that belonged to them, carried the leſſer to *Orleans*, together with ſuch Munition as could be ſaved from the fire and pillage of the Souldiers. But the Duke of *Guiſe* being very intent upon his buſineſs at *Bourges*, after he had ſo far advanced the Trenches, that he began to batter the Wall, and with divers Mines had thrown down many Baſtions that the Hugonots raiſed to defend the weakeſt parts thereof; Monſieur *d' Ivoy* not anſwering the opinion that was conceived of him, began to hearken to propoſitions of agreement, which were propoſed to him from the Camp. Wherefore the Duke of *Nemours* being gone with a ſafe conduct to treat, upon the laſt day of *Auguſt* he delivered up the Town upon theſe conditions, That he and all his that were with him ſhould have a pardon for what was paſt; That the Souldiers ſhould be free to go where they pleaſed; yet with this Obligation, neither to bear Arms againſt the King, nor in favour of the Hugonots; That the City ſhould not be plundered, and the Inhabitants enjoy a Liberty of Conſcience in all points conformable to the Edict of *January*. Which Capitulation, though it were afterwards performed, *Ivoy* not being able to bear the hate and ignominious reproaches that were caſt upon him by his accuſers, retired himſelf to his own private houſe; and St. *Remy* and *Brichanteau*, men of known courage, went over to the Kings ſervice.

*Bourges* rendred upon condition.

In the mean while, matters in the State were drawn into another courſe contrary to the former. For the reſolution of the Hugonot Lords being known not only to introduce foreign power into *France*, to which end they had ſent two of their principal men into *Germany*, but alſo to alienate *Havre de Grace*, and to put *Diepe* and *Rouen*, places of ſuch importance upon the frontiers of the Kingdom, into the hands of the Engliſh, who in all times had been bitter enemies to the Crown; there was not only a general hate conceived againſt them, but the Queen her ſelf, who till then had earneſtly endeavoured a peace, and formerly ſupported that faction as a counter-poize to the *Guiſes*, (for ſhe never believed that they would ever fall into ſuch pernitious deliberations) now with an incredible hate, and through fear that the Engliſh might be brought in to ſettle themſelves in theſe places; reſolved ſincerely to unite her ſelf with the Catholick party, and to make a War in good earneſt upon the Hugonots: deſiring to make it clear to all the World, that ſhe held no intelligence with them, (contrary to that which was believed at the firſt) eſteeming it a double loſs and a double ſhame, that the Engliſh, who by her husband were victoriouſly driven out of *France*, ſhould get footing there again during the time of her Government. Wherefore ſtirred up with an implacable diſpleaſure againſt the Hugonots, being ſo perplexed in mind that ſhe could find no reſt, ſhe determined with her ſelf, not to interpoſe any further delays or impediments, but to endeavour with all her force their final oppreſſion. And for a preamble to what was to be done, having brought the King ſolemnly to the Court of Parliament in *Paris*, after grievous complaints made by the High Chancellor of the inſolences of thoſe his Subjects, who not content to over-run and ſpoil their Country, and to uſurp all the Offices and Regal power, had perfidiouſly conſpired to bring in the Engliſh and Germans to the deſtruction of his Kingdom, cauſed *Gaſpar de Coligny* late Admiral of *France*, *Francis d' Andelotte*, with *Odett de Chaſtillon*, his Brothers, and namely all other notable perſons of that party to be declared Rebels; depriving

The Heads of the Hugonot Faction are declared Rebels.

1562. depriving them of their Charges, Honours, Nobility, Goods and Revenues, as confiſcate to the State. And becauſe the Hugonots with their riots laying deſolate Cities and Provinces, deſtrowing the Churches, throwing down Monaſteries, and filling all places with rapine and Blood, were become ſo outragious, that it was impoſſible longer to ſuffer them; they were likewiſe declared publick enemies to the King and the Crown; and authority granted to the people at the ringing of the * *Toqueſaint* to riſe up in arms againſt them, and to kill or take their perſons, and deliver them over to Juſtice. The Prince of *Conde* was not at all mentioned; but, making uſe of that Art firſt invented by the Hugonots, it was ſpread abroad both by report and in writing, that he was by the violence of the other Confederates with-held by force, and againſt his will remained in that Army; the Rebels making uſe of the Authority of his Perſon, though he were in his heart averſe to all their proceedings.

* *Toqueſaint* an allarum Bell uſed as the ringing of the bells backwards with us.

After which buſineſſes, the Queen publickly bewailing her ſelf that the Hugonots had abuſed the Clemency which ſhe had ſhewed in ſupporting them, and oftentimes in favouring them alſo; and deſiring to make it appear how zealous ſhe was againſt them, and by any means to expel foreign Forces out of the Kingdom, went her ſelf in perſon with the King to the Army before *Bourges*; where ſhe ſhewed a manly courage, in going up and down in the Camp, though very much anoyed by the Cannon from the Town; and with a ſingular conſtancy animated the Souldiers and Commanders to perform their duties. But *Bourges* being taken, and all ways of ſuccours cut off from *Orleans*, the Catholicks intended without any other delay to beſiege it, if the Queen had not propoſed, That it was better firſt to recover *Rouen*, being ſo principal a City, of ſo large an extent, and lying ſo opportunely to invade the boſom of *France*, before the Engliſh had eſtabliſhed themſelves there, by making the Fortifications ſtronger than they were at the preſent. For the confederacy between the Hugonots and Queen *Elizabeth* being already concluded, the Engliſh had paſſed the Sea, and received *Havre de Grace* into their poſſeſſion, and placed Gariſons in *Diepe* and *Rouen*.

The Engliſh received by the Hugonots to *Havre de Grace*, *Diepe*, and *Rouen*.

The opinions in the Kings Council were very divers. Some thought it moſt expedient firſt of all to make an attempt upon *Orleans*, and to cut off at one blow the head of the Hugonot Faction. For the chief of that party being ſuppreſſed, who were in the Town, and the Magazine deſtroyed, all the reſt would be overcome with eaſe and facility. But the King of *Navarre* and the Queen more intent to caſt out the Engliſh than any thing elſe, thought, that *Rouen* once taken, and the aids of *England* cut off from the Hugonots, *Orleans* would be more eaſily reduced, which for the preſent they thought very difficult, and a work of much time; by which the Engliſh would have the commodity to confirm their poſſeſſion, and perhaps make themſelves Maſters of all the Province of *Normandy*, where the Duke of *Aumale* had ſo inconſiderable a force, that he was not able to make head againſt them. This opinion at laſt through the Queens inclination prevailed; and it was reſolved without any delay to go upon that deſign.

The ſituation and commodities of *Rouen* are admirable. For the River *Seine*, upon which it ſtands, riſing out of the Mountains in *Burgundy*, and diſtending it ſelf through the plains of the Iſle of *France*, after it joyns with the *Matrona*, commonly called *Marne*, and by the confluence of many other little ſtreams, is made deep and Navigable, paſſeth through the midſt of the City of *Paris*, and then running with an impetuous torrent quite through *Normandy*, falls with an exceeding wide channel into the Ocean; which ebbing and flowing, and continually filling and feeding the River with ſalt water, affords ſpacious room for Veſſels of any burthen to ride. On the right hand of the mouth, where the River at laſt falls into the Sea, over againſt *England* ſtands *Havre de Grace*, a ſecure large Port, which with modern Fortifications, being reduced into the form of a Town by King *Francis* the Firſt, ſerves for a defence againſt the incurſions of the Engliſh. But in the mid-way between *Havre de Grace* and *Paris*, near to the place whither the ſalt waters flow, mingled with the freſh, about twenty two leagues from the Sea, ſtands the City of *Rouen* upon the River, grown noble, rich, abundant, and populous by the commerce of all Northern Nations. From one ſide of the fortreſs of *Havre de Grace* upon the right hand, a tongue of land advancing many miles into the Sea, makes as it were a ſpacious Peninſula, which the common people call the Country of *Caux*, and in the extreameſt point and promontory thereof is *Diepe*, placed * directly oppoſite to the mouth of the *Thames*, a moſt famous River in *England*.

* The Author is a little miſtaken in his Coſmography; for *Diepe* ſtands juſt over againſt *Eye*.

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Theſe places which lie ſo fitly to damage *France*, and to be ſupplyed by their Fleets, the Engliſh had made themſelves Maſters of. For though at *Diepe* and at *Rouen* French Governours were choſen by the Council of the Confederates; yet the Gariſons kept there by Queen *Elizabeth* being very ſtrong, they could ſo curb them, that all the reſt was abſolutely at their diſpoſe. 1562.

The Reſolution being taken to beſiege *Rouen*, the King and the Queen marching together with the Army, in fourteen days arrived at *Darnetel*, at which place leſs than two leagues diſtant from the City, the whole Camp lodged the 25 day of *September*. The chief Commanders of the Army, conſidering that the body of the City is defended on the one ſide by the River, beyond which there is nothing but the *Fauxburg S. Sever*, and on the other ſide by S. *Catherines* Mount, upon the top of which is placed an ancient Monaſtery reduced into the form of a Modern Fortreſs; they thought it beſt to make themſelves Maſters of the Mount: it appearing very difficult to make any attempt or aſſault upon the Town it ſelf, if they did not firſt gain the Fort without, which flanked and commanded the entrances on all parts. Upon this deliberation, *Sebaſtien de Luxemburg* Signeur *de Martigues* made Colonel General of the Foot in the place of *Randan*, advanced the night of the 27 of *September*, and ſate down under St. *Catherines* Mount, in the great High-way that goes towards *Paris*; which being hollow almoſt like a Trench, covered them in great part from the ſhot of the Fort.

The Count of *Montgomery* who commanded in the Town in chief with 2000 Engliſh and 1200 French Foot, four Troops of Horſe, and more than 100 Gentlemen of quality, beſides the Citizens, having foreſeen, that the enemy muſt of neceſſity firſt take the out-works, beſides the old fortifications on the top of the Mount, had raiſed half way up the Hill a Half-moon of earth; which having the Fort behind, and fronting upon the campaigne, might not only hinder the aſcent, but alſo flank the walls of the Town, and force the Catholick Army to ſpend much time and loſe many men in the taking of it. Nor was the effect contrary to what he intended: For though Monſieur *de Martigues*, leaving the direct way, and aſcending in a crooked line, advanced by help of the ſpade between the Fort and the Half-moon to gain the top of the Hill; yet the work proceeded with much difficulty and great ſlaughter of the Souldiers; who the more the Foot advanced with their gabions and trenches, were ſo much the more expoſed to the Cannon planted upon the Fort, to the annoyance of the Muſquet ſhot, to the fury of the fireworks, and other inventions, with which they within very reſolutely defended themſelves. To theſe main difficulties was added the quality of the weather, which being in the beginning of Autumn, as it always falls out in thoſe parts, was very rainy: ſo as the waters continually falling from the top of the Hill into that low place where the Army lay, it was no ſmall inconvenience unto them. Likewiſe the great Sallies the Hugonots made night and day were not of little moment: For though they were valiantly ſuſtained, ſo that the ſucceſs thereof was not very doubtful; yet they kept the whole Army in motion, and in work. Nor were their Horſe leſs diligent than the Foot in their Trenches; inſomuch as many times the Siege was interrupted and hindered.

Conſidering theſe ſo great impediments, it would have proved a tedious painful buſineſs, if the negligence or arrogance of the defendants had not rendered it very ſhort and eaſie. For *Jean de Hemery* Signeur *de Villers*, who afterwards married a Siſter of *Henry Davila's* that wrote this Hiſtory, being upon the guard in the Trenches with his Regiment, obſerved, that about noon there was very little ſtirring in the Fort, and that they appeared not in ſuch numbers upon the Ravelins as at other times of the day. Wherefore having ſent for a Norman Souldier called Captain *Lewis*, who two days before was taken priſoner in a Sally they made out of the Fort, he asked him as by way of diſcourſe, What was the reaſon that at certain hours ſo few of the Hugonots were to be ſeen upon the Rampart? The Souldier not concealing the truth, without looking farther what the conſequence thereof would be, told him that they within had ſo little apprehenſion of the Catholick forces, and deſpiſed them in ſuch a manner, that they uſed every day, for recreation, and to provide themſelves of neceſſaries, to go in great companies to the Town; and that through cuſtom and for convenience, they made choice of that time of the day. By which words *Villers* apprehending an opportunity to ſurprize the Fort, acquainted the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable with his deſign; who not being wanting to ſo good an occaſion, ſecretly cauſing ladders to be provided, commanded, that at the hour appointed, when they

1562. ſaw leaſt ſtirring, they ſhould on a ſuddain aſſault St. *Catherines* Fort, and at the ſame inſtant the Half-moon alſo, ſo much the more to divide the enemies forces.

*Martigues*, whoſe place it was to have a care of the buſineſs, choſe the ſame *Villers* to make the aſſault upon St. *Catherines*, and St. *Caulombe* a Colonel of Foot likewiſe for the Half-moon; and having without noiſe put all things in a readineſs, at the time prefixed with a Cannon ſhot gave the Signal to fall on. Whereupon *Villers* with his men inſtantly running up the ſteep of the Hill, faſtened his ladders to the Walls, before the enemy could poſſibly have time to make uſe of their Cannon or ſmall ſhot to keep them off. But yet thoſe within, though few in number, couragiouſly preſenting themſelves at the aſſault, there became a hot bloody conflict with ſhort weapons, in which as the manner is, the valianteſt falling at the firſt encounter, the defendants were ſo weakened, that they could ſcarce longer reſiſt. On the contrary, *Villers* being ſupplied with freſh men, and aided by *Martigues*, began to get the better of the enemy; and though grievouſly wounded with a Pike in the face, and a Muſquet ſhot in the left thigh, yet continuing the fight, he at laſt planted the Kings Flag upon the Keep of the Caſtle. Whereupon, two great Squadrons of Foot that were appointed for a reſerve running to his aſſiſtance, in a ſhort time they made themſelves Maſters of the Fort, before the Defendants could be ſuccoured either by the Town or their Companions. The ſame ſucceſs had the aſſault made upon the Half-moon, and in as ſhort a time; but the Catholicks gained the Baſtion with loſs of much blood; and the Defendants not having means to retreat, died all valiantly, fighting to the laſt man.

The Fort of *Rouen* taken.

St. *Catherines* Mount being taken, there remained ſtill without the Walls, the Faux-Bourg of St. *Hilary*, well fortified, and a good Gariſon placed in it by the Hugonots. Againſt which having planted their Cannon, by reaſon the works were of earth, it wrought little effect; notwithſtanding the Catholick Commanders cauſed a fierce aſſault to be made upon it; which proving likewiſe vain by reaſon of the ſtrength of the Ramparts, and valour of the Defendants, at length changing reſolution, they planted twelve great pieces in the middle of St. *Catherines* Hill: from the advantage of which place they began with great noiſe and ſlaughter to batter the houſes and rampiers which the enemies had raiſed; by the fury whereof the whole Faux-Bourg being in a manner beaten down, and the Catholicks ready to renew the aſſault, thoſe within having fired the houſes that were left, retired ſafe into the Town, which was now naked of all defence but the Walls only. But the Defendants by their frequent ſallies, and divers aſſaults made upon them, loſing many of their men, the Count of *Montgomery*, having recourſe to the laſt remedy, ſent to deſire ſuccours of the Engliſh at *Havre de Grace*, though he ſaw plainly it was a thing of exceeding great difficulty for them to effect. For the Kings forces having taken poſſeſſion of *Quilbeuf* and *Harfleur*, two places in the mid-way between *Rouen* and *Havre de Grace*, upon the River, they placed there divers pieces of Cannon to hinder the paſſage of Ships or other little Barks, which holpen by the Flood that enters there with great force, mount the ſtream to *Rouen*. Notwithſtanding, the Engliſh, deſirous by any means to help their friends, reſolved to expoſe themſelves to the worſt of danger; and ſtealing up the River in the night, in great part avoided the violence of the Cannon, which being ſhot at random in the dark, did them but little hurt. Wherefore by the advice of *Bartolomeo Campi*, an Italian Engineer, the Catholicks cauſed divers Veſſels laden with ſtones and gravel, and faſtned together with chains, to be ſunk in the River, which ſo ſtopped and peſtred it, that neither the enemies Ships nor Gallies could paſs: only ſome ſmall Bark drawing but little water, with much ado got ſafe into the Town. But this ſupply being inſenſible, and *Rouen* ſtill in neceſſity, there appearing no other way poſſible to ſuccour it, the Engliſh reſolved to make their laſt attempt; and being come in the night with a good number of Veſſels to the bar, though through the fury of the Cannon and fire-works, part of them periſhed, and others returned back; yet in one place the chain being broken, three Gallies and one other Veſſel got through, which carried ſeven hundred men, munition and money for their preſent relief.

In the mean while the rains of Autumn ſtill increaſing, by reaſon whereof the Catholick Army that lay in a low dirty place, ſuffered very much; yet the Commanders not diſheartned by the little ſupplies that were conveyed into the Town, preſſing the ſiege, began to batter from St. *Hillaries* Gate to the Gate *Martinville*; between which advancing with their Trenches, they had pierced the counterſcarp. The ſecond day

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ſo much of the Wall was thrown down in the middle of the Curtain, that the Squadrons might eaſily march on to the aſſault; and already *Sarlabous*, *Villers*, and *Sancte Coulumbe*'s Regiments that were to keep the firſt front, prepared themſelves for the onſet; when the King of *Navarre*, being gone into the Trenches to diſcover how things ſtood, received a Muſquet ſhot in the left ſhoulder, which breaking the bone, and tearing the nerves, he preſently fell down upon the place as dead. This accident put off the aſſault for that day; for being carried to his own quarter, before they looked to his hurt, all the other chief Commanders went thither, and being afterwards dreſſed with great care in preſence of the King and Queen, his wound, by reaſon of the great orifice the Bullet had made, was judged by the Phyſicians to be mortal. So as between that time and the Council which was called thereupon, the day was ſo far ſpent, that the aſſailants without any farther attempt were ſent for back to guard the Trenches.

*Anthony of Vendoſme* King of *Navarre* ſhot in the ſhoulder.

Yet this ſlackned not the ſiege: For beſides the care of the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable, who from the beginning had in effect the charge of the Army, the Queen alſo aſſiſted her ſelf in perſon; who by her preſence and ſpeeches adding courage to the Souldiers, cauſed the battery ſtill to be continued in the ſame manner; till with two thouſand ſhot there was ſuch a large breach made, that they went on in very good order to the aſſault: which being begun with great fierceneſs by the aſſailants, and received with no leſs reſolution by the Hugonots, continued with great ſlaughter on both ſides from twelve of the clock at noon till the evening; the Catholicks not being able to make themſelves Maſters of the wall. The night after the aſſault, thoſe of *Diepe* endeavoured to put ſuccours into the Town: to which purpoſe the Sieur *de Corillan* being advanced into a wood not far off, with four hundred firelocks, he thought by the benefit of the night to delude the guards, and to ſteal in at the gate that anſwers to the lower part of the River. But being diſcovered by Monſieur *d' Anville*, who with his light horſe ſcoured the fields, he was with little difficulty defeated and routed, and the Town remained hopeleſs of any aid. Wherefore having already ſo many days ſuſtained ſuch hot skirmiſhes, and the violence of the Cannon, and it being therefore known, that they within were reduced almoſt to nothing; the twenty ſixth of *Octobor* in the morning about break of day, the Catholicks, not to loſe more time, went very fiercely, but in good order, to make another aſſault: which they of the Town, through wearineſs and weakneſs, being not able to withſtand; *Sancte Coulombe*, he that took the Baſtion upon the Mount, was the firſt with his men that paſſed the breach, and entred into the City, right againſt the *Celeſtines* ſtreet, though mortally wounded, and falling upon the place, within three days after he ended his life. At the ſame time *Villers* Regiment forced their paſſage at another breach; and *Sarlabous* entred at the Street of St. *Claire*, but not without ſome difficulty, by reaſon of a barricado of cask that was made in the way. After theſe that were the firſt, entred furiouſly the whole Army, and with great ſlaughter of the Souldiers and Inhabitants, ſackt the Town, in the heat of their anger ſparing no perſons whatſoever, but putting all to the Sword both armed and unarmed; only the Churches and things ſacred, by the great diligence and exact care of the Commanders, were preſerved from violence.

*Rouen* taken by the Catholicks, and ſackt.

The Count of *Montgomery*, when he ſaw things in a deſparate condition, and the Town reduced into the power of the enemy; getting into one of the Gallies that brought the ſuccours, wherein he had before imbarqued his wife and children, paſſing down the River through all the Catholicks Cannon, ſaved himſelf in *Havre de Grace*, and from thence without delay paſſed over the Sea into *England*. There ſaved themſelves with him Monſieur *de Columbiere*, and ſome few of his ſervants; all the reſt being left to the diſcretion of the Conquerour, came to divers ends. Captain *Jean Croſe*, who had introduced the Engliſh into *Havre de Grace*, being fallen into the Kings hands, was as a Rebel, drawn with four Horſes. *Mandreville*, who from being the Kings Officer, carrying his Majeſties money with him, became a follower of the Engliſh; and *Auguſtine Marlorat*, who from an *Auguſtine* Frier, turned to be a Hugonot Miniſter; were both condemned to be hanged. Many were ſlain, and many remained priſoners in the Army, who afterwards redeemed themſelves for a ranſom.

The City continued forty eight hours at the mercy of the Souldiers; the third day the King making his entry at the breach together with the Parliament and the Queen

1562. his Mother, who in the heat of the ſack ſent all her Gentlemen and the Archers of her guard, to take care that the women which fled into Churches might not be violated; there was an end of the ſlaughters and rapines committed by the Army, which being drawn out of the City, quartered in the neighbouring Villages.

In the mean while, the King of *Navarre* through the pain of his wound finding no reſt either in body or mind, would by all means imbarque upon the River to go to St. *Maure*, a place near *Paris*, whither by reaſon of the wholſomneſs of the Air, and privacy, he uſed often for recreation to retire himſelf; and nothing prevailing that the Phyſicians could ſay to the contrary, he cauſed himſelf to be carried into a boat, accompanied by the Cardinal his Brother, the Princes *de la Roche-ſur*, and *Ludovico Gonzaga*, with ſome few ſervants, amongſt which ſome were Catholicks, and others Hugonots, and the principal among them *Giovan Vicenzo Lauro*, then a Phyſician, by birth a *Calabrian*, who was afterwards Biſhop and Cardinal. But he was ſcarce arrived at *Andeli*, a few leagues from *Rouen*, when through the motion of the journey his feaver increaſing upon him, he began to loſe his ſenſes, and in a ſhort time after died.

The King of *Navarre* dieth.

He was a Prince, as of high birth, ſo of a noble preſence and affable behaviour; and if he had lived in other times, to be remembred amongſt the moſt famous men of his age. But the ſincerity and candour of mind with which he was indued, and his mild tractable diſpoſition in the diſtractions of a Civil War, held him all his life-time in care and pain, and many times doubtful and ambiguous in his deliberations. For on the one ſide, being drawn by the headlong violent nature of his Brother, and ſpurred on by the ardour of his Faction, in which he was the principal perſon; and on the other ſide reſtrained by his love of juſtice, and a natural inclination diſpoſed to peace, and averſe from civil broyls; he appeared many times fickle in his reſolutions, and of a wavering judgment. For at the firſt he was reckoned and perſecuted amongſt thoſe that ſought to diſturb the quiet of the Kingdom; and afterward was ſeen head of the contrary Faction, bitterly purſuing thoſe that were up in arms. And for matters of Religion, ſometimes through his Wives perſwaſion and *Beza*'s preaching, inclining to the *Calviniſts* party; ſometimes through the general opinion and the Cardinal of *Lorain*'s eloquence, to the Catholick Religion; he became miſtruſted by both parties, and left behind him an uncertain doubtful report of his belief. Many were of opinion, that being in his heart a *Calviniſt*, or rather inclining to that which they call the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion; yet nevertheleſs his vaſt inſatiable Ambition withdrew him from that party, which, perceiving the Prince his Brother through his high ſpirit and reſolution, was of much greater reputation amongſt them, made him chuſe rather to be the firſt among the Catholicks, than the ſecond among the Hugonots. He died in the two and fortieth year of his age, and in ſuch a time when experience had made him ſo wiſe, as would perhaps have produced effects very contrary to the common opinion that was conceived of him. He left behind him his Wife Queen *Jeane*, with the title and relicks of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and only two children, *Henry* Prince of *Bearne* then nine years old, and the Princeſs *Catarine* an Infant, who remaining at *Pau* and *Nerac* with their Mother, by whom they were very carefully brought up, at the ſame time received deep impreſſions of the Hugonot Religion.

Now whilſt ſo much blood was ſpilt on both ſides at *Rouen*, *Andelot* with great pains and diligence raiſing the aids of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, had gotten together a great company of Horſe and Foot; and in the Territories of *Strasbourg* being joined with the Prince of *Porcien*, who brought with him a Convoy of two hundred Horſe of the French Gentry, he conſidered the beſt he could what courſe was to be taken to joyn his Forces with the reſt of the Confederates.

The Mareſhal of St. *Andre* being ſent upon the Frontiers with thirteen Troops of *Gens d'Arms*, and two Regiments of Foot to hinder his paſſage, lay upon the way which by *Rheims* and *Troye* leads directly out of *Germany* into *France*: and *Francis* of *Cleves* Duke of *Nevers*, who was Governour of *Champaign*, ſtaid with all the Forces of the Province between *Chaalon* and *Vitry*, to ſtop the other paſſage from *Lorain* to *Paris*. But *Andelot*, conſidering if he were encountred by the enemy, he could not long keep his men together for want of money; and if he prolonged his journey, he ſhould not come ſoon enough to ſuccour his friends already reduced to an extream point of neceſſity; reſolved rather to contend with the difficulties of the paſſage, and impediments of the ways, than the oppoſition of the enemy. Wherefore to deceive

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the Catholicks, making ſhew to keep the ordinary way, and having marched ſo two days, till he came to the confines of *Lorain*, he raiſed his Camp ſilently in the night, and taking the way on the left hand, through rough places full of ſwift and rapid ſtreams, marcht with exceeding diligence out of the great Roads, till he came into *Burgundy*; and from thence, notwithſtanding the continual rain and dirt which in that Country is every where very deep, preventing even Fame it ſelf, brought all his men, though toiled and weary, to *Mountargis*; where at laſt he joined with the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, having led five thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe ſo many leagues, excepting from the injury of the weather, ſafe from all other diſaſters. 1568.

This ſo powerful and ſeaſonable ſupply took off in great part the grief and terrour the Hugonots were ſtrucken into for the loſs of *Rouen*. But their hopes were exceedingly diminiſhed by a defeat given at the ſame time to the Baron of *Duras*; who being a man of great dependences, had raiſed a great number of men in *Gaſcoigne* and the adjacent Provinces, ſo as they amounted to five thouſand Horſe and Foot; with which force indeavouring to make his paſſage between the Catholick Towns to ſuccour his party at *Orleans*, being ſet upon in the way by Monſieur *de Monluc*, and Monſieur *de Burie*, who commanded for the King in thoſe parts; the moſt of his men were cut off, and he himſelf with ſome few Horſe eſcaped with very much difficulty. The Hugonots in divers places received many other, though not great loſſes; by which misfortunes the reputation of the Faction every where diminiſhing, the Prince and the Admiral reſolved to undertake ſome notable Enterprize, to recover their loſt credit; and ſo much the rather, becauſe being ſtraightned for money, they knew not how to maintain their Germans, if they did not feed and pay them by the pillage of the Country. But what the Enterprize ſhould be, they agreed not between themſelves. For the Prince, meaſuring all things by the greatneſs of his own thoughts, had a mind on a ſudden to aſſault *Paris*; perſwading himſelf, that in ſuch a multitude of people, there muſt needs be many favourers of the Hugonots party, and many others inclined to his name; who when an opportunity was offered, would preſently ſhew themſelves. He believed farther, and ſought to perſwade, that the Kings Army, being imployed in *Normandy*, could not come ſoon enough to aid that City; by the invaſion and taking whereof, they ſhould not only get great ſtore of proviſions of Arms, Munition, and Artillery, of which they began to be in no little want; but alſo have it in their power, with the contributions of ſo rich and numerous a people, to furniſh themſelves abundantly with money; by means whereof, they ſhould both gain a great reputation, and an exceeding advantage over the contrary Faction.

The Miniſters adhered to this opinion, through the bitter hate they bare to the Pariſians, ever conſtant reverencers of the Catholick Religion, and implacable enemies to their preachings. But the Admiral *Andelot*, and the more experienced Souldiers, eſteeming the enterprize rather impoſſible than difficult, diſſwaded them from it; alledging, that the Mareſhal of *Briſſac*, the new Governour, had caſt out all thoſe who were ſuſpected to depend on their party; wherefore there was no reaſon to hope for any motion among that people, ſo united together for the preſervation of the Catholick Faith; and that the Kings Army, having had good ſucceſs at the ſiege of *Rouen*, and ſecured *Normandy*, would have time ſufficient to aid that City, from which it was but eight and twenty leagues diſtant; whereas they on the other ſide were to paſs four and thirty leagues, through places infeſted with the enemy, which would very much retard the expedition of their march; And what Artillery, what proviſions for War had they, wherewith they deſigned to aſſail *Paris*? a City of ſo vaſt an extent, and by nature ſo repleniſhed with people, who through cuſtom were ever armed, having but four pieces of Battery, and very little quantity of munition? How ſhould they draw on their Army to an Enterprize which would prove of ſuch length, not only without money, but alſo without means to ſuſtain and nouriſh their men? That it would be better to recover the places near about *Orleans*, and open the way for proviſions and ſupplies, nouriſhing the Army with the pillage that was near at hand and ſecure, than to hazard themſelves upon an attempt that would infallibly prove vain. But theſe reaſons took no effect: for the Prince, perſwaded by his own will, and the conſent of the major part of his adherents, reſolved to venture all upon this Enterprize. Wherefore the Army being muſtered together, and ſuch proviſion of victuals made as the preſent neceſſity would permit, it moved without further delays that way.

In

1562. In the mean while, after the taking of *Rouen*, the Town of *Diepe*, having caſt out the Engliſh Gariſon, rendered it ſelf to the King: the ſame did *Caen* and *Talaiſe*, Towns in the lower *Normandy*, which largely extends it ſelf upon the coaſts of the Ocean beyond the banks of the River; nor was there any place that remained in the power of the enemies, ſave only *Havre de Grace*, which the Queen had reſolved to ſet upon with the whole Army, that ſo they might be abſolutely freed from the fear of the Engliſh. But news being come of the arrival of the Germans, and that the Prince with great preparations moved with the Camp through *Beauſſe*, (ſo they call that Country which lies between *Orleans* and the Iſle of *France*) the Queen with the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Conſtable, in whoſe hands remained the power of the Government, reſolved, putting off the Siege of *Havre de Grace*, to bend their courſe to meet with the Hugonots Army. Wherefore having left Monſieur *de Villebon* Governour of *Rouen*, and the *Rhynegrave* with his Horſe to ſecure the Country of *Caux*, and hinder the Engliſh from making in-roads into the Country, the King and the Queen, with all the remainder of the Army, marched along the *Seine* towards *Paris*.

The Prince of *Conde* going to beſiege *Paris*, amuſeth himſelf before *Corbeil*, by which means he fails of his principal deſign.

The Prince marching very cloſe through the Enemies Country, took without much difficulty *Piviers*, *Monthery* and *Dordane*; and having given the pillage thereof to his Army, went on with all poſſible expeditions to *Paris*. But *Corbeil*, a little inconſiderable Town upon the River of *Seine*, interrupted his journey: For four Companies of French Foot being, contrary to the Princes expectation, entred thereinto, it made ſuch a reſolute defence, as held his army play many days to no purpoſe, being through anger rather than mature deliberation, obſtinately bent whatever happened to take it. But the Mareſhal of St. *Andre* following *Andelot*, though at a diſtance, with an intent to get into *Paris*, having by another way gotten before him, he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege with loſs of time and credit, beſides the total ruine of the principal deſign; which depended wholly upon expedition. For having ſpent many days there in vain, the Catholick Commanders in the mean while diſcovering his intent, had with the King and Queen in perſon brought the whole Army unto the Walls of *Paris*; and with much eaſe and commodity fortified the Suburbs, and diſtributed their men in very good order to their ſeveral quarters. The Prince lodged the twenty third day of *November* at *La Sauſſayea* Nunnery, who in that terrour had abandoned it; and the twenty fourth day at *Ville-Juif*, two leagues from the Suburbs of *Paris*. But the twenty fifth day in the morning, though much fallen from their hopes, yet reſolved to try their fortune, the Army being put in a readineſs, advanced to aſſault the Faux-Bourg of St. *Victor*. This attempt at the firſt ſeemed very ſucceſsful. Six hundred light Horſe that were ſent out to skirmiſh and diſcover the proceeding of the enemy, when they ſaw all the Army come reſolutely towards them, ran away in ſuch a headlong manner, that many doubted they fled rather through treachery than fear. With which unexpected tumult the Foot being diſordered who guarded the Ramparts of the Faux-Bourg, they began already to think of retiring themſelves into the City; and the people full of terrour and confuſion cried out to ſhut the Gates, and abandon the Suburbs. But the Duke of *Guiſe* coming thereupon, ſo ſettled all things with his preſence, that there was no more to be feared for the preſent, or the future. In this occaſion *Philip Strozzi* iſſuing out with 1200 Foot to back the Horſe, gave a notable teſtimony of his valour; for being abandoned by his men, and finding himſelf ingaged in the midſt of the Hugonots Army, he retired under the ruines of a broken Windmill, being a place, by reaſon of the height, of ſome advantage, and there ſo reſolutely defended himſelf, that it was not poſſible by all they could do, to drive him from thence; but he alone made it good againſt a multitude of the enemies that uſed their utmoſt endeavours to take that Poſt. The Prince nevertheleſs, not amuſing himſelf therewith, but encouraged with the ſucceſs of their firſt encounter, fiercely aſſailed the Faux-Bourgs in divers places; and for the ſpace of two hours that the fight endured, not only the Art and Diſcipline of the Captain appeared, but alſo the readineſs and courage of the Souldiers; notwithſtanding, finding every where a gallant reſiſtance, and the Cannon upon the Ramparts continually beating and galling upon his flank, he was conſtrained to draw off the Army for that time from the Walls, that he might have day enough to take up convenient Quarters. The weather was rainy, and the ſeaſon cold; wherefore the Souldiers, not being able to lie abroad, the Army being divided into four parts, Monſieur *de Muy* and the Prince of *Porcien* lodged at *Gentilly*, *Genlis* at *Monterian*, the Prince and the Admiral at *Areveil*, and *Andelot* with the Germans

mans at *Cachan*. There making many fires on high, and a great number of Cannon shot, they endeavoured to strike a terrour into the people, which might stir up some commotion in the Town; and yet notwithstanding, the City which is inhabited, as the report goeth, by 800000 persons, from the beginning of those disorders to the last, remained in such quiet, that the Professors in the University never discontinued their Lectures, nor the Judges forbore to sit in the Courts of Justice. 1562. In *Paris* were 800000 Inhabitants; yet during the Siege neither the Lecturers nor the Lawyers discontinued their Lectures or Audiences.

The third day the Prince, having put his men in order, advanced into the middle of a plain, inviting the Catholick Army to a Battel. But in stead of fighting, the Queen, desirous of a peace, to rid the Kingdom of foreign forces, or else by a Treaty of Accommodation to slacken the first heat of the Hugonots, to whom she knew nothing was so pernicious as delays, sent first Monsieur *de Gonnor*, and afterwards *Rambouillette*, and the Bishop of *Valence*, to treat with the Prince of an Agreement; which in a few days advanced so far, that first the Constable, and afterwards the Queen her self coming to a parley with him, it was hoped a peace would follow; such large reasonable Conditions being proposed on the Catholick party, that the Hugonots themselves knew not how to refuse them.

But the Prince and the Admiral, not knowing how to take off their minds from the hopes of rule and domination of *France*, and the Ministers never ceasing to demand liberty and security; they could not agree upon any reasonable Conditions that were offered unto them; and the manifest desire that they saw in their adversaries to obtain a peace, as a sign of weakness, increased the ardour and obstinacy of the ignorant. Whereupon the Treaty having continued till the seventh of *December*, and the Hugonots not being able for want of money or means to nourish their Army to continue still in the same Quarters, the Treaty being absolutely broken, they resolved (to go off with the best reputation they could) the night following to assault with four thousand men the Faux-Bourgs of St. *Germain*, guarded by the Regiments of *Champagnie* and *Picardy*, which were counted not so good men as the rest, and being far on the other side from the enemy, not so carefully guarded. But advice thereof was given to the Duke of *Guise*, who thinking to assault the assailants in the flank, caused all the Cavalry to stand armed and in readiness from the beginning of the night till next morning; and in the mean while with great diligence visiting the guards, kept the Foot awake, and under their Arms. Yet there was no need thereof; for the assailants, partly through the great compass they were to make, that they might not be discovered, partly through the darkness of the night, which is always full of errours, so spent the time, that they came not before the Faux-Bourg till break of day. By reason whereof, finding, besides, that the Catholicks were ready couragiously to receive the assault, they retired for that day, without making any trial of their fortune.

The night following they had the like design upon the Faux-Bourg of St. *Marceau*: but that was hindered by the deliberation of *Genlis*, who either perceiving, as he said himself, the wicked intentions of the chief of the Hugonots, or else offended as others said, that the Prince made but little accompt of him and his Brother after the rendering of *Bourges*, went over the same night with all his men into the City: by which accident, the Hugonots being very much troubled, and believing for certain, that he who was present at the deliberation had discovered the plot, they not only feared that their design upon St. *Marceau* would prove vain, but also that it might produce some sinister event. Wherefore they resolved, the same night to raise the Camp. To which purpose, whilst the Catholicks in readiness expected the assault, and the Duke of *Guise* thought on a suddain to fall upon one of their Quarters; they being risen in great silence without any noise either of Drum or Trumpet, first the carriages marcht away towards *Beausse*, after which many hours before day followed the Germans; and lastly, the Prince and the Admiral, having fired *Arcueil* and *Cachan* where they lay, and many other neighbouring Villages, departed in great haste as soon as the light began to appear; taking the same way with the rest of the Army, not upon any certain design, but only with the best commodity they could to get food for their men.

In the mean while, the Catholick Army was exceedingly increased. For whilst the time was artificially delayed in the Treaty, the Infantry of *Gascoigne* led by Monsieur *de Sansac* arrived by the way of *Mance*: and the King of *Spain*, desirous also to have the Hugonots suppressed, had sent the King a supply of three thousand Spanish Foot.

So

1562. So that, not to keep ſuch a great Force idle within the Walls of the City, the Kings Army the day after moved the ſame way that the Hugonots had taken; the Conſtable commanding as General, but with the authority and aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Guiſe*; and the King with the Queen-Mother reſolved to remain together at *Paris*.

The Hugonots, having three days after taken and pillaged the Caſtle of St. *Arnoul*, were uncertain what reſolution to take. For long to maintain the Army was altogether impoſſible, through the want of money; having no revenue but their rapines, and for the inſatiable importunity of the Germans, who never ceaſed begging or demanding their pay; and to meet the enemy, and give him Battel, being much inferiour in Foot, Artillery and other Proviſions, appeared too raſh and deſparate a reſolution. The Prince was of opinion, ſince the chief of the Catholicks with the whole Army had left *Paris*, and followed him into *Beauſſe*, to return thither with the ſame expedition that he departed; hoping he might enter the City upon a ſuddain, and ſeize upon the perſons of the King and the Queen-Mother, before they could recover any ſuccours from the Army. But this Propoſition being made in their Council, was rejected by all the reſt; conſidering the enemy would follow them ſo cloſe, that he would come upon them either whilſt they were making the aſſault, or elſe (ſuppoſing their deſign ſucceeded) whilſt they were ſacking the City; in either of which caſes their Army would be manifeſtly ruined.

At the laſt, after many diſcourſes, the Admirals opinion was approved of; who adviſed, That they ſhould depart as ſecretly as they could with all the Army into *Normandy*. For if the Catholicks followed them not, they might make a prey of that ſo fertile and rich a Province, where they ſhould have commodity to raiſe Moneys and recruit their Forces; and if they did follow him, notwithſtanding they ſhould have ſuch a great advantage, that if they marched with any expedition, they might arrive at *Havre de Grace* before they could be overtaken; and there being joined with ſix thouſand Engliſh, provided with twenty pieces of Cannon, ſtore of Munition, and fifteen thouſand Duckets, which Queen *Elizabeth*, according to the Articles of Agreement, ſent to their aid; they might with ſuch an addition of ſtrength, either hazard a Battel, or continue the War with ſuch counſels as ſhould then be thought moſt expedient. With this determination, having all their unneceſſary carriages and horſes in the Caſtles of *Beauſſe*, they marched away out of the Territories of *Chartres* the 14 day of *December*, in the cloſe of the evening, to get clear of the Enemy before he ſhould be advertiſed of their departure; and ſo with great diligence took the way of *Normandy*.

The Catholicks knew not of the Princes riſing till the day after; and to have certain intelligence how they bent their courſe, ſtaid till the evening of the 16 in the ſame place; ſo as the Hugonots got in a manner three days march before them. But paſſing through places full of Rivers and other impediments, in the worſt ſeaſon of the year, they were neceſſitated to loſe much time; whereas the Catholicks taking the way over the Bridges through the Towns which all held for their party, made a more eaſie and expedite journey. The Admiral with the Germans led the Van, that they might be provided with the moſt convenient Quarters, and to feed and content them with the pillage of the Country; having nothing elſe to ſatisfie their wonted complaints and frequent mutinies. The Prince followed with all the Infantry in the Battel. The Count *de Roch-fou-cault* and the Prince of *Porcien*, with the greateſt part of the French Cavalry, brought up the Rear: and ſo the Army was diſpoſed with the beſt advice that could be. For the Germans preying upon the paiſants that were yet untoucht, more eaſily ſupported the want of pay; and the French Cavalry marching behind all the reſt, were more ready to ſuſtain the charge of the Catholicks if they ſhould be overtaken. But the Prince paſſing near *Dreux*, entered into hope by ſome means or other to poſſeſs himſelf of it: and therefore confounding the Orders that were given, without making the Admiral acquainted with the deſign, haſtned his march with ſuch diligence, that his Battel was become the Van; the Rear of Horſe, that followed with the ſame Expedition, was placed in the middle; and the Germans being left behind, contrary to the Order given, made the Rear. In the mean while the Enterprize of *Dreux* proving vain, the Admiral grievouſly offended at this lightneſs, thought it beſt to ſtay a day in the place where he was, that the Army might recover the Order it was in before. Which delay having given time to the Catholicks to overtake them, brought by conſequence both Armies into a manifeſt neceſſity of fighting a Battel.

*Dreux*

*Dreux* is twenty six leagues distant from *Paris*, situated upon the confines of *Normandy*, joining to those Plains which were anciently called the Plains of the *Druids*; and on the one side of it runs a little River, which being Foordable in all places, is by those of the Country commonly called *Eure*. This River the Hugonots had passed the nineteenth, and being lodged in the Villages adjoining, expected to continue their march the morning after with like haste as before. But the Catholicks Army following them without staying any where, and a shorter way, arrived the same night at the River, and lodged in the houses thereabouts; so that there was nothing between both the Armies but the current of the water. Yet by reason of the Shrubs and many Trees that grew upon the banks, they could not see one another, though they were so near. It is most certain, that the Prince, who lodged next the River, lay there with such negligence, (a fault which hath ever proved fatal to the Hugonots) that without placing the wonted Guards, or sending out Scouts, or any other care whatsoever, he took his rest all night, and knew not of the Catholicks coming till next morning very late. But the Constable quite contrary, being a practised, experienced Captain, very well knowing the advantage he had, and making use of the Enemies carelesness, passed all his Army over the River the same night by Moon-light, without any obstacle or impediment; and going on a league forwarder upon the place where the enemies were lodged, possest the way by which, following their design, they were of necessity to pass. There, between two little Villages, the one called *Spinal*, the other *Blainville*, which stood by side the great Road, he placed his men with great commodity and no less silence. 1562.

Negligence the ordinary defect of the Hugonots.

The Army was divided into two parts; the first the Constable led, the other the Duke of *Guise*; but they disposed their Squadrons in such a manner, that in the Right-wing of the Constables were the Swisses flanckt by the Regiments of Fire-locks of *Brittany* and *Picardy*; and in the Left-wing of the Duke of *Guise*, the *Germans* flanckt with the *Gascon* and *Spanish* Infantry; and both the Wings closed and sheltred with the houses of the Villages, having *Spinal* on the right, and *Blainville* on the left hand; and besides the defence of the houses, they placed their Carriages and Artillery on each side; for the enemy being stronger in Horse, they doubted to be compassed in, and charged in the flanck. The main body of Cavalry being divided into little Troops of Lances, that they might use them the more conveniently, and were placed between the Squadrons of Foot; which in a manner flanckt and covered them; and only the light Horse taking their station out of the Battalions, were drawn up at the point of the Right-wing where the Champagn began to open it self, and with a large front possessed the pass of the great Road. But the Duke of *Guises* Battalion, which was in the Left-wing, though it was neerest to the enemy, yet was it so covered with a number of Trees that it had in flanck, and the houses of *Blainville*, that it could hardly be perceived by the Hugonots: and on the contrary, the Constable having his light Horse ranged upon the Champagn was easie to be discerned afar off; and by the largeness of their Front, might well be taken for the whole body of the Army.

The day being come, and the Admiral, who was fartheſt from the River, beginning according to the order given to march; on a suddain the Constables Squadrons appeared; and being assured by his Scouts, that they were the Catholicks, exclaiming against the negligence of his Officers, he turned about, saying aloud to them that were next him, The time is now come that we must no longer trust to our feet, as we have done hitherto; but like Souldiers, rely upon the strength of our hands: and having sent word to the Prince, that the enemy was arrived, he caused his Division to make a halt, that the rest of the Army might draw up to join in a Body upon the Champagn. The Prince, though he were advised by many to turn to the left hand, to recover a Village thereby, that he might either prolong, or else wholly avoid the necessity of fighting; yet the nearness of the enemy inciting his natural fierceness, he resolved rather to make a day of it without advantage in the open field, than to be afterwards forced to disband the Army without making trial of his fortune. So hastning his march, he joined with the Van in the middle of the plain; and having with great diligence put his men in order, continued on his way, with an intention not to provoke the Catholicks, and to pursue his journey; but if he were provoked by them, not to refuse the Battel.

The Hugonots marching in this manner, and not having discovered the Squadrons of the Duke of *Guise*, (who causing his Foot to set one knee to the ground, and his

1562. Horſe to retire into the Street of the Village, ſtood as it were in ambuſh) paſſed on without perceiving they left a part of the Enemies force behind them, and came up to the place where the Conſtables Battalia was drawn up: who perceiving the great advantage he had, (for the Duke of *Guiſe* fetching a little compaſs about, (they having inconſiderately ingaged themſelves) might ſet upon them in the Rear) commanded the ſignal to be given to the Battel with fourteen pieces of Cannon that were placed on the outſide of the left Wing. Whereupon the Prince, though his light Horſe were ſomewhat diſordered, therewith putting himſelf in the head of his Diviſion, led them on with great animoſity to aſſault the Battalion of the Swiſſes, which in a manner fronted him. The firſt that fell in upon them were Monſieur *de Muy*, and Monſieur *de Avaray* with their Horſe; then the Prince charging himſelf, and by his example the Baron of *Liancourt*, the Count *de Saule*, Monſieur *de Duras*, and the other Captains *de Gens d' Arms*, the whole force of that Battalia was turned upon the Swiſſes: ſome charging them in the Front, others in the Flank, with all the earneſtneſs and violence that might be; believing, that if they were routed, the victory would infallibly incline to their ſide.

But the Swiſſes, charged and compaſſed in on every ſide by ſuch a number of enemies, valiantly charging their pikes, received the ſhock of the Cavalry with ſuch a courage, that though divers of their pikes were broken, and many of them trodden under foot by the Horſes; yet they ſtood firm in their order, repulſing and abating with exceeding great ſlaughter the fury of the enemy.

At the ſame time the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault* and the Prince of *Porcien*, who brought up the Reer, entring fiercely into the Battel, firſt fell in upon the light Horſe, which made but weak reſiſtance, and afterwards upon the Regiments of *Picardy* and *Brittany* that flankt the Swiſſes on that ſide; and the Fire-locks being broken and routed, they likewiſe aſſaulted the ſame Squadron in the Rear; where though the danger and loſs of blood were great, yet they found a reſolute and hard encounter. For the Swiſſes ſtanding in a cloſe order, made a Front every way, and bravely reſiſted on all ſides; ſo that two *Tertia*'s of the Hugonots Army were fruitleſly imployed in the ſame place, being obſtinate to break the Battalia of the Swiſſes, to whom (if they had been abandoned by all the reſt of the Army) they muſt either voluntarily have yielded, or at leaſt retired with much loſs.

The Battel of *Dreux*.

But the Admiral, who led the Van with better conduct and more advantage, had in the mean while charged the Conſtables Cavalry, and having in the firſt encounter killed his Son *Gabriel de Momorancy*, Sieur *de Monbrun*, and laid upon the ground the Count *de Rocheforte*, who likewiſe remained there dead; (though on all parts it were valiantly fought) yet he began to make the Catholicks yield ground; and thereupon the German Horſe coming up in two great Squadrons, armed with piſtols, with a new and furious aſſault mingled themſelves in the conflict, and abſolutely diſordered the whole Battalion of the Catholicks; ſo that being defeated and routed, they manifeſtly ran away. There the Conſtable fighting valiantly, and ſeeking to keep his men from flight, being compaſſed in by the multitude of the Germans, (who if they can once find a breach open, eaſily overthrow any body of men) his Horſe falling under him, and being wounded in the left arm, was at length taken priſoner. The Duke of *Nevers*, Monſieur *de Givry*, and many other Gentlemen and Cavaliers being fallen dead by his ſide.

The Conſtable taken priſoner, and his Son with many others killed.

The Duke of *Aumale* and Monſieur *d' Anville* were near the Conſtables Battalion with two Squadrons of Lances; who moving to ſuccour that party which they ſaw already began to yield, came boldly on to ruſh into the fight: but thoſe that were chaſed by the Admiral and the Germans fled in ſuch haſte, that over-running their own men, they diſordered the Duke of *Aumale*'s Squadron; who being thrown down, and his Horſe falling upon him, was maimed on the left Leg; and Monſieur *d' Anville* retiring out of the tumult of the run-aways, to avoid (ſeeing nothing was to be done) the like encounter, was conſtrained to return back to the ſame place from whence he came. So all the Conſtables Cavalry being routed, and the French Foot that were with him defeated; only the Swiſſes, beſet on all ſides, but ſtanding firm in a cloſe order and doubled Battalia, having beaten back and deſtroyed the German Foot, who were ſo bold as to aſſault them, though they had loſt their Colonel and the moſt of their Captains, made ſtill a very obſtinate reſiſtance; and the report is moſt certain, that the valiant reſolution, even of the meaneſt Souldiers of that Nation, was ſuch

The Conſtables Diviſion being broken, the Swiſſes only with exceeding gallantry ſuſtain the fight.

that

that day, that many of them, when their pikes were broken, and their ſwords loſt, fought reſolutely with ſtones. 1562.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, when he ſaw the left Wing wholly routed, and knew the Conſtable was taken priſoner; there being now no danger to be over-run by the fugitives who ran away ſcattered in the Champagn, and perceiving the enemy was diſordered and wearied with the fight, gave the ſignal to his Squadrons to move; and putting on his Arms, in few words encouraged his men, ſhewing them, that they had a great advantage to fight with an enemy already wearied out and ſcattered, who becauſe they had routed the Conſtables Cavalry, thought themſelves ſecure of the Victory. He had the Spaniſh foot on the right hand, and the *Gaſcons* on the left; which bending on the form of an half Moon, covered his Horſe, that for the more ſecurity were placed in the middle; and about an hundred paces before all the reſt, marcht the forlorn hope of Foot, led by Monſieur *de Villers*, the ſame that took St. *Katherines* Fort at the ſiege of *Rouen:* which being reſolute old Souldiers, were placed there to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the enemy. In this order, but compoſedly and quietly, with their Squadrons cloſed together, he marched with great fierceneſs to the Battel, and being in the head of his Cavalry, ſeemed to make but little account of the victorious Army of the Enemy.

On the other ſide, the Prince and the Admiral, not perceiving that they had left the Catholick Van behind them, and believing they had gained an intire Victory; when they ſaw ſuch a great force come upon them, rallying their men, and joining again with the Reiters, (who when they found they could not break the Battalia of the Swiſſes, were in purſuit of the Enemy) came ſeparately to the Front; but with a divers event, and diverſe reſolution. The Prince ſeeing the Forlorn hope in his way, which, deſpiſing all danger, ſet upon him, filling every place with death and confuſion; and the *Gaſcoigne* Muſquetiers, which entred couragiouſly into the fight, playing upon him in the flank, before he could bring up his men to charge the Horſe, was ſo ſhaken and diſordered, that his Diviſion was with much eaſe diſſolved and overthrown, and himſelf, invironed by Monſieur *d' Anville*, (who through grief of his Fathers impriſonment, fought deſparately) being wounded in the right hand, and all covered with ſweat and blood, finally remained priſoner. On the other ſide, the Admiral, ſeeing the fierceneſs with which the Spaniſh Foot, pouring out their ſmall ſhot, came to charge him in the flank; and that at the ſame time the Mareſhal *de S. Andre* with divers companies of Lances which were yet freſh and intire, began to move towards him; and finding his men and horſes through wearineſs could ſcarcely be kept in order, he went not up to the Front of the Battalia, but wheeling about, and skirmiſhing lightly, endeavoured to rally his men which were ſcattered in the field, watching an opportunity to retreat in the beſt order and with the moſt reputation that he could. Notwithſtanding, making divers charges, and fighting continually with his Piſtols, he ſuſtained a long time the fury of the enemy; eſpecially, after that the Mareſhal, being mortally wounded, left the field. But at laſt, being charged by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who after the Prince was taken, advanced with divers Troops of his *Gens d' Arms*, to environ him; and the Foot arriving on all ſides, that with their ſhot deſtroyed his horſes; all hope of rallying his men being loſt, he reſolved to ſave himſelf in time; and getting as many of his men together as the enemies purſuit would permit, in great haſte made towards the woods; and without ſtaying or taking breath, with his horſes tired and men wearied, in the cloſe of the evening came to *Neufville*.

The Prince of *Conde* thinking he had won the Battel, being charged afreſh by the Duke of *Guiſe*, is taken priſoner.

The Hugonots loſe the day

At the beginning of the diſorder *Andelot* was retired to the ſame place; who by reaſon of a quartan Ague, being unable to endure the fight, having gotten to an eminent place, when he ſaw the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Troops move, after, as he thought, the Kings Army was utterly defeated; he asked what men thoſe were? and anſwer being made, that they were the Duke of *Guiſe*'s, which had not yet fought: he ſaid many times, that this tail was impoſſible to be flea'd; and ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, thought to ſecure himſelf without expecting the iſſue of the Battel. Both the Brothers then being come to *Neufville*, they endeavoured to get together thoſe relicks of the Army that had eſcaped the Enemy; which following the example of the Commanders, came ſcattering in. So the night coming on, through the darkneſs whereof they could not be purſued, the Prince of *Porcien*, the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault*, and the Germans, who led the Conſtable Priſoner, all met in the ſame place; where, with a great

1562. The Admiral made General of the Hugonots.

applauſe of every one, the Admiral was declared General of the Hugonots Army. Who, not to expoſe himſelf to the inconveniences of the night, ſtayed there till next morning break of day; when having put thoſe few men that were left in order, he marched with great diligence towards *Orleans*, ſeeing the paſſage to *Havre de Grace* was already poſſeſſed and cut off by the Enemy, who lodged juſt in the middle of the great Road.

The two bitter enemies *Conde* and *Guiſe* ſup and lie together in the ſame bed.

The Duke of *Guiſe* remaining Maſter of the Field, together with all the Enemies Artillery and Carriages, and having received the French Infantry to mercy, which after a little reſiſtance yielded themſelves at diſcretion; being overtaken by the night, lodged very inconveniently upon the place at *Blainville*; whither the Prince of *Conde* being brought to him, it is very remarkable, that thoſe two Princes, formerly and in the preſent Battel ſuch mortal enemies, reconciled by the variety of fortune, ſupped together at the ſame table, and for want of carriages, and through ſtreightneſs of lodging, lay together all night in the ſame bed. For the Duke of *Guiſe* uſing his Victory modeſtly, receiving the Prince with all demonſtrations of honour, offered him part of his. In which the patience of the Conquered in the deſparate eſtate of his preſent defeat, was no leſs conſiderable than the modeſty of the Conquerour in the proſperity of his Victory.

The firſt news that came to *Paris*, was of the defeat and impriſonment of the Conſtable, brought by thoſe that ran away at the beginning of the Battel; which filled the Court with great ſadneſs and infinite fear: but a few hours after arrived there Monſieur *de Loſſe*, Captain of the Kings Guard, diſpatched by the Duke of *Guiſe*; who bringing ſuch a contrary relation, with the aſſurance of a Victory, diſſipated their grief for particular loſſes, in which the greateſt part of the Kingdom had a ſhare: for beſides many Lords and Cavaliers of great eſteem and reputation, there were ſlain on both ſides 8000 perſons.

Various were the opinions and diſcourſes of men concerning this Battel: for many accuſed the negligence of the Prince of *Conde*, when having the Enemy ſo near, he believed he was ſtill far off; which neceſſitated him to fight againſt his will: Many blamed the haſte they ſaw in the Admiral to retire; believing that if he had vigorouſly charged them when the Mareſhal *de S. Andre* was killed, he would have routed and defeated that part of the Catholick Horſe, and put his party in a condition to recover again their loſs. And on the other ſide, there wanted not thoſe, who making a ſiniſter interpretation of the Duke of *Guiſes* proceedings, were of opinion, that he might at the beginning, coming behind the Enemy, have rendered the Victory more eaſie and more ſecure, without expecting firſt the diſaſter of the Conſtable, and the ſlaughter of the Horſe and Foot; but that being deſirous of the Conſtables ruine, and to remain ſole Arbitrator of the Catholick Faction, he had craftily ſuffered the Enemy to rout the right Wing, on purpoſe to aſſume all the glory and command to himſelf. To which notwithſtanding, he and his partiſans made anſwer, That he moved not at the beginning, firſt to let the Enemies paſs, and then to avoid the blind fury of them that ran away, by which he might have been diſordered, as were the Duke of *Aumale* and the Conſtables Son himſelf; but that he had patiently expected an opportunity to accompliſh the Victory with ſecurity; which by an inconſiderate haſte would have proved uncertain and dangerous. Howſoever it were, it is certain, that as the Duke of *Guiſe* gained all the glory of the day; ſo the reputation of the Hugonots, rather by accident than any real loſs, was in great part diminiſhed. The Duke remained in the ſame place three days after; as well to put in order and refreſh the Army, as to provide for the wounded men, and the burial of his dead: and being by the King and Queen declared General of all the Forces, of which charge he took poſſeſſion with the Victory, not to give the Enemy time to recover himſelf, directed his courſe towards *Orleans*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* made General of the Kings Forces.

In the mean while, the Admiral with a great part of his Forces, and particularly the German Horſe, which received but little hurt in the Battel, was returned into *Beauſſe*; where granting a Warlike liberty to gain and aſſure the affections of the Souldiers, he at laſt brought them to *Beaugency*, to take ſuch reſolution as was moſt expedient for the preſent neceſſity. There a Council being called of all the French Lords and German Commanders, it was diſputed with great variety of opinions, what in that change of fortune was fitteſt to be done. It was not to be doubted, but the Duke of *Guiſe* purſuing his Victory, would come directly to beſiege *Orleans*, which in the

the bowels of *France* was the chief ſeat and foundation of the War. Wherefore it was expedient to think how to defend that City, and alſo to provide for it in time a fitting ſupply: which being very hard to be done, by reaſon many already wavered in their affections, and the fortune and reputation of the Hugonots declined in all parts of the Kingdom; the two Brothers of *Coligny* boldly took upon them the charge of taking care for both. For *Andelot* proffered himſelf, with the German Foot, and part of the French Horſe, to defend *Orleans*; and the Admiral, laying before the Reiters (ſo they call the German Horſe) the booty and riches of *Normandy* with the near ſuccours of *England*, perſwaded them to follow him into that Province; where whilſt the Duke of *Guiſe* was in perſon imployed in ſuch a difficult ſiege, they might have opportunity to join with the Engliſh, receive the moneys ſent by Queen *Elizabeth*, and bring all their ſuccours together: with which forming a great body of an Army, they ſhould be able afterwards time enough to ſuccour and relieve the beſieged. 1562.

With theſe counſels the heads of the Hugonots directed their Actions. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, not to loſe by delays the fruits of his Victory, at the beginning of the year put all things in readineſs to beſiege *Orleans*; having ſent for the great Cannon from *Paris*, with all other proviſions neceſſary for ſo great a work: at which ſiege, as well to haſten the iſſue thereof, as not to truſt wholly to any one perſon, the Queen reſolved to be preſent; and having paſt over with exceeding patience the ſharpeſt and moſt incommodious ſeaſon of the year, came with the King to *Chartres*; and ſtaying there ſome few days, at the laſt arrived at the Army, lodging with much incommodity at the adjacent Villages. At the coming of the Kings Army, *Piviers*, *Eſtampes*, and all the other places thereabouts were already rendred: after the taking of which, the Duke of *Guiſe*, having gotten all his men together, drew towards the Town the fifth day of *February*, and encamped between the Faux-bourg *d'Olivette*, and the Town of S. *Aubin*; a convenient Quarter, and being placed upon the River of *Loire*, abounding with proviſions. There were in *Orleans*, beſides *Andelot*, who commanded all the reſt, Monſieur *de St. Cyr*, Governour of the City, the Sieurs *d' Avaret*, *Durus*, and *Bouchavenes*, fourteen Companies of Foot, partly Germans, and partly Gaſcons, and five Troops of French Horſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of old experienced Souldiers: and beſides theſe, the Citizens, refuſing neither labour nor danger for the defence of their Town, being divided into four Squadrons, with wonderful readineſs hazarding themſelves upon all ſervices. 1563.

*Orleans* is divided, though not equally, by the River of *Loire*; for on one ſide ſtands the whole body of the City, and on the other lies only a great Faux-bourg vulgarly called the *Portereau*. The *Portereau* is joined to the City with a fair Bridge, at the entrance whereof towards the Faux-bourg are two Forts, called the *Tourelles*, which hinder and ſhut the entry of the Bridge; at the other end whereof is the Gate of the City ſtrengthened with good Walls, but without any Rampart, defended with a high ſquare Tower built after the ancient faſhion, of a great thickneſs. The Walls of the City were in themſelves of little ſtrength; but the Defendants had repaired and made them more defenſible. Amongſt other things, they fortified alſo the *Portereau*, raiſing two great Baſtions before it, which might entertain and keep off the Enemy for a time from the Town: the one being right againſt the place where the Catholicks encamped, was guarded by four Companies of the Gaſcons; and the other which was farther off, was kept by two Companies of the Germans. The Duke of *Guiſe* upon very good reaſons thought it beſt to begin the Siege on that ſide. Firſt, that his men being conveniently lodged, might the better ſupport the incommodities of Winter; then, becauſe, eſteeming it an eaſie matter to take the works of the *Portereau*, he deſigned to make uſe of the commodity of the River to aſſail and batter the Walls of the City with a great number of Barks covered with Gabions, and full of other Warlike Inſtruments, which would in wonderful manner facilitate the aſſault. Beſides on that ſide thoſe within had neither Rampart of Earth within the Wall, nor any allarum place capable to receive a body of men. Wherefore the next morning the whole Army advanced in very good order within ſight of the Town; Monſieur *de Sippierre* leading on the firſt Diviſions of the Catholicks with ſix hundred Horſe, and two Regiments of Foot, with which force he eaſily beat back again into the Faux-bourg thoſe who to ſhew their courage ſallied out to skirmiſh. Whereupon his men being heartned with ſuch good ſucceſs at the beginning, he cauſed a furious aſſault to be given to the Bulwark guarded by the Gaſcoigns; at which the Duke of *Guiſe* coming in, and making ſhew

The Siege of *Orleans* ſuſtained by *Andelot* with the reliques of the Hugonot Army.

1563. ſhew to draw all the forces of his Army to that place, at the ſame time ſent *Sanſac*'s Regiment to ſurprize by Scalado the other held by the Germans; who being amazed with the ſuddenneſs thereof, made ſo little reſiſtance, that the Bulwark being taken, the Catholicks entered the Faux-bourg before any body perceived there was an attempt made upon that part. By which means the aſſailants having already made themſelves ſtrong within the Rampart, and all the Army that ſtood in order marching to them, the Defendants were conſtrained to abandon the Suburbs of the *Portereau*; but not without great terrour and confuſion: in which *Duras* being ſlain, with many other perſons of remark, they were ſo cloſely purſued by the Catholicks who came up to them on all ſides, that if *Andelot* himſelf, fighting valiantly with a great Squadron of Gentlemen, had not withſtood them, they had in that fury entred the Towrells. But he ſtanding at the entry of the Bridge all covered with Arms, and bravely aſſiſted, they were with much difficulty at length repulſed; and the Ports of the Towers and the City being ſhut, that bloody conflict ended with the day. The Faux-bourg being ſecured, the Army approached to the Towrells; which proving very hard to be taken, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the place, the Duke of *Guiſe* notwithſtanding with Gabions, Trenches and Engines of War, ſo far advanced the work, that he found they could not long maintain that Poſte; though from the Cannon planted in certain Iſlands in the middle of the River, thoſe upon the banks received much moleſtation and damage.

In the mean while, the Admiral with his Reiters and ſome few French Horſe, having left all their carriage and baggage at *Orleans*, paſſing the *Loire* at *Georgeau*, marcht with ſuch expedition, that the Mareſhal of *Briſſac*, who endeavoured to lie in their way, could by no means ſtop them in any place, or hinder them from paſſing into *Normandy*; which Province the Reiters, ſlaughtering, firing, pillaging and deſtroying all things both ſacred and prophane, over-ran without reſiſtance; there being no forces in that Country which were able to hinder their incurſions. So paſſing through all places like a horrible and fearful tempeſt, they came at laſt to the coaſts of the Ocean at S. *Sauveur de Dive*. There the Germans not knowing in what part of the World they were, and ſeeing the Sea grow furious and inraged with the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather, and no news at all appearing of the ſuccours ſo often promiſed from *England*, began fiercely to mutiny; demanding with clamour and threats the arrears of their pay, and calling upon the Admiral to obſerve his promiſe: who coming out of his Lodging, and ſhewing them with his finger the ſwelling of the Sea, and the impetuous contrary winds, excuſed with the perverſeneſs of the weather, and the ſeaſon, the delay of their expected ſupplies. But the Germans not to be appeaſed with any thing, he could hardly obtain of them the patience of a few days; though to ſatisfie their greedineſs, he gave them free licence to plunder all, as well friends and adherents, as adverſaries and enemies. Wherefore deſtroying with barbarous cruelty all the tract of that Country which with wonderful fertility and richneſs of the inhabitants extends it ſelf along the Ocean, he ſtayed ſo long expecting about the Sea-coaſts, that at length the ſtorm ceaſing, they deſcryed from *Havre de Grace* the Engliſh Ships, which brought with them both the 150000 Ducats, and the two Regiments of Foot, beſides fourteen pieces of Cannon, with all manner of munition proportionable. The Engliſh under the conduct of the Count of *Montgomery* and Monſieur *de Colombiere*, being received with incredible joy, and the Reiters ſatisfied for their arrears; the Admiral having ſent for the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault* and the Prince of *Porcien*, who brought ſuccours out of *Brittany* and the neighbouring Countries, making in all eight thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe, put himſelf in order with great diligence to go to the ſuccour of his Brother with all the ſpeed that was poſſible; hoping, either by force or art to make them raiſe their ſiege from that place. But the Duke of *Guiſe* having already, though with loſs of much blood, taken the Towrelles, the Defendants were reduced to great ſtraights; nor could the Admiral have arrived ſoon enough to ſuccour the beſieged, if other ſtratagems and means had not been uſed to deliver them from that imminent danger.

*John Poltrot* feigns to forſake the Hugonot party, leaves *Orleans*, inſinuates himſelf into the Duke of *Guiſes* Court, whilſt the Duke gives order for an aſſault, ſhoots him in the ſhoulder, whereof he dies.

There was among the Hugonots Faction one called *John Poltrot* Sieur *de Mereborn*, of a noble Family near *Angouleſme*. This man being of a ready wit, and by nature ſubtile, having lived many years in *Spain*, and afterwards imbracing *Calvins* opinion, being made cunning by the preachings and practiſes of *Geneva*, was eſteemed by all (as he was indeed) fit to undertake any great attempt. Whereforefore being known

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to all the heads of the Hugonot Faction as a proper Inſtrument for any ſuch deſigns, which are the daily effects of Civil Wars, he was perſwaded, as they ſay by the Admiral and *Theodore Beza*, to endeavour to kill the Duke of *Guiſe*; the one propoſing to him infinite rewards and acknowledgments; the other laying before him, that by taking out of the World ſo great a Perſecutor of their Faith, he ſhould merit exceedingly of God. Which perſwaſions working upon *Poltrot*, feigning to have abandoned the *Calviniſts* party, he went to be a Souldier in the Kings Army; and there inſinuating himſelf likewiſe into the Duke of *Guiſes* Court, watched an opportunity to put in execution his purpoſed miſchief. So the 24 of *February* in the evening, being the Feaſt of St. *Matthias* the Apoſtle, the Duke having given order for an aſſault, which the day after he intended ſhould be made upon the Bridge of *Orleans*; and retiring unarmed to his lodging, was was little leſs than a league from the Trenches. *Poltrot*, lying in wait on Horſeback upon a ſwift Jennet, and ſeeing him come alone diſcourſing with *Triſtan Roſtine* a ſervant of the Queens, diſcharged a Gun at him, laden with three bullets, which all three hit him on the right ſhoulder, and paſſing through the body, laid him upon the ground for dead. At which ſuddain accident, his Gentlemen, who, not to ſeem to hearken to what their Maſter ſaid, rode a little before, running to help him: *Poltrot* aided by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, ſaved himſelf in the neighbouring Woods; and the Duke being carried to his lodging, ſhewed at the firſt dreſſing very little hopes of life. At the News of this ſad accident, the King and Queen-Mother, with all the Lords of the Army, went preſently to ſee him; but neither the diligent care nor remedies that were applied taking any effect, the third day after his hurt he died, with great demonſtrations of Religion and Piety, and diſcourſes full of conſtancy and moderation. 1563.

He was a man of mature wiſdom, ſingular induſtry, and ſprightly valour; wary in Council, quick in execution, and moſt fortunate in conducting his deſigns to their intended ends. For which qualities, he was reputed by the general conſent of all men, the chief Captain of his time. Likewiſe by the merit of his own Actions, he acquired the title of Defendor and Protector of the Catholick Religion; and dying, left the glory of his Name to be celebrated and renowned to all poſterity.

The Murtherer, as if he had been beſides himſelf, either through conſciouſneſs of the fact, or elſe through fear that he had to be purſued from every part; not finding the way to *Orleans*, wandred all night in the ways and woods thereabouts, and at laſt in the morning, neither he nor his horſe being able to bear themſelves longer upon their legs, he fell into certain companies of Swiſſes that were in guard at the Bridge *d'Olivette*; by whom being taken, and carried before the Queen and the Lords of the Army; Firſt, he confeſſed voluntarily the whole plot of the Fact; and afterwards, being put upon the torture, ratified the ſame confeſſion: wherefore being led to *Paris*, he was by ſentence of Parliament publickly quartered.

*Poltrot* taken and condemned.

The Admiral and *Theodore Beza* endeavoured, by large Writings ſcattered in all parts of Chriſtendom, to clear themſelves of the ſuſpition: but the common opinions of men, confirmed not only by reaſon, but from the mouth of the Delinquent, refuted all their excuſes; and the memory of it ſtuck cloſe to his poſterity, till the conſummation of their revenge. The proceedings of the Queen-Mother were much different; to whom a Hugonot Captain commonly called *la Motte* having offered himſelf to find a means to kill *Andelot*; She cauſing him to be apprehended by her Guards, ſent him bound to the ſame *Andelot*, that he might puniſh him as he pleaſed himſelf. Which though ſome interpreted ſiniſterly, believing that the Queen had either diſcovered a treacherous intent in the aſſaſſine, or elſe that ſhe hoped to win *Andelot*, by ſuch a kindneſs, in gratitude to deliver up *Orleans*, which they found hardly to be reduced by force; yet it is certain, that the greatneſs of the Queens mind made it generally believed, that ſhe uſed no diſſimulation in ſo generous an Action: and ſurely there are few examples of the like in any of our modern Stories.

A Hugonot Captain offering to kill *Andelot*, the Queen ſends him to the ſame *Andelot*.

After the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, an Accommodation followed without difficulty, the treaty whereof was never intermitted in the greateſt fervour of the War. For the Queen being freed from the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Guiſe*, the one of which through his nearneſs to the Crown, and the other by reaſon of his immenſe power and great eſteem amongſt men, was always ſuſpected by her; She deſired by a domeſtick quieting the troubles of the Kingdom, to drive out the foreign forces before they ſetled themſelves. Neither had ſhe now any jealouſies of the Prince of *Conde*

or

1563. or the Conſtable. For they had ſo offended each other, that ſhe believed it was impoſſible that they ſhould ever be ſincerely reconciled. Beſides, the Conſtable being grown decrepid with age, had neither force nor thoughts to aſpire to the Government; and the Prince of *Conde*, though in the quality of firſt Prince of the Blood, for things paſt, and particularly for the Agreement made with *England*, was become odious to the whole Kingdom, except only thoſe that followed the Hugonot party. Wherefore thinking it moſt expedient for the preſent to ſettle a peace, that with their united Forces they might without diverſion attend the recovery of *Havre de Grace*, the alienation of which place into the hands of ſo powerful Enemies, more than any thing elſe troubled the Queen; that thoſe things might be effected, and the Reiters expelled the Kingdom, (who without regard deſtroyed the Country, and with unheard of cruelties oppreſſed the people) She was inclined to grant very large Conditions. Alſo this other conſideration was no ſmall motive to perſwade an agreement; That the Duke of *Guiſe* being dead, and the Conſtable priſoner to the Enemy, there was no Captain of like Authority and eſteem, who having the command of the Kings Army, could in any degree equal the Admirals wearineſs, or the fierceneſs of *Andelot*. For the Duke of *Aumale*, Brother to the late Duke of *Guiſe*, though he were a man of great courage, yet he was not eſteemed anſwerable in counſel or wiſdom. Beſides, he was for the moſt part held unfortunate in the War; and which imported moſt, he was at that time, by reaſon of the hurts he received in the Battel, unfit for labour; and the Mareſhal of *Briſſac*, though a Captain of great experience, and known valour, had not ſuch an Authority as was requiſite for a General of the Kings Army, compoſed of the chief Princes and principal Lords of his Kingdom. To theſe was added one reaſon more, that it made it very neceſſary to deſire a peace: For the devaſtations of a Civil War had ſo waſted, broken, and hindred the Kings Revenues; and the exceſſive expences which the beginning of a War brings along with it, had ſo exhauſted the Publick Treaſury, that they were not only unable to pay the intereſts of thoſe debts contracted by the former Kings, but the King was conſtrained to make them greater, having received in the time of her neceſſity a conſiderable Sum from the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and 100000 Duckets from the Republick of *Venice*. Wherefore having not wherewithal to continue the War, ſhe thought it wiſdom to lay hold on the advantage of the preſent conjuncture.

On the other ſide, the Prince of *Conde* ſeeing himſelf priſoner to the Enemy, to obtain his liberty, ardently deſired a Peace; and *Andelot*, being reduced to a neceſſity of yielding, thought it would be more for his reputation to be included in a general accord, than to deliver up the Town upon a capitulation made only by himſelf. The Admiral was of a contrary opinion; who neither truſting to the Kings reconciliation, nor the Queens promiſes, and knowing he was inwardly hated and deteſted, choſe for the beſt, rather to continue the War now the chief Leaders of the adverſe party were gone, than to expoſe his perſon to the danger of a ſuſpected and diſſembled Peace. But he being abſent, and the accommodation treated at *Orleans*, where the Queen was in perſon in the Camp, and the Conſtable priſoner in the City; whither alſo came about the ſame buſineſs Madam *Eleonor* wife to the Prince of *Conde*; without having any regard to the opinion of the Admiral, the Peace was concluded and eſtabliſhed upon theſe Conditions; That all thoſe that were free Lords over the Caſtles or Lands that they poſſeſt, not holding of any but the Crown, might within their Juriſdictions freely exerciſe the Reformed Religion; and that the other Feudataries, who had not ſuch dominion, might do the ſame in their own houſes, for their families only; provided, they lived not in any City or Town. That in every Province certain Cities ſhould be appointed, in the Faux-bourg whereof the Hugonots might aſſemble at their devotion. That in all other Cities, Towns and Caſtles in the City of *Paris*, with the Juriſdiction thereof, and all places whatſoever where the Courts reſided, the exerciſe of any other but the Roman Catholick Religion ſhould be prohibited. Yet every one to live free in his Conſcience, without either trouble or moleſtation. That the Profeſſors of the pretended Reformed Religion ſhould obſerve the holy-days appointed in the Roman Kalender; and in their Marriages, the Rites and Conſtitutions of the Civil Law. That all the Lords, Princes, Gentlemen, Souldiers and Captains, ſhould have a full Pardon for all delinquencies committed during the time, or by occaſion or miniſtry of the War; declaring all to be done to a good end, without any offence to the Royal Majeſty; and therefore every one to be reſtored to his Charges, Dignities, Goods, Priviledges

Conditions of Peace concluded at *Orleans*, the 18 of *March*, 1563.

Priviledges and Prerogatives. That the Germans ſhould be ſent, and have ſafe conduct out of the Kingdom; and that it ſhould be in the Kings power to recover all his Places, Towns and Caſtles, from any perſons whatſoever that preſumed to withhold them from him. 1563.

This Capitulation being publiſhed in the Camp, and in the Court, the eighteenth day of *March* the Prince of *Conde* and the Conſtable came out of priſon; *Andelot* delivered the City of *Orleans* into the Queens hands; the Nobility no leſs wearied with the toils than expences of the War, very willingly departed; and the Reiters being conveyed to the confines and ſatisfied for their pay, returned to their own houſes.

The Eight Parliaments of the Kingdom, but particularly thoſe of *Paris*, *Tholouſe*, and *Aix*, thoſe three being always more averſe than the reſt to the Hugonot party, refuſed to accept and regiſter the Edict of Pacification. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Duke of *Montpenſieur* appearing in the name of the State at *Paris*; at *Tholouſe*, the Vicount *de Joyeuſe*; and the Count *de Enze* at *Aix*, they laying before them, that the King thought it moſt convenient for the quiet of the Kingdom and the welfare of his Subjects, that the Pacification ſhould be accepted and approved; at laſt the Articles were publiſhed: yet ſtill reſerving a power in his Majeſty, whenſoever he ſhould think fit, to correct, or revoke it. There was no leſs reſiſtance amongſt the enemies and Hugonot Miniſters, ſeeing the Edict of *January* ſo ſtreightly moderated; and it was exceedingly reſented by the Admiral, who had conceived a great hope to overcome the War. But the Prince of *Conde* being pleaſed it ſhould be ſo, and the Nobility greedily concurring with him, they were forced to comply for the preſent; though in the mean while contriving among themſelves new and more dangerous revolutions.

The Peace being agreed on and publiſhed, the Queen not giving her ſelf leiſure to breathe, having ſent the Army into *Normandy* under the command of the Mareſhal *de Briſſac*, went thither in perſon; deſigning, without delay to reduce *Havre de Grace* by force, and to order matters by her own preſence and directions. Whereby, beſides that ſhe was ſecured from the arts and treacheries of the great Ones, and her Councils were more effectually directed to their proper ends; ſhe alſo gained the affections of the Souldiers to the King, who being brought up amongſt the Armies, and preſent at all Councils and Actions, was repleniſhed with generous lively thoughts; daily learning by experience the practical part of governing his Kingdom.

*Charles* was of magnanimous and truly Royal nature, of a ſharp ready wit; and for the Majeſty of his aſpect and gravity of manners in ſo tender an age, not only eſteemed, but greatly reverenced by thoſe that were about him. On the other ſide, the Engliſh which were to the number of 3000 in *Havre de Grace* under the command of the Earl of *Warwick*, failed not, carefully to provide for and fortifie themſelves; hoping by the ſtrength of the place to be able to make a bold reſiſtance, until the arrival of their Fleet, which was coming with great preparations, not only to ſuccour that place, but alſo to land men, and to infeſt the borders of the lower *Normandy*, and all the coaſts towards the Brittiſh Sea. But the Queen having ſummoned them by an Herald, within the tearm of three days to deliver up the Town, which contrary to the Articles of Peace they had unjuſtly uſurped; that ſhort time being expired, the Army was brought before it, and Batteries raiſed in divers parts.

Not many days after, the Conſtable arrived at the Camp; whoſe preſence added a greater vigour to the Aſſiegents; and however the pains and directions was divided between him and the Mareſhal *de Briſſac*, all the authority and command remained in the Queen; who lodging in the Abby of *Fecan*, rode every day to the Army, ſolliciting the advancement of the ſiege in ſuch a manner, that one of the Towers which ſtood at the entry of the gate being already taken, and Colonel *Sarlabous* with a good number of Foot lodged therein, the Defendants were reduced to great extremities; which daily more and more increaſing by reaſon of the heats, it being then about the middle of *July*, the Town was infected with ſuch a grievous Plague, (to which the Engliſh through the temper of their bodies and manner of diet are exceeding ſubject) that a horrible mortality conſumed in few days the greateſt part of their men. Wherefore the Earl of *Warwick*, not being able longer to reſiſt the force of the Army, and the anger of Heaven, at length, upon the ſeventeenth day of *July*, agreed to render himſelf upon theſe Conditions; That he ſhould freely deliver up *Havre de Grace* into the hands of the Conſtable for the uſe of the moſt Chriſtian King; with all the

*Havre de Grace* delivered up upon conditions.

1563. Artillery and Munition belonging to the French, and all the Ships and Merchandize taken or ſeized upon ſince the War began. That all the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty without ranſom; and that the Engliſh within the term of ſix days ſhould tranſport their arms and baggage, without receiving any impediment whatſoever.

The Capitulation was ſcarcely confirmed, and Hoſtages given on both parts, when the Engliſh Fleet, conſiſting of ſixty Ships, and well furniſhed with men, appeared at Sea, ſteering their courſe with a very favourable wind directly to the Haven. But the Earl of *Warwick*, thinking it diſhonourable not to ſtand to his Capitulation, gave notice to the Admiral of the Fleet, that the Town was already rendred. Wherefore caſting anchor till he had received the Souldiers of the Gariſon aboard, when they were all imbarked, he ſet ſail again, and without making any other attempt returned into *England*.

The Queen having with ſuch facility diſpatched the ſtrangers, ſhe preſently applyed all her endeavour to pacifie the troubles of the Kingdom, and to reform things in the Government. Her intention was, ſince the King was in the fourteenth year of his age, to cauſe him to be declared paſt his Minority, and capable to govern of himſelf; knowing that ſuch a Declaration would take away from the Princes of the Blood and other great Lords the right of pretending or aſpiring to the Government; and that through the Kings youth, and the abſolute authority her counſels had over him, ſhe ſhould ſtill continue in the ſame power and adminiſtration of the Kingdom. But this deſign was oppoſed by the opinions and authority of many Councellors and Lawyers, who diſputed, That the King could not be freed from the Government of his Tutors, nor have the Rule put into his own hands, nor be declared out of Minority, if he had not fully finiſhed and altogether accompliſhed the time prefixed of fourteen years; of which he yet wanted many months. With the *Archives* of the Crown that are kept in the Monaſtery of Monks at St. *Dennis*, amongſt the Acts of the Court of Parliament, there is a Conſtitution of *Louis* the Fifth King of *France*, (he that was ſurnamed the Wiſe) made ſolemnly in the Parliament of *Paris* in the year of our Salvation 1363. ſealed by the High Chancellor *Dormans*, and ſubſcribed by the Kings Brothers, the Princes of the Blood-Royal, and a great number of the chief Barons and Lords of the Kingdom; by which it is declared, That the Kings of *France* may in the fourteenth year of their age aſſume to themſelves the Government and Adminiſtration of the Kingdom: But it is not clearly ſpecified, whether this Conſtitution be of force at the beginning, or elſe at the end of the fourteenth year. For which reaſon many Councellors, particularly thoſe of the Parliament of *Paris*, (perhaps knowing they had greater power during the Minority of the King, and therefore deſiring to enlarge the time of exerciſing it) affirmed, That it could not be ſaid the Pupil was come to the age of fourteen years, if he had not fully accompliſhed them; nor could by any means, before that time, free himſelf from the obligation of a Minor. On the other ſide, the High Chancellor *de d' Hoſpital*, a man of profound learning, and thoſe that favoured the Queens intentions, alledged, That in matters of honour and dignity, they were not to count the minutes of time, as is uſual in the * Reintegration of Pupils; the Laws having an aim to be gracious in the favour of thoſe in minority, to whom it was a benefit to have the time prolonged, before they be ſetled in their Eſtates. But in conferring honours, it was matter of advantage and favour to abbreviate the term, and cut off delays; that the ſpace of a few months was of no moment for the confirming the judgment and underſtanding of a man; and that the Laws preſcribe the age of fourteen years for a man to remain in his own power. Theſe their reaſons they proved with the ſame teſtimony of the Imperial Laws, by which all Chriſtian Potentates are governed, and with the cleareſt and moſt famous Expoſitors of them; who in the diſtribution of Honours and Offices, have, by a common rule practiſed in civil right, ever reckoned the year begun, and as they ſay, *inchoatus*, for the year ended and finiſhed. But becauſe the Parliament of *Rouen* had ever ſhewed it ſelf more obedient to the Kings commands than all the reſt, and in the late reſtitution of the City the particular Counſellors thereof had received many ſpecial graces and favours from the Queen; they reſolved to make this Declaration paſs in that Parliament, rather then expoſe themſelves to the contradiction of the Counſellors of *Paris*, who had gotten a cuſtom to take upon them to moderate by their ſentences the Royal Decrees. So the King and the Queen, after the reduction of *Havre de Grace*, returning with great reputation

* Livery made to Wards.

In matters of favour the year begun is taken for the year ended.

ration to *Rouen*; the 15 day of *September* they went solemnly with all the Court-Lords and Officers of the Crown, to the Parliament; where, in the presence of the Councellours, the King took upon him with the wonted Ceremonies, the free absolute Government of the Kingdom. 1563. After much opposition, *Charles* the Ninth is declared out of minority by the Parliament of *Rouen*.

The Parliament of *Paris* exceedingly resented, that a business of such great weight should be decided and determined in any other seat than theirs, which hath the preeminence of all the rest, and is ordinarily held as a general Council of the whole Nation. But the King being already declared out of Minority, and by nature of a manly masculine Spirit, was much the more offended, that the Parliament of *Paris* presumed to interpose in matters of Government, which belonged not to them; and sharply admonished the Councellours that they should busie themselves to do Justice, to which they were deputed, and not meddle with the affairs of State, which depended wholly upon his will and arbitrement. By which admonitions the Councellours being somewhat mortified, they accepted and published without farther contest the Declaration of his Majority.

The King having assumed the power of the command in name and appearance, the Queen (whose counsels were of more authority than ever) turned all her thoughts to quiet and pacifie the Kingdom, which (like the Sea when the storm is newly past) after the conclusion of the Peace remained troubled and unquiet. It was no longer necessary to keep the parties divided, and balance the force of the Factions, since on the one side the Kings Majority had removed all pretences of affecting the Administration of the Government; and already his Authority, partly by such no able Victories, partly by taking the power into his own hands, was so confirmed and established, that the past suspicion ceased of the machination and treachery of the great ones; who, it was doubted, aspired, by casting the Pupils out of the Royal Seat, to transfer the Dominion of the Crown upon themselves: and on the other side, the death of the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Guise*, had so notoriously weakened the Catholick Faction; and the rash proceedings of the Prince and the Admiral had so abated their credit, and diminished their followers, that the power of both parties being suppressed, discords quieted, and civil dissentions removed, the Kingdom might easily reassume that form in which the preceding Kings had so many ages past enjoyed it. Upon this, the Queen bent all her intentions, (having devised together with the King, and the High Chancellor *de l' Hospital*, who by their secret counsels wholly managed the affairs) to try all means possible to draw the Prince of *Conde* from the protection of the Hugonots Faction; to appease the Admiral and *Andelot*; who being full of suspicion, stood as it were retired from frequenting the Court; and having in this manner deprived that party of Heads and Protectors, by little and little, without noise or violence, to eradicate and destroy them; so that at the last, as in former times it hath happened with many others, it should fall of it self, and be extinguished as it were insensibly. By these arts, dissimulations, wariness and dexterity, they hoped so to work, that the Kingdom should be setled again in that sincerity of quiet, to which by violent sharp means, by force and the sword it was very difficult and dangerous to seek to reduce it.

For the effecting these ends, it was necessary to have a peace with *England*; to renew the confederacy with the Commonalty of the Swisses; and to maintain a good intelligence with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*; that the Hugonots might be deprived of such support, and stranger Nations of pretences to come into the Kingdom, from whose invasions they had lately freed themselves with such infinite labour, danger and prejudice, both publick and particular. To this purpose an Overture of a Treaty was made with Queen *Elizabeth*, by *Guido Cavalcanti* a Florentine, who was conversant in the affairs, and understood the interests of both Kingdoms. To the Protestant Princes of *Germany* they sent *Rascalone*, a man formerly imployed in that Country by the Duke of *Guise*, to quiet and gain the Protestants; with power besides to treat of divers things that concerned the mutual instruments of both Nations. And to the Republick of the Swisses went *Sebastian de l' Aubespine* Bishop of *Limoges*, to renew the ancient Capitulations made with the Father and Grandfather of the present King. But with the Prince of *Conde* they used all subtil arts to convert him sincerely to his obedience. For the King and the Queen receiving him with great shews of confidence, and respecting him as first Prince of the Blood, presently conferred upon him the Government of *Picardy*, the taking away of which was the first spark

1563. that kindled in him a deſire to attempt alterations in the State, and entertaining him as much as could be at Court with Plays, Feaſts, and all manner of paſtimes, ſought to make him in love with the eaſe and pleaſures of peace; and in ſome meaſure at leaſt to forget the fierceneſs of his nature. To theſe practiſes being added the death of *Eleanor de Roye* his Wife, a woman of an unquiet nature, and that continually ſpurred him on to new undertakings, the Queen perſwaded *Margarite de Luſtrac*, Widow to the Mareſhal *de S. Andre*, who was left very rich both by her Father and Husband, to offer her ſelf to him in marriage; believing, that the Prince by this match ſupplying the neceſſity of his fortune, and living at eaſe, and in the ſplendor belonging to the greatneſs of his Birth, would not eaſily be induced hereafter to involve himſelf in new troubles, which had already proved ſo diſaſtrous and dangerous.

But to ſeparate and withdraw him from the friendſhip of the *Chaſtillons*, whoſe converſation, it was plain, ſtirred his thoughts to innovations; they indeavoured by the ſame Court-flatteries to make him believe, that the loſs of the Battel of *Dreux* proceeded from the cowardiſe and treachery of the Admiral and *Andelot*, who either too careful of ſaving themſelves, or envying the valour with which he began to conquer, fled a great deal too ſoon, leaving thoſe alone that fought couragiouſly, and principally him, in the hands of the Enemy; which things being preſt home and inſtilled into him, might diſtract his mind, and put him in diffidence of his ancient friends and confederates. But he being exceedingly enamoured of *Limeville*, one of the Queens Maids, whom (ſhe not ſeeming to take notice of it) he enjoyed, having beſides the hope of ſo rich a match that was offered him, theſe two Conſiderations contributed more to the pacifying of his natural fierceneſs, than all the arts that were uſed to withdraw him from the adherence of the Admiral and the other Brothers of *Chaſtillon*; who, not truſting in the Queen, nor believing ſhe could ever have any confidence in them, could by no means be ſecured; but continually practiſing to raiſe new hopes in the Hugonots, ſtood upon their guard at a diſtance from the Court.

The common peace and the Queens intentions were not more oppoſed by the Hugonots, than the Catholick party intent to revenge the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and impatient to ſee a toleration of Religion.

*Francis* Duke of *Guiſe* left his widow *Anne d'Eſt*, ſiſter to the Duke of *Ferrara*, with three ſons, *Henry* Duke of *Guiſe*, *Lodovick* that was Cardinal, whom *Henry* the Third cauſed to be murthered, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was afterwards Head of the Catholick League.

*Francis* Duke of *Guiſe*, by his Wife *Anne d' Eſt* Siſter to *Alphonſo* Duke of *Ferrara*, left three male children, *Henry* Duke of *Guiſe*, a youth of ſingular hope and exceeding expectation, *Lodovick* deſtined to the Church and the dignity of Cardinal, and *Charles*, firſt Marquiſs, then Duke of *Mayenne*, (he who in the late Wars maintained the Catholick League againſt *Henry* the Fourth.) Theſe Sons, who neither for greatneſs of mind nor courage degenerated from their Father, though they were very young, yet being upheld by the fierceneſs of the Duke of *Aumale*, and the authority of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, their Uncles, boldly attempted to make themſelves the Heads of the Catholick party: and therefore indeavoured to gain credit in the world, and to promote new motives to maintain the ardour of the Faction. For which cauſe having aſſembled a great number of their kindred and ſervants, they went together all clad in mourning to the King, demanding very earneſtly, and with great clamour, of the people of *Paris* (who ran in multitudes to this ſpectacle) that juſtice might be done upon thoſe who had ſo bruitiſhly cauſed their Father to be murthered, whilſt in the ſervice of GOD and the Crown loyally and glorioufly bearing arms, he laboured for the good of the Commonwealth. To which demand the King not being able to make other anſwer, than that in due time and place he would not fail to do exemplary Juſtice upon thoſe that were found guilty of ſo hainous a crime; the Brothers of *Coligny* became more diffident than before, and were brought as it were into an inevitable neceſſity again to arm their Faction, that they might be able to withſtand the powerful enmity of the *Guiſes*.

But if all Arts were uſed to raiſe the Catholick party; the endeavour was yet greater to ſuppreſs the *Calviniſts*. For the Cardinal of *Lorain*, knowing that the intereſts of his Nephews being united and mingled with the cauſe of Religion, they would gain greater honour, and render themſelves more ſtrong and powerful; as ſoon as the Council of *Trent* was broken up, which hapned this preſent year in the month of *November*, he went to *Rome*, and perſwaded the Pope *Pius Quartus* (who was ill ſatisfied with the Peace concluded in *France*) that he ſhould preſs the King and the Queen-Mother to cauſe the Council to be publiſhed and obſerved in their Kingdom: promiſing, that his Nephews, with the whole houſe of *Lorain*, and the greateſt part of the French Nobility,

The Council of *Trent* breaks up in *Nov.* 1563. in the Papacy of *Pius Quartus*.

Nobility, would be ready and united to cauſe declaration thereof to be made, and ſufficient afterwards by force to ſuppreſs the followers of the Hugonot Doctrine. The Pope was ſollicited to the ſame effect by the Catholick King, and the Duke of *Savoy*, being entred into a jealouſie, that the nearneſs and introduction of the Hugonots might endanger their States, ſeeing the Low-Countries belonging to King *Philip* were already infected, and not only *Savoy*, but even *Piedmont* alſo exceedingly peſtered with them; where through the neighbourhood of *Geneva* they had ſowed the ſeeds of their hereſie. Wherefore they both deſired, that this dangerous fire kindled in ſo near a Country, might without further delay be extinguiſhed. Nor was it a difficult matter to perſwade the Pope to be earneſt in a buſineſs which more than any thing elſe concerned the greatneſs of the Apoſtolick Sea, and the Authority of the Papacy. For which reaſons, they reſolved to join together to ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to exhort him that he ſhould cauſe the Council to be publiſhed and obſerved, with proffers of forces and aid to expel and extirpate hereſie out of his Dominions. This Embaſſie (which to give it the more credit was ſent in the names of them all) exceedingly troubled the King and the Queen-Mother: For though they concurred with the Pope and other Princes, to irradicate and ſuppreſs the Hugonot Faction, which they knew to be the ſource of all the troubles; yet they judged it not agreeable to their intereſts to do it tumultuouſly, and with ſuch a noiſe on a ſuddain; nor to precipitate their deliberations; which being deſigned with great wiſdom, were not yet come to maturity. And they took it wondrous ill, that the Catholick King, and much more the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould preſume as it were by way of command to interpoſe in the Government of their State: Beſides, that this ſo preſſing ſollicitation put them in an evident neceſſity, either to alienate the Pope from them, and with publick ſcandal and ignominy of their names to ſeparate themſelves from the obedience of the Apoſtolick Sea; or elſe to diſcover the deſigns, with which proceeding leiſurely, they had determined without the hazard of War to attain (by the benefit of time) to the ſame end: but if they were by this means diſcovered, whilſt they endeavoured with their uttermoſt skill to conceal them, it was evident, that the knowledge thereof coming to the Hugonots, not only a Civil War would be kindled again in the bowels of the Kingdom, but a way opened for ſtranger Nations to invade and ſpoil the beſt parts of *France*; as the example of the paſt War had ſufficiently proved. For which reaſon, there being no other way but by art and diſſimulation to render this negotiation of no effect, they received the Ambaſſadors privately at *Fountain-bleau*, (a houſe remote from the concourſe of people) that by the little ceremony uſed at their reception, their buſineſs might be thought of leſs conſequence. Afterward they endeavoured by delaying their anſwer and diſpatches, to make the Negotiation antiquate it ſelf, and by degrees fall to nothing. And laſtly, ſought by ambiguous ſpeeches, capable of divers interpretations, to leave the Ambaſſadors themſelves doubtful of their intentions: concluding in the end, that they would forthwith ſend Miniſters of their own to the Pope and the other Princes, to acquaint them particularly with their reſolutions.

1563.

The Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, ſend Ambaſſadors to *Charles* the Ninth to ſollicite the publication of the Council.

The Ambaſſadors being thus diſpatched away at the end of *January* in the year 1564. the King and the Queen reſolved to viſit all the Provinces and principal Cities of the Kingdom, meaning by this progreſs to advance thoſe deſigns, which was the only end they aimed at for the preſent. For coming to a Parley with the Duke of *Savoy* in *Dolphine*, with the Popes Miniſters at *Avignon*, and with the Catholick King, or elſe with the Queen his Wife upon the confines of *Guienna*, they might communicate their counſels to them without the hazard of truſting French-men, (who either through dependence or kindred had all the ſame intereſts) to have them revealed to the Hugonots. So that in this manner preſerving the amity of the Pope and the other Catholick Princes, they might by common conſent have leiſure enough to bring their projected deſigns to maturity. They thought it alſo no little help to have the opportunity to treat in perſon with the Duke of *Lorain*; and by his means, with the Proteſtant Princes; with whom they hoped to make ſo firm an alliance, that they ſhould not need to fear they would any more ſhew themſelves in the favour of the Hugonots, or interpoſe in the affairs of their Kingdom. From this journey aroſe another benefit of great importance; that by viſiting the principal Cities, and informing themſelves particularly what condition they were in, they might take order to ſecure them with new Forces, or the change of Magiſtrates and Governours, ſo that at another time they might not apprehend their revolt. Beſides this, they hoped, that by appeaſing the

1564.

tumults,

1564. tumults, and ſatisfying the complaints and grievances of the people, the King would greatly augment his authority, and ſo gain the affections of his Subjects, that by degrees they would turn to their ancient loyalty, which by nature and cuſtom they uſed to pay with ſuch devotion to the perſons of their Soveraigns. The voyage was alſo requiſite in regard of Queen *Jeane*: For ſhe, after her Husbands death, being wholly abandoned to the worſhip and belief of the Hugonots, had by publick Edicts, and with open violence, taken away the Images out of the Temples, baniſhed the Prieſts, poſſeſt the Churches, and thrown down the Altars; commanding that all the People ſubject to the Principality of *Bearne* ſhould live according to the Rites and Ceremonies of *Calvins* Religion. At the noiſe of which proceedings, the Catholick King, either watching all occaſions to conquer the reliques of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, or elſe through an apprehenſion that the infection of Hereſie coming ſo near might penetrate into his Country of *Spain*, made great complaints thereof to the Pope; advertiſing him without further delay to provide againſt ſo great an inconvenience. And the Pope moved not only by the advice and exhortations of the King of *Spain*, but alſo the open prejudice the intereſts of the Apoſtolick Sea received thereby; firſt, kindly admoniſhed the Queen by the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, a near kinſman and ancient dependent upon that family, not to introduce ſuch an intolerable innovation; and afterwards, ſeeing thoſe admonitions profited nothing, ſent out a Monitory; whereby he required her, to deſiſt from perſecuting the Catholick Religion, and to return within the Term of ſix months into the boſom of the Church; or elſe threatned, when the time was expired, to expoſe her to the Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and grant her Country to thoſe that could firſt conquer it.

The Queen of *Navarre* cauſeth Churches to be ruined, and expelleth the Prieſts. Whereupon the Pope ſends out a Monitory againſt her, which is oppoſed by the King of *France*.

The King of *France* openly declared himſelf againſt the Monitory; alledging, that the States of *Jane* being held directly of him, the Pope could not through any fault in her, who was ſimply a Feudatary, make a grant of them; but that they devolved immediately upon him, as the Supream Lord. By which oppoſition, the vehemency and ardour of the Pope being ſomewhat abated, Queen *Jane* continued ſo much the more reſolute by new Laws, and promulgation of new Orders, to baniſh the Catholick, and eſtabliſh *Calvin*'s Religion. But the King, not willing that any Act of his ſhould give the Spaniards a colourable pretence to intermeddle with buſineſſes on this ſide the Mountains which ſeparate *France* from *Spain*; or whilſt he was buſied with the Inſurrections of his Subjects, that ſuch a large paſſage ſhould be opened to enter into his Kingdom; gave order to the Parliaments of *Thouloufe* and *Bourdeaux*, that they ſhould oppoſe the attempts of the Queen of *Navarre*; pretending that ſhe could neither make new Laws, nor introduce a new Religion in thoſe States without the conſent and permiſſion of the King of *France*, who was the chief Lord. Which though it were true of *Nerac*, *Oleron*, and the County of *Bigorre*; yet it was not ſo for the Principality of *Bearne*, that had been many times brought into controverſie, and always declared independent upon any but the King of *Navarre*. But the ſtate of the preſent affairs, and the apprehenſion of the future, to prevent the growing diſorders, cauſed theſe diſputes to be revived, which hath been ſo long buried and decided. Wherefore the King and the Queen thought it very material in viſiting all parts of the Kingdom, to paſs likewiſe upon thoſe Confines, to try whether they could alter Queen *Jane* in her opinions; or if they could not effect that, to bring away her Son Prince *Henry*, that being firſt Prince of the Blood he might not be brought up in the Doctrine of the Hugonots, whereby to prepare new protection and ſupport for the men of that Faction. Theſe be the reaſons that moved them to undertake this Voyage. But not to diſcover to thoſe upon whom they had deſigns, what was the end or ſecret intention of this Viſitation; they made ſhew, and were content every body ſhould think, that the King, only through a youthful vanity to ſhew himſelf in all parts of the Kingdom, and to taſte ſeveral delights in ſeveral places, deſired to make this progreſs; and that the Queen conſented thereunto through an ambition to let the World ſee the Magnificence of her Government, and through a deſire to viſit her Daughter the Queen of *Spain*. Wherefore with an apparence much different from their inward deſigns, they made publick and plentiful Preparations of ſumptuous Liveries, of all manner of things for ſeveral kinds of Huntings, for Stage-Plays, and Royal Entertainments; with a great train of Courtiers fitted for Pomp and Delights. Which things when they were ready, not farther to delay the buſineſs in hand, as ſoon as the

The Principality of *Bearne* holds not of the Crown of *France*.

The King and the Queen make a general viſitation of the whole Kingdom.

the ſeaſon of the year would permit, they went through *Brye* and *Champagne* to the City of *Bar*, (placed upon the confines of *Lorain*) whither came to receive them the Duke himſelf, with the Dutcheſs *Claudia* his Wife the Kings Siſter, and Daughter to the Queen. There, by *Raſcalone* and the Miniſters of the Duke of *Lorain*, the Queen began to treat of an interview with the Duke of *Wittembergh*, the chief of the Proteſtant Faction in *Germany*, believing if ſhe could treat in perſon with him and the other Princes of the ſame Religion, by her Arts to draw them to ſuch a confederacy with the Crown of *France*, that they ſhould not need for the future to fear any oppoſition from them. But the Duke of *Wittembergh* through the infirmities of age refuſing to come, they began (though with leſs hope) by way of Treaty to perſwade him and the other Princes to receive penſions from the King, with honourable Title and other large Conditions; conceiving, that in reaſon they would rather deſire to have certain Stipends and aſſured Conditions from the King, than the uncertain promiſes and vain offers from the Hugonots. Notwithſtanding, the Count *Palatine* of *Rhine*, *Wolphangus* Duke of *Deux-ponts*, and the Duke of *Wittembergh*, inclining to favour the Hugonots, though more for the common intereſt of Religion than any other conſideration, refuſed to accept penſions of the Crown of *France*; and only with good words promiſed in general, not to ſend any Aids to the Faction of the Male-contents, except in caſe they were moleſted in their Liberty of Conſcience. On the contrary, *John William*, one of the Dukes of *Saxon*, and *Charles* Marqueſs of *Baden*, either through emulation of the other Princes, or elſe moved with the profit propoſed, accepted the Kings Stipends; promiſing to ſerve him in his occaſions with a certain number of men, and to bear Arms againſt all his Enemies. 1564.

The Queen treats with the Proteſtants of *Germany*.

From *Bearne* the King continuing his Viſitations came to the City of *Lyons*, in which the Hugonots had ſo great a party, that in the laſt War it was one of the firſt that rebelled, and the laſt that returned into obedience. Wherefore conſidering the importance thereof, the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, and *Germany*, with other conditions of the place, it was reſolved in the Council to build a Cittadel between the *Rhoſne* and the *Saone*, (two great Rivers that run through the Town) whereby to bridle the people, and ſecure the City from the treachery of its neighbours. The foundation of which Fortification being laid then in the preſence of the King, it was afterwards brought to perfection by the diligence of Monſieur *de Loſſe*, newly put into that Government by the diſcharge of the Count *de Saut*, who had rendred himſelf ſuſpected by favouring the Hugonot party. From *Lyons* the King being come to *Valence* in *Dolphine*, he cauſed the City to be diſmantled, and built there a new Fortreſs; that Town having ever been a great place of receipt for thoſe that were in rebellion. But being arrived at the Caſtle of *Rouſſilion*, *Filibert Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* came thither poſt to meet him, with whom having treated of ſuch things as concerned both States, this Prince was ſufficiently informed of the Kings intentions, and of the way deſigned to free himſelf without noiſe or danger from the moleſtation of the *Calviniſts*. So that being fully perſwaded and ſatisfied, he promiſed ſuch aids as could be ſent from thoſe parts.

*Lyons* the firſt that rebelled, and the laſt that returned to obedience.

An Interview between the King and the Duke of *Savoy*

From *Rouſſilion* the King went to *Avignion*, immediately under the Juriſdiction of the Pope, where *Fabritio Serbelloni* the Governour, and the Biſhop of *Fermo* Vice-Legate, received him with very great ſolemnity: and *Lodovico Antinori*, one of the Popes truſty Miniſters a *Florentine*, being according to the Queens deſire come thither, they began to confer about buſineſſes of common intereſts. There the King and the Queen gave an Anſwer to the Popes Embaſſie, which they would not truſt to the Embaſſadors; ſhewing, that they were ready to extirpate Calviniſm, and to cauſe the Council to be obſerved in their Dominions: but to avoid the Introductions of the Engliſh, with the Incurſions of the Lutherans of *Germany*, and to effect their purpoſe without the danger or tumult of new Wars, in which ſo many thouſands of Souls periſhed, and the Chriſtian Countries were miſerably deſtroyed, they had deliberated to proceed warily, with ſecret ſtratagems, to remove the principal Heads and chief Supports of that party, to reduce the Prince of *Conde* and the Brothers of *Chaſtillon* to a right underſtanding, to fortifie ſuch Cities as were ſuſpected, re-eſtabliſh the Kings Revenues, gather Moneys, and make many other proviſions, which could not be had but by the progreſs and benefit of time, that they might be able afterward to work their ends with more ſecurity, without thoſe dangers and prejudices which a too precipitate haſte would plunge them into, with little hope of good ſucceſs. By the apparence of which reaſons the Pope being perſwaded, who was by nature averſe from cruel

The King meeteth with the Popes Miniſters at *Avignon*.

1564. cruel counſels, and the effuſion of Chriſtian Blood in civil diſſentions, he conſented, that the publication of the Council ſhould be deferred till ſuch time as they had brought their deſigns to maturity.

1565. It was now the beginning of the Year 1565. when the King continuing his Voyage through the Province of *Languedock*, and celebrating the Carnival with youthful paſtimes, arrived at *Bayonne*, ſituated in the Bay of *Biſcay*, and upon the confines of *Spain*, juſt in that place where ancient Writers deſcribe the *Aquæ Auguſti*. The Queen of *Spain* being come to this place, accompanied with the Duke of *Alva* and the Count *de Beneventa*, whilſt they made ſhew with triumphs, turnaments, and ſeveral kinds of paſtimes to regard only their pleaſures and feaſtings, there was a ſecret conference held for a mutual intelligence between the two Crowns. Wherefore their common intereſt being weighed and conſidered, they agreed in this, That it was expedient for one King to aſſiſt and aid the other in quieting their States, and purging them from the diverſity of Religions. But they were not of the ſame opinion concerning the way that was to be taken with more expedition and ſecurity to arrive at this end: for the Duke of *Alva*, a man of a violent reſolute nature, ſaid, That to deſtroy thoſe Innovations in Religion, and Inſurrections in the Commonwealth, it was neceſſary to cut off the Heads of thoſe Poppies, to fiſh for the great Fiſh, and not care to take Frogs (by theſe conceptions he expreſſed himſelf:) for the winds being once allayed, the billows of the common people would be eaſily quieted and calmed of themſelves. He added, That a Prince could not do a thing more unworthy or prejudicial to himſelf, than to permit a Liberty of Conſcience to the people; bringing as many varieties of Religion into a State, as there are capritious fancies in the reſtleſs minds of men; and opening a door to let in diſcord and confuſion, mortal accidents for the ruine of a State: and ſhewed by many memorable examples, that diverſity of Religion never failed to put Subjects in Arms, to raiſe grievous treacheries and ſad rebellions againſt Superiours. Whence he concluded at the laſt, That as the Controverſies of Religion had always ſerved as argument and pretence for the Inſurrections of Male-contents; ſo it was neceſſary at the firſt daſh to remove this cover, and afterwards by ſevere remedies, no matter whether by ſword or fire, to cut away the roots of that evil, which by mildneſs and ſufferance perniciouſly ſpringing up, ſtill ſpread it ſelf and increaſed.

*Charles* the IX. and the Queen-Mother come to an interview with the Queen of *Spain* at *Bayonne*.

On the other ſide, the Queen fitting her deliberations to the cuſtoms and diſpoſition of the French, deſired to avoid as much as was poſſible the imbruing of her hands in the Blood of the Princes of the Royal Family, or the great Lords of the Kingdom; and reſerving this for the laſt reſolution, would firſt try all manner of means to reduce into obedience and the boſom of the Church, the Heads of the Hugonots; who being withdrawn from that party, they ſhould likewiſe take away, though not by the ſame means, the fuel that nouriſhed the fire of civil diſſentions. She ſaid, that ſhe well knew the inconveniences that were derived from a Liberty of Conſcience; and that it would have been indeed expedient, to have provided againſt it by ſeverity at the beginning, when it was newly planted; but not now, that it had taken root, and was grown up: that the motives of Religion are ſo univerſal and efficacious, that where they once take footing, it is requiſite to tolerate many things, which without that neceſſity would not be indured; and to make a long various navigation to that Port, where they could not arrive by ſteering a direct courſe: ſhewing withal, that in the Government, they were to do what they could, not all that they would; and in matters of Conſcience, it was requiſite to proceed with great dexterity: for they are fires that flame out with too much violence. Wherefore it was neceſſary to ſlacken them by degrees, and ſecretly to ſuffocate them, before by breaking out they filled all places with deſolation and ruine: and by ſo freſh an example as the late War, demonſtrated unto them, how near the Kingdom of *France* was to be diſmembred and ruined, not only by the Engliſh, but alſo by the Germans. In which regard ſhe thought it moſt requiſite, as much as was poſſible to avoid the neceſſity of a War. The opinions were thus divers by reaſon of the diverſity of circumſtances, the variety of cuſtoms, difference of intereſts; and above all, the different quality of the natures of men, rendred the matter diverſe, and adminiſtred different counſels: notwithſtanding they diſagreed not in the end. For both parties aimed at the deſtruction of the Hugonots, and the eſtabliſhment of obedience. Wherefore at laſt they made this concluſion, That the one King ſhould aid the other either covertly or openly, as was thought moſt conducing

cing to the execution of ſo weighty and ſo difficult an enterpriſe: but that both of them ſhould be free to work by ſuch means and counſels as appeared to them moſt proper and ſeaſonable; praying to God, that ſeverity and clemency (ways ſo different) might nevertheleſs ſucceed to the ſame end. 1565.

The enterview of *Bayon* being ended in this manner, and Queen *Elizabeth* departed to return into *Spain*, the King, following his Voyage, went towards the Territories of the Queen of *Navarre*; whom not being able to perſwade to return to the Rites of the Catholick Church, yet he required, that in all places where Maſs had been forbidden, it ſhould be reſtored; and that the Prieſts ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their poſſeſſions. He obtained of her further, that ſhe with her children ſhould follow the Court; which ſeemed no hard condition: not that ſhe was affectionate to the Kings Perſon, or approved the manner of the preſent Government; but there being at that time a matrimonial proceſs depending before his Majeſty, between the Duke of *Nemours* and *Frances de Rhoan* her Neece, (whom, being of the ſame Religion, ſhe exceedingly loved) it ſeemed neceſſary for her to be preſent at the diſcuſſion of a buſineſs in which ſhe was ſo much concerned. Being therefore reſolved to follow the Court; the King, the more to invite her to ſtay there, made great ſhew of kindneſs both to her children and her ſelf: but his having ſeen with his own eyes through all the Provinces of *Aquitan* the Churches deſtroyed, the Altars profaned, Images thrown down, Monaſteries burnt and deſtroyed, and even the bones of the dead raked out of their graves, and thrown up and down the fields; made him inwardly conceive ſuch an hate againſt her, and againſt all the Hugonots, that he ceaſed not afterwards to perſecute them moſt ſeverely, until the rage which was kindled in his breaſt againſt them were fully ſatisfied. But the general viſitation of the Provinces being ended, and deſiring to remedy the diſorders which they had diſcovered in divers parts by the complaints of the people, he cauſed an Aſſembly of the moſt eminent perſons of the eight Parliaments of the Kingdom to be ſummoned for the year following to meet at *Moulins*, in the Province of *Bourbonois*, there to give ſuch orders as ſhould ſeem moſt proportionable to the preſent affairs. His Majeſty deſigned in ſo noble a preſence of his chief Subjects to reconcile the Houſes of *Guiſe* and *Chaſtillon*, which were ſo bitterly incenſed againſt each other; their private enmity drawing along with it by conſequence the diviſion of the people, and diſſention in the Kingdom. He thought by this occaſion to get the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral to come to Court, to work by ſome fit means to ſeparate them from the commerce and protection of the Hugonots, to take them off by a preſent certainty from future machinations, to make every one taſte the benefits of peace, with the advantage of publick and private repoſe; and by this way to deprive that party of their Authority and Conduct, that they might be able afterwards more eaſily to reſtrain and ſuppreſs them.

The King not being able to perſwade the Queen of *Navarre* to change Religion, moves her to reſtore the Maſs and Prieſts to their former liberty.

But all theſe attempts were in vain. For the Admiral, who had laid down his arms unwillingly; and *Andelot*, who only to free himſelf from the Siege at *Orleans*, conſented to a peace; were more intent than ever to contrive new matters; and neither truſted the Kings demonſtrations, nor the Queens diſſembling; nor believed they could ever be ſincerely reconciled with the *Guiſes*. And the Prince of *Conde*, always voluble, and of vaſt thoughts, ſatiated with the delights and pleaſures of the Court, deſpiſing the marriage with the Widow of St. *Andre* as unequal to him in birth, had taken to Wife *Mary* Siſter to the Duke *de Longeville*, and was more than ever united with the Lords of *Chaſtillon*. So that what the Queen built up with her Art, the diſpoſition of the Prince, and the ſubtilty of the *Chaſtillons* threw down. There was no leſs diſorder threatned from the diſſention that aroſe in the Conſtables Family; which being kindled before, brake forth now with greater violence. For *Francis* Mareſhal of *Momorancy* (his eldeſt Son) drawn by nearneſs of kindred, and a certain ill-underſtood ambition, which inclined him (though with a mind and underſtanding much inferiour) to imitate the Admiral; more than ever openly declared himſelf for the Lords of *Chaſtillon*; profeſſing for their ſakes a paſſionate enmity to the *Guiſes*. And on the contrary, *Henry d'Anville*, in reſpect of his Wife (who was Neece to Madam *Valentine*) allied to the Duke of *Aumale*, and puft up by being newly created Mareſhal in the place of *Briſſac* lately deceaſed; through emulation alſo of his Brother, clearly depended upon the Catholick party, and the friendſhip of the Princes of *Lorain*. By reaſon of which diſcord, they not only divided the followers of their Family, but alſo held the judgment and counſel of their Father in great ſuſpence; ſeeing they mani-

1565. feſtly prepared, the one to ſide with the Hugonot party, and the other to foment the reſolutions of the Catholicks; by their private contentions augmenting the publick diſtractions.

It hapned at the ſame time the more to incite the animoſity of the parties, that the Cardinal of *Lorain* returning from *Rome*, and offering to enter *Paris* with a certain guard of armed men, as he had power to do by a *Brevet* (ſo they call it) from the King, ſealed by the High Chancellor, and ſubſcribed by the Queen; the Mareſhal of *Momorancy*, after the death of *Briſſac* made Governour of that City, firſt injuriouſly forbad his entry, and afterwards in a tumultuous manner put him out of the Town; pretending he knew not that the Cardinal had a Licence from the King and the Council. In which tumult the Admiral, who was near, ſeeking an occaſion of new ſtirs, and burning with a deſire to appear the Arbitrator, and as it were the Oracle of *France*, ran thither, accompanied with a great train, and appearing in the Parliament, a thing not uſually done except in great neceſſity, but by the King himſelf, or by his Authority gravely advertiſed the Counſellors, promiſing his care to pacifie the uproars of the people, and to free them from ſo imminent a danger. Which kind of proceeding exceedingly offended the King and the Queen; it appearing to them, that thoſe people preſumed too evidently to counterpoiſe the Royal Authority. But the end at which they aimed made them artificially diſſemble their diſpleaſure. With theſe ſeeds of diſcord ended the year 1565.

1566. At the beginning of the year following, the King and Queen being really intent, though inwardly exaſperated, to put an end to the troubles of the Kingdom rather by the arts of Peace, than the violence of War, went to *Moulins*; where thoſe that were ſummoned met from all parts at the Aſſembly; in which the complaints of the people being propoſed and conſidered, and the abuſes introduced; according to the advice of the High Chancellor, there was a long punctual decree formed, in which was preſcribed a form of Government, and a manner of proceeding for the Magiſtrates, taking away thoſe corruptions and diſorders that uſe to give the ſubject juſt cauſe of complaint. At the ſame time the King, inſiſting upon the pacification of his ſubjects for the general peace of the Kingdom, a reconciliation was endeavoured between the Houſes of *Guiſe* and *Chaſtillon*, at which appeared on the one ſide the Mareſhal of *Momorancy* with the *Chaſtillons*; on the other, the Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Guiſe*: but with ſuch backwardneſs in both parties, that there was little hope of ſincere intentions, where there appeared ſo much diſorder, and ſuch an adherence to private intereſts. For on the one part, the Duke of *Aumale*, Brother to the Cardinals, had abſolutely refuſed to be preſent thereat; and *Henry* Duke of *Guiſe*, yet in age of minority, came thither, only not to diſpleaſe his Tutors; but carried himſelf in ſuch a grave, reſerved manner, that it clearly appeared, though his Governours brought him againſt his will, when he was once come of age, he would not forget the death of his Father, nor obſerve this peace, to which he could not, being then ſo young, remain any way obliged. But on the other part alſo the Mareſhal of *Momorancy*, not enduring ſo far to humble himſelf, denied to ſpeak certain words appointed by the Queen and the Council for the ſatisfaction of the Cardinal of *Lorain*; nor would ever have been brought to it, if he had not been forced by his Father; who if he refuſed, threatned to diſinherit him; and the *Chaſtillons* oppoſing by their Actions this ſeeming Agreement, ceaſed not to calumniate and make ſiniſter interpretations of the proceedings of the *Guiſes*. At the laſt they were brought together in the preſence of the King, where they imbraced and diſcourſed, but with a general belief, even of the King himſelf, that the reconciliation could not long endure; which within a few days proved ſo indeed. For the Duke of *Aumale* arriving at the Court, denied expreſly to meet with, or uſe any act of ſalutation or civility to the Admiral, or the reſt of his Family. On the contrary, in the Queens preſence he ſaid, that the Admiral laying to his charge that he had hired one to kill him, he ſhould think it a great happineſs to be ſhut up with him in a chamber, that he might hand to hand let him know he had no need of help; but that he was able to determine his own quarrels himſelf. And becauſe the Queen being moved therewith, anſwered, That they might meet in the field; the Duke replyed again, That he came thither with fifty Gentlemen, but would return only with twenty; and if he met the Admiral, he might perhaps make him beat more: and in this fury he would have left the Court, if the King had not laid an expreſs command upon him to ſtay. After which new exaſperations, *Andelot* ſeeking all occaſions of new ſcandals, publickly charged the Duke of *Aumale* in

The Aſſembly at *Moulins*, and the decree made there.

An interview between the Princes of *Guiſe* and the *Chaſtillons*; but no reconciliation.

the Council, that he had set one Captain *Attin* to murther him: to which the Duke replyed with great shew of resentment, It was necessary to lay hold of *Attin*; who not being found culpable in any thing, was at last released. Both parties ceased not mutually to persecute each other both in words and deeds, each of them accusing their adversaries, that they went about to raise men, and had an intent to disturb the quiet of the Kingdom. Which (though diligently inquired into) proving but vain surmises, at length it was thought the best way to continue the peace, that the Lords of both parties should absent themselves from the Court, where daily new occasions arising of contestation between them, the things already quieted were disturbed and subverted. To this end, and to give example to the rest, the Constable with the Mareshal *d'Anville* his Son, taking publick leave of the King and the Queen, went to their Castles in the Isle of *France*. So the great Lords following the same resolution, within a few days after they all departed; and particularly the Prince and the Admiral, went severally to their own houses; and the Duke of *Aumale* being left Heir to Madam *Valentine* his Mother-in-law, who died about that time, retired himself to *Anet*, a place of pleasure which she had built. There remained at the Court only the Cardinal of *Lorain*, whom the King imployed in all businesses of importance; and the Mareshal *Monmorancy*, whose Government of *Paris* the Queen meant by some slight or other to take away; that so powerful a people might not be under the command of a person that was inclined to innovations; and that the chief support of the Kings Authority for the present might be put into such hands as depended absolutely upon himself. 1566.

At this same time happened the distastes and departure of the Queen of *Navarre* from Court. For sentence being given by the King against *Frances de Rohan*, by which the contract of marriage between Her and the Duke of *Nemours*, though subscribed by their own hands, was made void; and he having concluded to marry *Anne d' Este*, Widow to the late Duke of *Guise*; Queen *Jane*, after infinite, but vain attempts in favour of her Neece; at the last, (just as they were Marrying in the Kings presence) caused one whom she had hired with promise of Reward to interpose, and make a Protestation in the name of *Frances:* but he being taken and imprisoned, without interruption of the Marriage, and finding her designs took no effect; equally offended withal, thinking her self injured and despised, she resolved to leave the Court, and retire into *Bearn:* designing in her mind, to raise new and more dangerous troubles. She took for occasion and pretence of her departure, That she could not be suffered a free exercise of her Religion. For the King being advertised by the Popes Nuncio, and divers others of the great resort of persons of all sorts to her lodging, to hear Hugonot Sermons; and knowing the Parisians were greatly scandalized thereat; he one day sent his Provost *de l' Hostel* (as they call him) to seize upon her Minister: and though he were not taken, (for the Provost gave him secret notice, that he might be gone) yet Queen *Jane* esteeming it as an huge affront, and having made many complaints thereof to the Queen, pretended that this was the cause of her departure. But the Court was full of joy and feasting for the Marriage of the Duke of *Nemours* and Madam *de Guise*; besides many other Weddings that were celebrated, made the Carnival appear indeed a time of pomp and pleasure; that custom of the Nation giving a testimony to those who govern, That to lead a merry pleasant life, is a way in some measure to mitigate the fierceness of mens minds, by reason of such great dissentions then amongst them not a little inraged.

Provost *de l' Hostel* (called now adays *le grand Provost de l' Hostel*) is the ordinary Judge of the Kings Household; his power extends to all unpriviledged places within six leagues of the Court.

The Feasts were continued with great solemnity for the Marriage of Prince *Lodovico Gonzago*, before contracted, and now consummate. This second Son of *Frederick* Duke of *Mantua* coming, when he was but a youth, to the Court of *France*, by the advantage of his Birth and nobleness of presence, but much more for quickness of his wit and Courtly behaviour, got a great reputation; which continually increasing, by giving upon all occasions large testimonies of his valour, there was not any that surpassed him either in the Kings favour, or general esteem of the Court.

*Lodovico Gonzago* Son to *Frederick* Duke of *Mantua*, marrieth *Henrietta de Cleve*, Sister to the late Duke of *Nevers* who was killed in the Battel of *Dreux*. This was Father to *Charles* Duke of *Nevers*, now Duke of *Mantua*.

It hapned, that as the young Cavaliers of *France* used to court some Lady whom they pretend to marry, this Prince, full of modesty and prudence, passing by those which flourished in beauty or wealth, and were therefore sought after by many, made his addresses to *Henriette de Cleve*, Sister to the Duke of *Neurs*, a Lady of great discretion and wise behaviour; but neither for beauty nor portion equal to many others in the Court. But the Prince liking her, and she esteeming his affection; after her Brother was killed in the Battel of *Dreux*, and she, as eldest Daughter remained Heir

1566. to the State; with a rare example of gratitude, declared freely, that ſhe would not chuſe a Husband amongſt any of thoſe that newly pretended; but whatever came of it, would marry the Prince *Gonzaga*. For ſhe had ſufficient teſtimony, that he, being her Servant when ſhe was poor and forſaken, loved her perſon; whereas all the reſt could not deny, but that they ſought her at the preſent, only in regard of her fortune. So this greatneſs of mind being approved of both by the King and the Queen, the Marriage followed without delay, and at this time was ſolemnized: After which was celebrated the Wedding of the Prince *Dolphine*, Son to the Duke of *Monpenſier*, who married the only Daughter and Heir of the Marqueſs *de Mezziere*; which was an unequal match for Birth, but ſhe brought him forty thouſand Franks yearly Revenue; and having been before promiſed to the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſecond Son to the late Duke of *Guiſe*, thoſe of the Hugonot Faction hoped that this Alliance would breed diſcord between the Houſes of *Monpenſier* and *Lorain*. But the Cardinal and the Duke of *Aumale*, with the reſt, who knew how much it concerned them not to break friendſhip with a Prince of the Blood, and for Eſtate the moſt conſiderable amongſt them, wiſely diſſembled this injury; ſeeing it was impoſſible to hinder the Match already concluded. After theſe principal ones, many other leſſer Weddings following, the Court ſeemed in appearance altogether turned to pomp and delights; but nouriſhed inwardly the peſtiferous ſeeds of long diſcords and bloody Wars.

*The End of the Third* BOOK.

THE

1566.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The FOURTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

THE *Fourth Book relates the occaſion of the Second Civil War: the ſudden riſing of the Hugonots to take the King and Queen-Mother Priſoners, who were at* Monceaux *a place of pleaſure in* Brye: *their fright, flight and retreat; firſt to* Meaux, *and afterwards to* Paris: *the deliberation of the* Hugonots *to beſiege that City, and famiſh it; to this purpoſe they take the Towns about it, burn the Mills, go cloſe under the Gates, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Bridge at* Charenton: *the Queen promotes a Treaty of Agreement, which is drawn out in length by many parlies; but takes no effect: Foot and Horſe come to the King from all parts: ſo that having gotten a great Army, the Conſtable iſſueth out of the City to make the Enemy retire: the Battel of St.* Denis *followeth, in which the Hugonots are routed, and the Conſtable is killed: they take the way of* Champagne *to meet with Aids ſent them out of* Germany; *and in the place of the other, the King maketh* Henry *Duke of* Anjou *his Brother, General of the Army: Supplies arrive out of* Flanders, *ſent by the Catholick King, and from* Piedmont, *and divers other places: the Duke of* Anjou *purſueth the Hugonots to fight with them before they join with the Germans; he overtaketh them near* Chalons, *but through the diſcords and impediments put in by his Counſellors, the Battel is hindred: The Hugonots paſs the* Meuſe, *and join with Prince* Caſimir, *and the other German Supplies. They return with new courage and force into* Champagne: *The Queen-Mother goeth to the Army to remedy the diſorders; where it is reſolved not to fight with the Hugonots who were grown ſo powerful, but to draw out the War in length: wherefore the Armies go on, both the ſame way: this counſel troubleth the Prince of* Conde *and the Admiral, unable through want of Money to keep the Army long together: They reſolve to beſiege* Chartres, *whereby to provoke the Catholicks to Battel: The danger of* Chartres, *bringeth on a new Treaty of Peace, which at laſt is concluded: The Armies are diſbanded; but the Hugonots reſtore not all the places that they held; and the King diſmiſſeth neither the Swiſſes nor the Italians; whereupon new differences ariſe; the King ſeeing the Conditions ill performed upon which he promiſed a pardon, giveth order to apprehend the Prince of* Conde *and the Admiral,*

*who*

1566. *who with a good Guard were retired to* Noyon *in* Burgundy, *upon advice given, they fly and ſave themſelves at* Rochel; *raiſe an Army, make themſelves Maſters of* Xaintonge, Poictou, *and* Tourain: *the King ſendeth the Duke of* Anjou *with all the Army againſt them: the Armies draw near each other at* Jeſenevil, *but fight not: they march towards* Loudun, *but the contrariety of the ſeaſon hinders their fighting: both Armies, overcome with cold, retire; and being infected with ſickneſs, ſuffer a great mortality: they return into the field in* March: *The Hugonots paſs the River* Charente, *break the Bridges, and ſtop the Paſſages: the Duke of* Anjou *finds a ſtratagem to paſs the River; the Battel of* Jarnac *follows; in which the Prince of* Conde *is ſlain, and the Hugonots are defeated. The Admiral cauſeth the Prince of* Navarre *and the Prince of* Conde, *Son to him that was killed, to be declared Heads of the Faction; and by reaſon they were young, the direction of the War remaineth in him; he divideth all his forces to defend the Cities belonging to his party. The Duke of* Anjou *purſueth the Victory, and layeth ſiege to* Cognac; *but finding it ſtrongly defended, raiſeth the Camp, and takes divers other Towns. A new Army of Germans cometh into* France *in favour of the Hugonots, under the Command of the Duke of* Deux-ponts; *he marcheth towards the* Loire; *taketh the* la Charite, *and there paſſeth the River. The Duke of* Deux-ponts, *General of the Germans, dieth of a Feaver; and Count* Mansfield *ſucceeds him in his Command. The Prince and the Admiral go to meet the Germans: The Duke of* Anjou, *that he may not be encompaſſed by them, retires into* Limoſin; *the Hugonot Forces join; follow the Kings Army; skirmiſh hotly at* Rochabeille; *through the barrenneſs of the Country the Hugonots are forced to retire. The Queen-Mother cometh to the Camp: it is reſolved to ſeparate the Kings Army, to let the Enemies Forces conſume with time: the Army disbands, and the Duke of* Anjou *retires to* Loches *in* Touraine.

Hilſt theſe things were in agitation at the Court, all other parts of the Kingdom groaned under ſeveral afflictions, and frequent Inſurrections. For the Hugonots arrogating to themſelves a much greater liberty than was granted them by the Edict of Pacification, endeavoured in many places, without any regard of the Magiſtrates, by tumults and violence to extend it to the uttermoſt: and on the other ſide the Catholicks deſiring to have that power which was permitted them reſtrained, ſought by often complaints, and ſometimes by force of Arms to moleſt them: whereby in the midſt of Peace, the War was in a manner kindled again in all parts.

Theſe diſtractions in the Provinces, not only troubled the Parliaments, which were wholly imployed how to remedy the diſorders that proceeded from matters of Religion, but alſo the Kings Council, together with the whole Court, where all the weight of the buſineſs falling at laſt, there ariſe many obſtinate diſputes between the Protectors, and Favourers of both Factions; the Mareſhal of *Momorancy* and the Admirals Adherents labouring to obtain an inlargement, or at leaſt a confirmation of the liberty granted to the Hugonots, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, but much more the Cardinal of *Lorain* preſſing that the Catholicks might be ſatisfied in their deſires, and the liberty of the other ſuppreſſed. Wherefore the conteſtations ſo increaſed when any thing of this ſubject came to be handled, and the minds of men were ſo ſway'd by paſſion, that it was thought neceſſary to appoint the Duke of *Anjou*, the Kings ſecond Brother, though yet a Youth, Preſident of the Council, and to make an order that no buſineſs concerning Religion ſhould be debated, if the King or the Queen were not preſent: nor was this ſufficient, for the perſons engaged on both ſides accuſtomed now to a liberty of ſpeech as well as of action, all reverence due to the Royal Majeſty being laid aſide, appeared exceeding violent in their diſputes, ſhewing clearly that they were more inclined to the intereſts of the Factions, than either to the publick peace, or preſervation of the Commonwealth.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding the Queen ſtill remained conſtant to her own rules, and the King perſiſted in the reſolution already taken to diſſemble with all poſſible patience and ſufferance, the inſolencies that were committed, and to endeavour that policy rather than force might at length put an end to theſe evils. And therefore by plauſible Declarations ſometimes in favour of one party, and ſometimes of the other, they ſought ſo to appeaſe both, that things might not come to a manifeſt rupture, but that by prolongation of time, thoſe wounds might be healed which were yet open and freſh bleeding: for this reaſon the King beſtowed many favours upon the Admiral; and his dependants and followers got more than the Courtiers themſelves: for this cauſe the Prince of *Conde* was ſuffered to enjoy ſuch an abſolute power in his Government of *Picardy*, that ſhewing a diſlike to have the Mareſhals of *France* in their ordinary Viſitations of the Frontiers to viſit that Province, the King gave the Mareſhal *d' Anville* particular order not to go thither: and in this conſideration, the complaints brought in continually againſt the Hugonots were paſſed over; as alſo the reſentments of the Catholicks put up with ſilence, that ſo theſe diſcords might be buried in oblivion, and the troubles ceaſe of themſelves. 1568.

At the ſame time, the Conſtable who through age, and indiſpoſition of body, deſired to retire himſelf, made ſuit to the King, that he might ſurrender his Office to his Son *Memorancy*, which the Queen by reaſon of his humour and inclinations abſolutely diſliking, the King was perſwaded by her to return anſwer, That having already deſigned whenſoever the Conſtable left off, or could no longer exerciſe his charge, to make the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother Lieutenant General, it was not at all neceſſary to think of any body to ſupply that place; nevertheleſs not wholly to diſtaſte the Conſtable, nor by this refuſal abſolutely to loſe his Son, they were content to admit *Memorancy* into the Council of the Affairs, a thing which he had ſought after before, but could never compaſs; and beſides gave him 30000 Francks to pay his debts, though it were in a time when Money was exceeding ſcarce. And though the Conſtable very much troubled to receive a repulſe, was not altogether ſatisfied with theſe other demonſtrations, yet at laſt he gave over his ſuit: but ſuch was the inconſiderateneſs of the Prince of *Conde*, being governed rather by violence than reaſon, that as ſoon as he heard mention of ſurrendring the Conſtables Office, he openly pretended to it for himſelf, without any conſideration of the *Memorancy*'s Allies; which not only rendered the Kings denial excuſable, who being ſollicited by two ſuch powerful pretenders, made choice of his Brother as a mean between both, but alſo made an abſolute breach between him and the Conſtable, and in ſome meaſure took off *Memorancy*, who was before ſo much inclined to favour his proceedings.

To this good ſucceſs the Queen indeavoured to add the reconciliation of the Cardinal of *Chaſtilon*, who being openly a Hugonot, and the Pope ſolliciting by the Biſhop of *Ceneda* his Nuncio in the Court of *France*, that he might be commanded to lay by his Cardinals Hat, and quit the Eccleſiaſtical preferments that he held, the Queen with divers excuſes always putting off that buſineſs, by offering the Cardinal a liberal recompence in temporal revenues and preferments, ſought by fair means to effect that which could not be done by force. But theſe delays (which as the inſtances were greater from *Rome*) ſtill increaſed, together with the favour that was ſhown at Court to the Biſhops of *Uſez* and *Valence*, whom the Pope as Hereticks had degraded from their Biſhopricks, and many other ſuch like things, made *Pius Quintus*, newly ſucceeded to *Pius Quartus* in the Apoſtolick Sea, conceive a very hard opinion of the Queen, which was yet more increaſed by a rumour ſpread abroad by her ill-willers, that ſhe had ſent a Gentleman expreſly to *Conſtantinople* to perſwade the great Turk to ſend an Army againſt the Chriſtians, that ſo being buſied in their own preſervation, they might not perſiſt to think of, or interpoſe in the affairs of the Kingdom of *France*: which opinion, though it were not grounded upon any reaſon, yet it being generally believed for a truth that there was a Gentleman ſent to *Porta*, the Pope, little ſatisfied in other matters, was not alone moved therewith, but alſo the Republick of *Venice*, the Senate there thinking it not only a thing pernicious to all Chriſtian Princes, but very contrary to what they expected from the Queen in gratitude, whom they had ſo readily aſſiſted in her greateſt extremities with their counſel, and much more with ſupplies. Inſomuch that the Nuncio made many complaints of it at the Court, and the Venetian Ambaſſador by order from the Senate demanded, and had an Audience to the ſame purpoſe both of the King and Queen, at which he modeſtly deſired repayment of the 100000 Duckets,

*Pius Quintus* who ſucceeded *Pius Quartus*, requires that the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon* be deprived of his Cardinals habit, and Eccleſiaſtical preferments, becauſe he followeth the belief of *Calvin*; which being delayed, for that, and other things, he is diſpleaſed with the Queen.

1566. Duckets, which in courteſie were lent by the State for the ſervice of the Crown, alleadging this reaſon, That the Turk (as report went) coming ſo near them, they were neceſſitated to make uſe of what they had, and to arm themſelves for their own ſecurity.

The Queen being troubled at theſe rumours, and the ill opinion that was conceived of her, and deſiring above all things to preſerve the friendſhip of the Princes in confederacy with *France*, but eſpecially the Pope and State of *Venice*, becauſe upon them ſhe had grounded many hopes, thought it neceſſary to ſend the Chevalier *de Seurre* expreſly to *Rome* to clear her of thoſe jealouſies, which buſineſs he knew ſo well how to manage, laying before the Pope all thoſe reaſons that *Ludovica Antenori* had repreſented to his Predeceſſor, that his Holineſs though he were of a difficult ſcrupulous nature, remained fully content and ſatisfied. She omitted not to perform the like Ceremony with the Venetian State, the amity and wiſdom of which ſhe always made great account of, having for that purpoſe diſpatched away one of her Gentlemen, who with the Leiger Ambaſſador at *Venice* was to negotiate that buſineſs: but he falling ſick upon the way, and dying afterwards at *Milan*, the Ambaſſador took the whole care of it upon himſelf, and at an Audience he had of the Prince in the preſence of the Seignory, which they call the *Colledge*, he ſaid, That the King his Maſter had ſent a Gentleman on purpoſe to treat of certain buſineſs with the Republick, which he was now forced to do alone, for the ſaid Gentleman being arrived at *Milan*, fell ſick there and died; That his Majeſty commanded him to ſay, That the amity and affection King *Francis* his Grandfather and King *Henry* his Father always bore to the Republick were very great, but his alone ſurpaſſed them all, by reaſon of the great benefits he had received from it, and eſpecially the ſupplies of money it ſent him in his greateſt neceſſity; that he would not only ſatisfie the debt, but return the like or a greater courteſie; that his Father by reaſon of the long War he had, left him many debts, which he might well enough have paid, and gotten before-hand with money, if it had not been for the Civil diſſentions of his Kingdom; that if they were ceaſed, yet the expence would not be taken away; for the jealouſies that continued would neceſſitate him ſtill to keep an Army on Foot; that the ſuſpition of War is worſe than War it ſelf; for there is one certain fence againſt this, but that requireth a vigilance on all ſides; that to this was to be added the great ſcarcity which equally afflicted all parts of his Kingdom, and the tumults in *Flanders*, which being ſo near, obliged him according to the Maxims of State, to make preparations, with great expence, for his own ſecurity: Wherefore he deſired to be excuſed if he did not immediately ſatisfie the whole debt, that he would preſently lay down a third part, and in ſome time after the reſt, and that if the Republick had occaſion, he would not only pay what was due, but furniſh as much more if it were required; wherefore they might make account of that money as if they had it in their own Treaſury: that the more his Majeſty grew in years, the more he grew to the knowledge of the love and friendſhip of the Republick, and the obligations he had to it, both for his own particular and his own Kingdom. To this the Duke made anſwer, That in repayment of the money the King might take his own conveniency, for it was lent to ſerve his occaſions.

Then the Ambaſſador continuing his diſcourſe, ſaid, That the ſecond thing he had in charge, was concerning a bruit ſpread abroad that his Majeſty had ſollicited the Great Turk to ſend his Army againſt the Chriſtians, which it ſeemed proceeded from a Letter written by one of *Raguze*, which was afterwards divulged with additions by the Emperours Miniſters, and the Spaniards who were in that City, it being interpreted by them, that the Gentleman the King ſent the *May* before to *Conſtantinople*, was to this effect, though the truth were, the occaſion of ſending that Gentleman, was to ſollicite the releaſe of certain Provincial Slaves, that the King being deſired to call home the Gentleman that was reſident there, had granted his requeſt, and eſtabliſhed this other in his place, who ſeemed to like of the imployment; that his Majeſty would continue his ancient correſpondence with the Turks, juſt upon the ſame terms that his Father and Grandfather had done before, without innovating any thing therein, that if he had any buſineſs to treat with the Turk, or a new capitulation to make with any Prince on Earth, he would never do it without the privity, advice and conſent of the Republick; for he ſo well knew the amity and affection which that State bare unto him, and the prudence and wiſdom thereof to be ſuch, that it would never approve of any thing that ſhould not be beneficial to *France*, and all Chriſtendom; that if the Republick

publick would continue as it had done hitherto with the Turk, he would do the ſame; and if it changed reſolution, he would follow the like ſteps, for the King would never ſeparate himſelf from it, but ever go along in all things that concerned their common intereſt. The Senate was very well content with ſo ample a Declaration, and deſired the Leiger Ambaſſador to teſtifie both to the King and the Queen their ſatisfaction therein, by which means all the diſtaſtes at *Rome* and *Venice* being removed, and the ancient intelligence with both thoſe States confirmed, the whole care was directed to the particular affairs of the Kingdom. 1566.

But all the pains and induſtry uſed to appeaſe the Prince, and to ſecure the *Chaſtillons* was in vain: He knew not how to leave his natural diſpoſition, nor would theſe by any means truſt to the Arts of the Court, and the Hugonots aiming at ſuch an ample liberty as was granted by the Edict of *January*, could not contain themſelves within the limits of the Articles agreed upon at the Pacification: Wherefore following the example of the Catholicks, who by a joint Embaſſie from the Pope, and the other Princes, ſollicited the publication of the Council of *Trent*; they procured likewiſe from the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* to ſend an Embaſſie of ſome eminent perſons, who complaining that thoſe of the ſame Religion with them were very ill treated, ſhould deſire the King, that in conſideration of thoſe Princes, and for the quiet of the Kingdom, he would permit the Hugonots a full liberty to aſſemble themſelves in all places.

The Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* ſend Embaſſadors to the King in favour of the Hugonots, and receive a ſharp anſwer.

This Embaſſie ſent by the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Wittembergh*, the Duke of *Deux-ponts*, one of the Dukes of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Pomerania*, and the Marqueſs of *Baden*, many thought it was made at the expence, and with the money of the Hugonots; for the intereſts of thoſe Princes were not ſuch, that they ſhould make this Expedition, which was ſo extraordinary, at this time. However it were, the Ambaſſadors having firſt conferred with the Prince, the Admiral, and the reſt of that faction, went afterwards to the King, who was returned to *Paris*, and at their Audience, in a tedious formal Narration teſtified the good will of their Princes, and the intentions they had to continue their ancient friendſhip with the Crown of *France*; after which preamble, they deſired firſt the obſervance of the Edict of Pacification, and afterwards by little and little expreſſing themſelves more at large, demanded that the Miniſters of the Reformed Religion might preach both in *Paris*, and in all other places of the Kingdom, and that the people might freely in what numbers they pleaſed go to hear them.

The King by nature beyond meaſure cholerick, and by reaſon of his long converſation in the War, of a rough behaviour, being now of an age to diſcern good from ill, was before exceedingly offended, knowing ſince they came into the Kingdom they had firſt treated with others beſides himſelf, but afterwards when he heard their demands, he was ſo out of order, that he could hardly anſwer them in ſhort, that he would preſerve a friendſhip and affection for thoſe Princes, as long as they did not interpoſe in the affairs of his Kingdom, as he did not meddle in their States: and after he had recollected himſelf a little while, ſaid, with manifeſt ſhew of diſdain, That he had need likewiſe to ſollicite their Princes to ſuffer the Catholicks to preach and ſay Maſs in their Cities and Towns; and with theſe words took his laſt leave of the Ambaſſadors: Notwithſtanding, that they might not remain altogether unſatisfied, and return with this diſtaſte to their Princes, the Queen, to make them ſome amends for the liberty her Son had uſed, beſides many other honours, gave order that they ſhould have great and noble Preſents.

The Kings anger was wrought to the heighth by the carriage of the Admiral, who being come to Court in this conjuncture, and fearing to loſe his reputation with his party, or elſe aſhamed whilſt ſtranger Princes ſollicited in the behalf of the Hugonots not to ſhew himſelf, the morning after being in the Kings Chamber, and ſeeing there by chance a Declaration publiſhed a little before; That at the Preachings tolerated in private houſes, none ſhould be preſent but thoſe of the Family, he took occaſion to make great complaint thereof; ſaying, In this manner we are deprived the liberty of admitting a Friend who cometh by chance to our houſes in a viſit, to hear the Word of God; whilſt on the other ſide, the Catholicks are permitted to aſſemble whereſoever they pleaſe, without preſcribing their number, manner, or any other circumſtance of their meetings: at which words, the Conſtable being preſent, ſharply reprehended his Nephew, and anſwered, The caſe is not the ſame, for the King doth not give a Toleration to the Catholicks; but it is the Religion he himſelf profeſſeth, which is derived

1566. *Charles* the IX. ſharply anſwereth the Admiral, and takes a ſevere reſolution againſt the Hugonots.

to him by a long ſucceſſion from his Anceſtors; whereas on the contrary, the exerciſe of the new Religion was ſimply a grace of his Majeſty, for what time, number or place he was pleaſed, or ſhould be pleaſed to grant it them. And the King in choler added, At the firſt you were content with a little liberty, now you will be equal, within a little while you will be chief, and drive us out of the Kingdom. The Admiral held his peace, but was much troubled in his countenance; and the King in a great chaſe went to the Queen-Mothers Chamber, where aggravating the buſineſs, he ſaid in preſence of the Chancellor, That the Duke of *Alva*'s opinion was right, that their Heads were too eminent in the State, that no arts could prevail with ſuch ſubtile Artificers, and therefore it was neceſſary to uſe rigour and force: and though the Queen endeavoured to appeaſe him, from that time forward he was ſo fixed in that belief, that it was not poſſible to alter or make him of another mind.

Daily ſomething or other hapned to increaſe and augment the Kings anger: For the Queen of *Navarre* ſhewing as much malice as ſhe could, had a little before made a ſudden Inſurrection at *Pamiers*, a City in the County of *Foix*, where the Hugonots taking a ſcandal at a Proceſſion on *Corpus Chriſti* day, betook themſelves to their Arms, and falling upon the others that were unarmed, made a great ſlaughter among the Churchmen, and in the ſame fury burnt and ruined their houſes; and by her inſtigation, with the other principal Heads of that party, ſtrange tumults were raiſed at *Montaban*, *Cahors*, *Rhodez*, *Perigieux*, *Valence*, and other places in *Languedoc* and *Daulphine*; in which, though no great matter hapned, no killing of men nor ſhedding of blood; yet, as it came to their turns, either the Catholicks or the Hugonots were driven out of their Countries, according as the one party or the other was moſt powerful in the place, with perpetual trouble to the King and Queen, who many days together were very much in doubt of the revolt of *Lyons*, where through the great concourſe of people that from all parts, but eſpecially from *Savoy*, fled thither for Religion, the Hugonots were ſo increaſed, and raiſed ſuch commotions, that the City had certainly remained in the power of that party, if *Renato* of *Birago*, Preſident, who was afterwards Chancellor, and ſucceſſively Cardinal, had not with great dexterity and courage ſuppreſſed thoſe tumults; after which, though the firſt fury were over, yet the Factions ceaſed not continually to perſecute each other, and in particular, the Hugonots were accuſed to have wrought a Mine a thouſand paces long under the Bulwarks, with an intent, whilſt the people were in theſe diſtractions, to give fire to it, and ſurprize the City: and though they excuſed themſelves, by ſhewing that the Cave found under ground was the relicks of an ancient Aqueduct; yet the King remained not without jealouſies, and ſent the Preſident order to reinforce the Gariſon, and to uſe all poſſible diligence to ſecure the Town; who providing with great care and rigour to hinder the Aſſemblies of the Hugonots, they were exceedingly offended, and murmured thereat in all parts.

The like ſuſpicion was at the ſame time had of *Avignon*, which the Kings of *France*, through common reſpects and intereſts, have ever no leſs than their own, taken into their care and protection. For all thoſe who diſſented from the Roman Catholick Faith, being by order from the Pope expelled that City, they retired to the adjacent places in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, where they practiſed underhand to ſurprize it; and ſo far their deſign was advanced, that they had already intelligence to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the Gates; but the buſineſs being diſcovered by the vigilance of the Citizens, the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, who was Governour there, cauſing diligent ſearch to be made after the complices, apprehended ſome of them, and ſent *Scipione Vimarcato* poſt to the Court, to render an account thereof to the King, who ſent a poſitive command to the Count of *Tende* Governour of *Provence*, to Monſieur *de Gordes* Lieutenant of *Dauphine*, and to the Viſcount of *Joyeuſe* Lieutenant of *Languedoc*, that they ſhould furniſh ſuch forces as were neceſſary for the ſecuring of it; by which means the attempt of the Hugonots at length proved vain; who not being daunted with this ill ſucceſs, were ſtill ready to imbrace any new occaſion, having likewiſe laid a plot to enter into *Narbon*: and indeed their practiſes kept all the Provinces and Fortreſſes of the Kingdom in perpetual apprehenſions, but eſpecially the King and Queen, who ſeeing the fire already kindled in ſo many places, reaſonably enough feared the flame thereof would at length burſt forth with greater violence, and in ſome place or other cauſe a notorious ruine.

The

The Hugonots were no leſs bold with their pens than their ſwords; for at the ſame time a Miniſter, who was born at *Orleans*, preached ſeditiouſly againſt the Kings Authority; and had likewiſe printed a Book in which he maintained, That the people of *France* were no longer obliged to be obedient to the King, becauſe he was turned Idolater; and for this reaſon affirmed, That it was lawful to kill him; from which impious diabolical ſeed afterwards ſprang up in other times and in other perſons, that pernicious Doctrine, which with ſuch horrible perverſion of all humane and divine Laws, inſtructed men, under the pretence of Piety and Religion, to imbrue their hands in the Blood of their lawful Kings, by GOD's Ordinance appointed over them as His Deputies. And perhaps by this Doctrine, which ſounded well in their ears, becauſe agreeable to their deſigns, the Admiral and the reſt of his party were perſwaded to plot, not only againſt the Queen-Mother, but even againſt the Perſon of the King himſelf; of which (either truly or falſly) he was accuſed by a Gentleman; who (being impriſoned for another great offence) ſought to obtain his pardon by diſcovering, that he and two other Gentlemen were ſeduced, and ſuborned with money by the Admiral to kill the King when they ſhould find a fit opportunity; and though at the firſt there was not much credit given to what he ſaid, yet being confronted with thoſe whom he named as Complices, with unexpected Queſtions he ſo amazed and ſilenced them, that the King was put into an exceeding jealouſie; yet the proofs not being ſufficient for ſo great a conſpiracy, the buſineſs was paſſed over with ſilence, and the Gentleman for his other offences condemned to die. 1566.

An Hugonot Miniſter print a Book and preacheth that it is lawful to kill the King.

A Priſoner confeſſeth that he was hired by the Admiral to kill the King.

To this great ſuſpicion was added this other accident, that the Queen-Mother going one morning out of her Chamber to Maſs, there was found at her feet a long Letter directed to her ſelf, in which ſhe was threatned, that if ſhe changed not her courſe, and ſuffered not thoſe of the Reformed Religion to enjoy full Liberty of Conſcience, ſhe ſhould be murthered, as the Duke of *Guiſe* was formerly, and *Maynard*, Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*; who at the beginning of the tumults about Religion, for having paſſed a ſevere Vote againſt the Hugonots, was killed at Noon-day with a ſhot, it never being known by whom. Wherefore the Queen was admoniſhed to guard her ſelf from the wrath of GOD, and the deſperate reſolution of men.

The Queen-Mother is threatned in a Letter to be killed.

All theſe things laid together, and continually multiplying on all ſides, exceedingly incenſed and exaſperated the King, who as he grew in years, conceived ſtill a more inveterate hate againſt thoſe who obſtinately oppoſed his will; wherefore his nature ſuiting with the Duke of *Alva*'s counſel, and the Hugonots not ceaſing continually to offend and provoke him, he was every day in ſecret conſultation with his Mother to find ſome prompt expedite remedy to extirpate this evil. The Queen remained doubtful, or rather of a contrary opinion, and much more the Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital*, being both of them averſe to thoſe dangerous violent proceedings, as altogether diſagreeing to the diſpoſition of the French; inſomuch that together and apart they earneſtly deſired and adviſed the King to be patient, and diſſemble his anger; even the Cardinal of *Lorain* himſelf, with his Brothers and Nephews, though they were very well pleaſed to ſee him ſo paſſionate, yet wiſhed he would have kept himſelf more reſerved until ſome ſeaſonable fit opportunity had been offered. But there was no end of the complaints of the people, nor of the jealouſies and dangers ſtirred up by the Heads of the Hugonots: all parts abounded with bloody mournful diſſentions; the Prince and the Admiral ſometimes leaving the Court, ſometimes returning, but ever with ſome new complaints or pretenſions, gave great occaſion both of jealouſie and offence: and the King being paſſionate and furious, could no longer indure them; ſo that at length it was reſolved together with policy to imploy force, and to bridle the exceſſive Liberty of the Rebellious Faction. And the Catholick King ſending at the ſame time the Duke of *Alva* Governour into *Flanders*, to curb the inſolencies of thoſe (who under a pretence of Religion, but truly through the hate they bare to the Spaniſh Government, had at once withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to the Catholick Church and the temporal Juriſdiction) the Treaty of *Bayonne* was renewed, and by conſent of both Princes an Agreement made, that by mutually aiding each other, they ſhould endeavour the ſuppreſſion of ſuch eminent perſons who were the Incendiaries to nouriſh Rebellion in their ſeveral Dominions.

The Duke of *Alva* went with great force towards the Low-Countries, which in divers places border upon *France*, ſo that this occaſion ſerved the King and Queen for pretence to arm, who feigning to have great apprehenſions of the Spaniards, gave preſent

1566. ſent order to hire a conſiderable number of Swiſſes, commanded all the Provinces to have their forces in a readineſs, levied men in *Lyonoiſe*, under colour of ſending divers companies of French Infantry into the States beyond the Mountains, and getting money from ſeveral parts, made a bargain with certain Italian Merchants, to furniſh eight hundred thouſand Crowns, with a full intent to imploy theſe preparations to reſtrain and humble thoſe inſolent Spirits, who after ſo many attempts would hardly ever be appeaſed of themſelves, and to put an end to the miſerable diſtractions of the Kingdom.

But the very ſame reaſons that neceſſitated the King to this reſolution, neceſſitated the Heads of the Hugonots likewiſe to be vigilant for their own preſervation; for having many teſtimonies of the Kings averſeneſs to them, ſeeing the Pope reconciled with the Queen, who before in ſhew ſeemed to favour them, perceiving the Princes of *Lorain* powerful at Court, and finding all the policies that were uſed tended only to their ſuppreſſion, if at firſt the reſtleſneſs of their natures only made them deſire to return to arms, they thought it now an unavoidable neceſſity; and though the paſſage of the Duke of *Alva* gave ſufficient colour to their proceedings, yet they ſaw that quite contrary to what was pretended, the King and the Queen-Mother (notwithſtanding the High Chancellor oppoſed it) were reſolved not only to furniſh Victuals and all other commodities for the Spaniards, (who in their paſſage into *Flanders* were to touch upon their Dominions) but alſo to ſend proviſions into *Breſſe* and *Savoy*, which wanted them, and could not poſſibly otherwiſe have nouriſhed ſuch a multitude of people as were to paſs there. Beſides this, they had advice that the Count of *Briſſac*, Colonel of the French Infantry beyond the Mountains, who entertained five Companies of Foot, every one conſiſting of two hundred men, though he ſaid he was to paſs into the Marquiſate of *Saluſſes* to ſecure the places in that State, yet he left the greateſt part of them at *Lyons*, and the reſt under excuſes remained in *Daulphine*, as places ſuſpected to be at the devotion of the Hugonots: of which to be the more aſſured, they perſwaded *Andelot* as General of the Foot, to deſire the charge of thoſe Levies, and ſaw he was refuſed it. They obſerved, that no occaſion was omitted to reſtrain the liberty of Religion, and that the injuries the Catholicks did the Hugonots were not ſo ill interpreted as any the leaſt action of the others. They marked the repulſe was given to *Momorancy* when he pretended to the Conſtableſhip, becauſe he inclined to favour them, and that the Marqueſs *d'Elbeuf* General of the Gallies being dead, his place was preſently beſtowed upon the Baron *de la Garde*, that Monſieur *de Meru*, *Momorancy*'s Brother, might not have time to make ſuit for it, a man who had ever applyed himſelf to the profeſſion of the Sea, but of the ſame inclinations with his Brother. They took notice likewiſe that when the Mareſhal *de Burdillon* died, Monſieur *de Gonnor*, Brother of the Mareſhal *de Briſſac* deceaſed, was the very ſame night choſen in his place, to hinder the pretences of *Andelot* and *Muy*, who had a promiſe of it before. All theſe things conſidered together, they doubted that the King of *France* holding intelligence with the King of *Spain*, would at length chaſtiſe them for their paſt inſolencies, and force them to live conformable to the Catholick Religion: and though the King ſent the Viſcount *de Joyeuſe* to beſiege *Pamiers*, that had openly revolted, where the Rebels at firſt ſight of the Cannon abandoned the Town, and fled into the Mountains; yet by the advice of his Mother, he ſtill made ſhew of bearing great reſpect to the Authority of the Hugonot Lords, excuſed and palliated the things that were done; and to keep them in their duty until ſuch time as the Swiſſes were come, and the other forces gotten together, continued a ſeeming affection to the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admiral, withal aſſuring them, his intention was that they ſhould injoy a Liberty of Conſcience, and live according to the Capitulation, omitting no kind of art that might any way conduce to pleaſe or ſecure them. And the Queen-Mother (upon whoſe actions the warieſt of the Hugonots chiefly caſt an eye) to cover with a more profound diſſimulation the ſecret of their Counſels, and to take away the ſuſpition which ſome haſty actions, or any the leaſt inconſiderate ſpeech of the Kings might give them, making uſe of the common report ſpread abroad, that King *Philip* had reſolved to paſs himſelf in perſon into *Flanders*, and divulging and making more of it then was yet ſpoken of, ſeemed to have exceeding jealouſies, and to apprehend that this Voyage of his was with ſome further end than meerly to ſuppreſs the *Gueux*, for which the forces of the Duke of *Alva* were more then ſufficient, whereupon ſhe put on ſuch a ſhew of perplexity, that ſhe made moſt men indeed believe all thoſe preparations of men and money were only

*Gueux*, a Sect of Heretick.

for

for this occasion, which that it might be the more credited, divers of the Lords were sent for to the Court, and making a kind of assembly, whereat many of the Hugonots were present, they entred into a consultation of the means not only how to defend the Frontiers, but also to make an offensive War against the Spaniards, if they found the Catholick King came with any sinister intention; and as it were by the advice of this assembly they resolved to send young *l' Aubespine* the Secretary into *Spain*, who pretended he went for no other purpose but to dissuade that King from coming, or else by observation to make probable conjectures of the end, and designs of his Voyage; but the truth is, he was sent to confirm the former agreement. Withal to be sure that these dissimulations should be well acted on both sides: the Queen dispatched away post Father *Hugo* a Franciscan Fryar, who having communicated to the Catholick King the intention of their proceedings, ordered it so, to give the more colour to the jealousies in *France*, that he should receive *l' Aubespine* without any manner of respect, delaying his Audience, and making no accompt of him, and in all other occurrences shew little confidence or satisfaction either from the King or the Queen-Mother, who on the other side ceased not to complain in publick of the Spaniards, discovering a design and resolution suddenly to move with their Forces against them; which was so excellently dissembled, that not only the common sort of people who were not concerned in the affairs, but even the Pope himself so far believed all that was done to be real, that he very earnestly interceded by his Nuncio to perswade the Queen, that the Catholick King intended nothing at all against the King her Son, and therefore it was not necessary to make such great preparations of Souldiers, who if they were led upon the Confines, might perhaps be an occasion of some mischief, which was not thought on before. The Queen answered the Nuncio with ambiguous artificial speeches, neither denying nor affirming the War, expressing a mistrust of the Catholick Kings designs, and complaining of him, that he had in no measure answered the confidence she had of his integrity, and the care that was taken, that the Insurrections in *France* might not encourage his Subjects to rebel; but at the same time declared, That the King her Son intended not to violate the League with the Spaniards, nor to resolve upon a War, unless he were necessitated and provoked first by them: Which uncertain kind of discourse rather increased the doubts, than any way satisfied concerning the truth. 1566.

The Pope was not alone deceived with these dissimulations, but the Prince of *Conde*, of a disposition apt enough to receive any new impressions, counselled the King to take this occasion to make War with the Spaniards, offering to bring him a great number of men of the Hugonot Faction, which served only to exasperate the King, who could not be well pleased, that any body should presume to have a greater credit or authority in his own Kingdom, and with the Subjects thereof, than himself; and though the Queen perpetually desired him to dissemble his passion, and the other Catholick Lords did the same; yet he could not forbear to express his displeasure with the Prince, and to reprove him for what he had said, though afterwards he excused himself to the Queen, that he treated him so on purpose to take him off from the hopes of being Constable; for which the Prince at length moving the King himself, the Duke of *Anjou*, being first throughly instructed by his Mother, without expecting the Kings Answer, replyed in a disdainful manner, That his Majesty having promised to make him his Lieutenant-General, he was not of such a temper, to suffer that any body else should pretend to command the Army but himself; which repulse displeasing the Prince, he shortly after left the Court, the same did the Admiral and *Andelot* with much greater reason of discontent; for the Colonels *Brissac* and *Strozzi* having refused to obey the command of *Andelot* General of the French Infantry, the Council through hate of him, determined it, contrary to custom, in their favour.

The Prince of *Conde* perswades the King to make war with *Spain*, and offers him a great number of the Hugonots, which more exasperates the King.

Nevertheless the Queen continuing her wonted arts, endeavoured by many demonstrations of kindness still to entertain the Hugonot party with hopes, often discoursing of her diffidence in *Spain*, of the jealousies of the Duke of *Alva*, of the troubles in *Scotland*, where there were commotions of great consequence, for which she seemed to take exceeding thought, by reason of the reciprocal intelligence ever held with that Crown, and of the little correspondence with *England*; for having refused upon the instance of that Queen to restore *Callais*, with many more things of the like nature, which all tended to lull the restless curiosity of the Hugonots. But it is a hard matter to deceive those who are full of jealousies, and careful to observe every little accident.

The

1566. The Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, who knowing the guilt of their own Conſcience, put no truſt in the flatteries of the Court, calling to mind all the paſt occurrences, and conſidering them throughly, reſolved not to be prevented, but to gain the advantage of being firſt in Arms. Wherefore, at the beginning of the Summer in the year
1567. 1567. ſix thouſand Swiſſes arriving in the Iſle of *France* under the conduct of Colonel *Fifer*, a man of great eſteem amongſt his own Nation, the Heads of the Hugonots being come to *Valeri*, ſhewed their adherents certain ſecret advertiſements which they ſaid they had from a principal perſon at Court, in which they were adviſed to ſtand upon their guard; for the intention of thoſe that governed, was, to ſeize upon the perſons of the Prince and the Admiral, with a reſolution to keep the firſt in perpetual impriſonment, and preſently to put the other to death; then making uſe of the Swiſſes and other Souldiers, on a ſudden to clap Gariſons into thoſe Cities which they thought inclined to the Reformed Religion, and revoking the Act of Pacification to forbid the exerciſe thereof in all parts of the Kingdom.

At the beginning there were many different opinions amongſt them, for divers gave no credit to this advertiſement, others were diffident of their own ſtrength, and a great part abhorred the neceſſity of a War; inſomuch that they left *Valeri*, with a reſolution not to proceed any further till they were better aſſured of the truth of their intelligence: but the Swiſſes being already come into the Iſle of *France*, who at firſt it was ſaid ſhould ſtay upon the Confines, and the Cardinal *de S. Croix* from his Biſhoprick of *Arles* arrived at Court, who, the Hugonots ſuſpected, came as Legate from the Pope, to authorize with the Kings conſent the obſervation of the Council of *Trent*, the chief Leaders of the Faction re-aſſemble themſelves at *Chaſtillon*, where the Prince, the Admiral, and *Andelot*, perſwaded them without further delay to take Arms; which opinion, though with ſome difficulty, at length prevailing, they preſently entered into a conſultation what courſe they ſhould take in the adminiſtration of the War.

The Hugonots jealouſies of the Kings preparations, reſolve upon a War.

Some thought it beſt to get poſſeſſion of as many Towns and places as they could in all parts of the Kingdom, to the end to ſeparate and divide the Kings Forces. Others by the example of the late War thought this advice both unprofitable and dangerous; and perſwaded, having made themſelves Maſters of two or three ſtrong places at a reaſonable diſtance one from the other, where the Forces of the Faction might aſſemble, as ſoon as was poſſible to put it to a Battel, ſeeing without ſome notable Victory they could never hope to bring their buſineſs to a proſperous end.

But the Admiral who with long premeditation had throughly weighed theſe opinions, placing all his hope in expedition and prevention, propoſed a more deſperate indeed, but far more expedite way, and adviſed, that before they were thought of, they ſhould make an attempt on a ſuddain to ſeize upon the perſons of the King and Queen-Mother, who imagining they had with their arts brought the Hugonots into a ſtupid ſecurity, or elſe believing they could not ſo ſoon or ſo eaſily bring their Forces together, paſſed their time without any apprehenſions for the preſent at *Monceaux*, a Houſe of the Queens, and at ſome other places of pleaſure in *Brye*, where they might with much facility be ſurpriſed and carried away. He made appear to them that by this ſuddain alteration they ſhould gain that power, that appearance of reaſon, and thoſe Forces which in the late War their adverſaries had, and through which the Victory at length inclined wholly to their ſide, and concluded, that though the King and the Queen for their ſecurity kept the Swiſſes in the ſame Province, in a place not far from the Court, yet if they came upon them on a ſuddain they would not have time to expect their aid; ſo the King being taken, they might preſently ſet upon the Swiſſes, who being divided in their quarters would be eaſily ſuppreſſed, and they once defeated, there remained in no part of the Kingdom a body of men together, that could make reſiſtance, or hinder the progreſs of their Arms. This ſtratagem wonderfully pleaſed them all, and without farther diſpute they appointed to meet armed with as many Horſe as they could get the 27 day of *September*, and aſſigned *Roſay*, a Town in the Province of *Brye* very near *Monceaux* where the Court remained, for their general Rendezvous.

Many have reported, and ſome who in ſeveral occaſions were taken in *Gaſcony* by Monſieur *de Monluc* and put to their trial, confeſſed upon the torture, that the chief ſcope of this enterprize was to murther the King and the Queen, with all her other Children, that the Crown might come to the Prince of *Conde*; but ſo great a cruelty was not generally believed of all men.

Now

Now whilſt the Hugonots made their preparations in divers places, and whilſt their Confederates and Dependents aſſembled themſelves together, the enterprize was carried with marvellous ſecrecy: but when they began to move from ſeveral parts to the place appointed, the Queen though late, and when it was even ready to be put in execution, had advertiſement thereof, who never imagining that the Hugonots could ſo ſoon, or with ſuch ſecrecy unite themſelves, or make any inſurrection, that ſhe ſhould not have notice of it long before; and thinking her ſelf ſecure through the ſtrength of her Swiſſes who lay ſo near, was at this time ſurprized with danger, when ſhe leaſt dreamt of any moleſtation, having perhaps too much relied upon thoſe diſſimulations and arts which ſhe uſed to appeaſe the reſtleſs minds of the Hugonots, yet not being at all daunted with the greatneſs of the danger, believing her preſervation depended wholly upon quickneſs, as ſoon as ever ſhe received the news, ſhe preſently with her Son and ſome few near about them took Horſe, and leaving all their carriage and train behind, went in great diligence to *Meaux*, which was the neareſt Town, not having time to ſave themſelves in any place that was ſtronger or better defended. There they ſent one Meſſenger after another for the Swiſſes, who quartered in the ſame Province but a few Leagues off, and the Mareſhal *de Momorancy* was diſpatched away to the Hugonots to demand of them in the KINGS Name the cauſe of their taking Arms. 1567.

*Momorancy*, as is ſaid before, in his heart favoured the Princes and the Admirals Factions: but his natural averſeneſs to action, the reſpect he bore his Father, his modeſty of mind, and the little ſatisfaction he received from the Prince of *Conde*, made him nevertheleſs hold with the Catholick party, and therefore he was thought a fit perſon to ſerve the Queens deſign, which was to amuſe the Hugonots Forces till the Swiſſes were come to Court. And it fell out according to their deſire, for meeting the Prince and the Admiral upon the way, whilſt he informed himſelf of their reaſons for this commotion, whilſt he diſputed with them the unjuſtice of the open violence they intended to the Kings perſon, and whilſt they were conſulting and debating with contrariety of opinions amongſt themſelves, what anſwer the ſhould return to the Queen, the Swiſſes not loſing any minute of the time, but beginning preſently to march with wonderful ſpeed, as if it had been to run a race, arrived where the King was, and the Hugonots loſt the opportunity of effecting ſo great a deſign.

But the Swiſſes being already come, and knowing the Hugonots would be there alſo within a few hours after, the Kings Council entred into a debate whether it were better to ſtay in the Town, and abide a Siege, or elſe endeavour to make a retreat to *Paris*, which was ten leagues off, and hazard fighting with the Enemy upon the way. The Conſtable believing for certain the Hugonots would ſet upon them in their march, and thinking it very dangerous, having no conſiderable company of Horſe, to fight in ſuch an open champion Country, perſwaded all he could, that it was not fit to expoſe the perſons of the King and Queen to ſuch an evident certain hazard.

The Duke of *Nemours* on the other ſide, thought it not only diſhonourable, but much more dangerous likewiſe to expect a Siege in a little Town, that had no Defence but an old broken Wall without any proviſion, or method of War: between which opinions they remained long in ſuſpence, and the Conſtables advice had at length prevailed, if Colonel *Fifer*, having deſired to be admitted to the Kings preſence whilſt he was in Council, had not with great effectual ſpeeches humbly requeſted his Majeſty not to ſuffer himſelf to be beſieged in ſuch a poor place, by a company of inſolent rebellious Subjects, but that he would be pleaſed to commit himſelf and the Queen his Mother to the fidelity and courage of the Swiſſes, who being ſix thouſand ſtrong, would with the heads of their Pikes make a way for him through any Army whatſoever of his Enemies. To this ſpeech the Swiſſe Captains, who ſtaid at the Council-Chamber-Door, adding their earneſt deſires, the Queen ſtanding up, and with gracious ſpeeches commending their fidelity and vertue, gave order they ſhould refreſh themſelves thoſe few hours of the night that remained; for in the morning ſhe would freely commit to the protection of their valour the Majeſty and welfare of the Crown of *France*: At which reſolution the Air redounding with the ſhouts of all thoſe of that Nation, they went to prepare themſelves for the next day, and the Lords of the Court were very diligent to put the Archers of the Kings Guard and their own ſervants in order.

Preſently

1567. Preſently after midnight, the Swiſſes with great chearfulneſs beating up their Drums, went a mile out of the Town to put themſelves in order, and the King with the Court taking the ſhorteſt way, juſt at day break was ready upon the place, where the the Swiſſes having received him and the Queen, with the Ambaſſadors of Foreign Princes, and all the Ladies of the Court into the midſt of their Battalion, began to march with ſuch a fierceneſs and bravery, that in many years *France* had not ſeen ſo remarkable a ſpectacle.

They had not marched thus above two miles, (the Duke of *Nemours* with the Horſe of the Kings Guard going before, and the Conſtable with the Gentlemen of the Court following after the Battalion) when they ſaw ſome Troops appear of the Hugonots Horſe which advanced a good pace to charge them. The Swiſſes cloſed their ranks and charging their Pikes, ſhewed ſuch an undaunted courage to receive the aſſault of the Enemy, that the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral being come up to the Rear with a party of ſix hundred Horſe, making caracols, and wheeling about the field, durſt not charge their Battalion, who ſtanding in a very cloſe order, and fiercely ſhaking their Pikes, ſhewed little fear of the fury of their Horſe: But the Count *de la Rochefou-cault* with a Troop of three hundred Horſe, and *Andelot* with another of two hundred being joined with them, they returned furiouſly to charge them again in the Rear. At the ſame inſtant the Swiſſes with admirable nimbleneſs faced about to fight, and the King with great ardour ſpurred on his Horſe to the front of the Battail, being followed by the chief Lords of the Court, but for the moſt part without any weapons but their Swords, none of them finding in ſuch haſte Arms either defenſive or offenſive fit for ſuch an occaſion. The Hugonots made ſome ſhot as if they meant to fall in upon them in good earneſt; but ſeeing the frank reſolution of the Swiſſes, they wheeled off, and caracolled again, and began to keep at a diſtance. Thus ſometimes advancing, ſometimes making a ſtand to receive the charge of the enemy who followed them in the Rear ſeven Leagues together, they kept on their way with an admirable conſtancy, till the Hugonot Captains being wearied, and ſeeing they could do no good, partly through the daring courage of the Swiſſes, partly becauſe their Forces arrived not ſoon enough at the place appointed, left off purſuing them, and perceiving the night draw on, retired to lodge in the adjacent Villages: which when the Catholick Lords knew, (not to expoſe themſelves the next day to a greater hazard) they reſolved, leaving the Conſtable and the Duke of *Nemours* with the Swiſſes, that the King and Queen ſhould go on towards *Paris*, which they did with more than an ordinary pace, not without ſome fear, and very much danger; for if the enemy had been advertiſed thereof, and ſent but two hundred Horſe before to lie in their way, they might very eaſily have taken them. All that were preſent were exceedingly moved to ſee the Queen with all her Sons ſo invironed by their Enemies, that in an inſtant all the Royal Family might have been loſt, and it was a great chance it fell out otherwiſe, nor leſs good fortune that the Swiſſes had ſuch an addreſs; for without them it had been impoſſible to eſcape the hands of the Enemy.

Colonel *Fifer* with 6000 Swiſſes ſaves the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, from a great Army of the Hugonots, and marching in an excellent order fighting with the Enemy, conducts them ſafe to *Paris*.

The King being come to *Paris*, was received with great joy of the people, even ſhedding tears through tenderneſs; and the Duke of *Aumale*, who was there before, went with three hundred Horſe that he had gotten together to meet the Swiſſes, who arrived not till after midnight in the Suburbs. The next morning they entered the City with the ſame order and bravery, being received by the King himſelf at St. *Martins* Gate, who having highly commended their valour, and made them a donative of a pay, the reward of Conquerours, they were ſent back to the Suburbs, where Quarters were provided for them.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* ſaves himſelf by flight from the Hugonots.

The Cardinal of *Lorain*, of whom the Hugonots had a principal deſign to rid themſelves, at the ſame time the King and Queen marched away, went with a ſmall train out of the great road through by-ways towards his Archbiſhoprick of *Rheims* in *Champagne*, and falling unawares into certain Hugonot-Troops which were gathering together in thoſe parts, leaving his coaches, and loſing his baggage, with much difficulty ſaved himſelf by flight.

The Hugonots reſolve to beſiege *Paris*, ſtop the paſſages whereby proviſions are conveyed to the City, make incurſions into the Suburbs, and burn the Mills.

But the Prince and the Admiral, though they ſaw the miſerable ill ſucceſs of their deſign, which wholly depended upon expedition and prevention, yet they reſolved they would beſiege *Paris*, being of opinion that a City ſo repleniſhed with people, and not at all furniſhed with victuals, would in few days be brought to ſuch extremity, that it muſt be delivered up to them of neceſſity, for there was not any Army ready that

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was not any Army ready that was able to ſuccour or relieve it. To this end they began to poſſeſs themſelves of all the paſſages of the Rivers, by which proviſions are conveyed to *Paris*, fortifying and placing Guards in all the little Towns about the City, which being but weak, and unprovided of any defence, in this ſudden commotion were with little delay, and leſs pains reduced into their power; ſo that being Maſters of *Montereau*, *Lagny*, S. *Denis*, the Bridge of S *Cloud*, *Dammartine*, and all the places thereabout, the fifth of *October* they made incurſions even to the walls of *Paris*, and burnt the windmils without the Ramparts, between S. *Honore*'s gate and the port *de Temple*, with great terrour to the Pariſians, and extream offence to the King, who in the heat of paſſion, could not forbear with threats and rough language to expreſs an anger full of revenge. In the mean while, the Queen, upon whoſe prudence and care the whole welfare of the State depended, imployed all her induſtry to get an Army ſoon enough together, to raiſe the enemy from the Siege. To which purpoſe, beſides the general order given all over the Kingdom, that the Catholicks ſhould take arms, the Colonels *Briſſac* and *Strozzi* were ſent for in all diligence with the old French Infantry, the Sieurs *de Sanſac*, *Savigny*, *Tavanes*, and *Martigues*, with the *Gens d' Arms*, the Duke of *Guiſe* from his Government of *Champagne*, the grand Prior from that of *Auvergne*, the Mareſhal *d'Anville* with the Forces of his Family, and particular Orders and Letters directed to all the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom, to haſten them away, who at the firſt report of the Kings danger inſtantly ran together; wherefore though the occaſion were preſſing and urgent, yet it was hoped all theſe aids would arrive before the City were reduced to an extream neceſſity, which by the help of the Swiſſes, and readineſs of the Pariſians was able to hold out many days But the thing that troubled the Queen, was the great ſcarcity of money: wherefore having called together the Catholick Princes Ambaſſadors that were reſident at Court, ſhe very effectually recommended to them the preſent occaſions of the State, and deſired every one of them to procure ſome convenient aid from their Maſters: nor content with this, diſpatched away *Annibal Kuccelai* poſt into *Italy*, to get what conſiderable Sum he could of the Pope and the great Duke: with *Giovanni Corraro* the Venetian Ambaſſador, ſhe treated in private with great ſhew of confidence, to diſpoſe the Senate to lend 100000 Ducats: To the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhe writ very earneſtly that he would give her leave to make uſe of 100000 Francks and more that remained in *France* to ſatisfie certain debts; and into *Spain* ſent Monſieur *de Malaſſiſe* to the ſame purpoſe. But foreſeeing the ſlowneſs of theſe Supplies in reſpect of the urgency of the preſent occaſions, the King calling together the chief Citizens of *Paris*, obtained of them 400000 Francks; and it fell out very opportunely, that the Prelates being aſſembled at the ſame time in *Paris*, to conſult of the affairs of the Clergy, agreed among themſelves to make the King a preſent of 250000 Crowns towards the preſent maintenance of the War: beſides theſe proviſions which were preſently brought in, the King being informed that certain Merchants ſent 60000 Reals of Eight into *Flanders*, and exceedingly offended that they would not furniſh him with any part of it, cauſed the money to be ſtopt, which was an exceeding help in ſo preſſing a neceſſity 1567.

Nevertheleſs the Queen, to protract the time till ſupplies of men and other neceſſary proviſions arrived, and to abate the fervour of the Enemy, being conſtrained to have recourſe to her wonted arts, excellently diſſembling thoſe ſo freſh injuries, and the late danger ſhe paſſed, began to make overture of a Treaty for an Accommodation by Monſieur *de S. Sulpice*, a perſon in whom ſhe repoſed much confidence, and that was not ill thought of by the Hugonots, who not ſhewing themſelves altogether averſe from peace, there went to them in a place equally diſtant from both Armies the High Chancellor, the Mareſhal of *Momorancy*, and *la Vieux-Ville*, Monſieur *de Morvilliers*, and the Biſhop of *Limoges*; to whom though they propoſed inſolent exorbitant conditions, ſuch as Conquerours uſe to impoſe upon the Conquered; yet to gain the benefit of time, they artificially ſpun out the Treaty ſtill, giving them hopes of condeſcending to their deſires.

The Propoſitions of the Hugonots were theſe: That the Queen-Mother ſhould have nothing to do in the Government: That thoſe who till then had managed the affairs, ſhould render an account to them of their proceedings: That the King ſhould diſband all his Forces: That all ſtrangers ſhould be ſent out of the Kingdom, and particularly the Italians, to whom they attributed the invention of their new Impoſitions

1567. and **Gabelles:* That the Edict of *January* ſhould be reauthorized, and punctually obſerved with a free exerciſe of the Hugonot Religion in all places, and particularly in *Paris:* That *Metz*, *Calais*, and *Havre de Grace*, ſhould be conſigned to them for their ſecurity: That all Taxes ſhould be taken away: That a general Aſſembly of the States ſhould be called: That Juſtice ſhould be done them againſt the Princes of *Guiſe*, by whom they ſaid they were perſecuted and calumniated, and other things not unlike theſe; which ſeeming rather ridiculous than matter of hate, chiefly that Article in which they demanded a preſent disbanding of the Kings Forces, whilſt they had an Army on foot at the Gates of *Paris*, afforded no hopes at all of an accommodation: yet the Queen ſending every day new perſons to treat, according to her deſign, drew out the buſineſs in length, and gained time to free her ſelf from ſo great an exigence. Nor were theſe delays diſpleaſing to the Hugonots, who thinking it more probable to prevail by a Siege, than by ſtrength, did what they could to ſtop all the paſſages to the City, hoping rather by famine than force to reduce it into their powers; and in the mean while expected a ſupply of men from their party, which were raiſing with exceeding diligence in all parts of the Kingdom. But theſe aids that were hoped for on both ſides, bred grievous and dangerous Inſurrections in the Provinces: For in *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Champagne*, (which lie neareſt to *Paris*, and environ it on all ſides) the Hugonots were aſſembled together in great multitudes, with a reſolution to ſuccour their party, and the Governours did the ſame for the King; ſo that being kept in play there, they could not go to join with the Army before *Paris:* by which commotions the Villages and Towns were peſtered with Souldiers, and the ways ſo broken, that all intercourſe and traffick was hindered and deſtroyed.

* Any kind of impoſition, eſpecially that which is paid unto the King upon ſale of Salt.

The City of *Orleans* taken again by the Hugonots and divers others.

At the ſame time the Hugonots poſſeſt themſelves of the City of *Orleans* and the Fortreſs; which being ſcarcely finiſhed, and ill guarded, was eaſily reduced into their power. The taking of this place was of very great importance; for beſides the benefit of having ſo conſiderable a City ſo near *Paris*, they found there three Cannons and five Culverins, which was very advantageous to the Army, that before had never a piece of Artillery. In *Burgundy* they took *Auxerre* and *Maſcon*, but the laſt not without ſome blood, for the Catholicks made a valiant reſiſtance. In *Daulphine* they got *Valence*; *Lyons* was full of tumults, and the Sieur *de Ponſenac* taking arms in their favour, brake the ways, and fomented the commotions within the City. The Count *de Montgomery* ſurprized *Eſtampes*, which was of ſo much more conſequence, becauſe near *Paris*. In *Languedoc*, *Niſmes* and *Montpellier* were revolted to the Hugonots. *Metz*, a ſtrong place of very great importance upon the Frontiers of *Lorain*, was upon the point of revolting, Monſieur *de Diſans* who commanded the Gariſon, having declared himſelf for the Hugonots; whereupon not only the Mareſhal *de la Vieux-Ville* the Governour of that place was conſtrained to leave the Court, but the Duke of *Guiſe* alſo took a reſolution to march that way. Upon the coaſts of the Ocean they made themſelves Maſters of *Diepe*; and in *Gaſcony* they were ſo ſtrong, that Monſieur *de Monluc* having ſuch an enemy to deal with, could not ſend thoſe aids that were intended to *Paris*.

Theſe ſtirs that were not without much blood-ſhed, rapine, and frequent encounters, retarded for ſome days both the Kings ſupplies, and the recruiting of the Hugonots Army. But the firſt that arrived, were the Kings Forces; for *Timoleon* Count of *Briſſac*, and *Philip Strozzi* who commanded the Infantry, though *Andelot* and *Muy* (having left the Camp on purpoſe, lay in the way to hinder their paſſage, yet) coaſting the Country through Woods and Vineyards, and having carriages to flank them, arrived ſafe in *Paris* with four Regiments of Foot; and the Catholick Nobility at the news of the Kings being beſieged, came together from all parts in great diligence to the Court.

The King having now no more occaſion to diſſemble, ſent an Herauld to ſummon the Prince and the reſt of his Confederates aſſembled at St. *Dennis*, within the ſpace of four and twenty hours to lay down their arms and return to their obedience, or elſe to pronounce them Rebels and Traytors. At the appearance of the Herauld, who brought the Summons in writing, the Prince of *Conde* in a fury proteſted, *If he ſaid any thing that touch upon his Honour, he would preſently cauſe him to be hanged*: to which the Herauld knowing himſelf backed with the Royal Authority, anſwered boldly, *I am ſent from your Maſter and mine, nor ſhall words terrifie me from executing my Commiſſion*; and put the Writing in his hand, which being read, the Prince ſaid he would return

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an anſwer within three days; but the Herauld replyed with the like boldneſs as before, that he muſt reſolve within four and twenty hours: ſo that the ſame Herauld being ſent again the next day, carried back an anſwer in much milder terms than ordinary, the Heads of the Hugonots profeſſing, *They were reſolved ſtill to remain his Majeſties loyal Subjects, nor to deſire any thing but the conſervation of their Propriety, their Religion, and their Lives; and only demanded ſuch conditions as they thought neceſſary for ſecurity of the ſame, which they would ever acknowledge as teſtimonies of his Royal favour and goodneſs.* 1567.

This kind of proceeding renewed the hopes of an Accommodation; whereupon it was concluded, that the Conſtable ſhould the next day have a conference with ſome principal perſons of that party; ſo that going out of the City with about two thouſand Horſe, when he was in the mid-way toward St. *Denis*, he commanded his company to ſtand, and advanced himſelf, accompanied only by the Mareſhal *de Coſſe*, his Son *Momorancy*, and *l' Aubeſpine* Secretary of State. The ſame was done by the other ſide; for the reſt ſtaying behind, the Prince, the Admiral, the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, *Roche-fou-cault* and *Andelot* came to meet them. The Prince ſpake very modeſtly, though he departed not at all from the conditions already propoſed; but the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon* told the Conſtable, who perſwaded him to relie upon the Kings word, without ſeeking any further ſecurity for their Propriety and Lives, that they could not truſt to the King, and much leſs to him, who had broken his word, and was an occaſion of the preſent calamities, by having counſelled his Majeſty to violate the Edict of Pacification. Whereupon the Conſtable gave him the Lye, and ſo they parted with ill language, no hopes remaining of an agreement. Wherefore the King having called together the Princes, Knights of the Order, Captains of the *Gens d' Arms*, and Colonels of Foot, in the preſence of many of the Nobility and others, made a Speech full of couragious reſolute expreſſions, in which he told them, *That there was nothing he deſired more than the peace and quiet of his Subjects, which had induced him to grant the Hugonots many things repugnant to his own inclinations, and contrary to his nature; but notwithſtanding ſo many graces and privileges, ſome of them abuſing his favours, with divers ſcandalous imputations ſought to raiſe a Rebellion in the Kingdom, and were grown ſo bold in their wickedneſs, that they durſt conſpire againſt him, the Queen and his Brothers, for which enormous Treaſon he might juſtly chaſtiſe and cut them off; nevertheleſs, nothing altering him from his firſt reſolution, on the contrary, to the prejudice of his own Authority, and to the diminution of the Royal Dignity, he had ſent ſome of the principal perſons in the Kingdom to treat with them, to whom they were not aſhamed to make thoſe Propoſitions which were already well known to every body: therefore he had at length determined to have that by force, which he could not obtain by their conſents; and that he was confident eaſily to effect his deſires by the aſſiſtance of thoſe Lords he ſaw there about him, who having been ever faithful to the Kings his Predeceſſors, he hoped would not abandon him now in ſo great a neceſſity, and in ſo lawful and juſt a cauſe; wherefore he deſired them couragiouſly to imbrace the occaſion of meriting both from their King and Country, and not to conſider thoſe dangers to which he would firſt expoſe his own Perſon for the preſervation of the Commonwealth.*

The Conſtable comes to parley with the Hugonots; the lye paſſeth between him and the Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, and no hopes remain of an agreement.

The Conſtable anſwering for all, ſaid, Intreaties were not neceſſary, for every one there was ready to venture his life and fortune in his Majeſties ſervice: and then turning about to the Nobility, continued his Speech in this manner; *Gentlemen, there is no ſuch true real Nobility as that which is acquired by Vertue; and you that are born Gentlemen, not to degenerate from your Anceſtors, cannot better imploy your ſelves than in defence of our King againſt thoſe, who to make a King for their turns, endeavour to extinguiſh this Race. Be reſolute then, and as with one accord you inviron his Majeſty in this place, prepare your ſelves with your Courage and Vertue to encompaſs him in Arms; and I who have the charge of the Militia, though I am old, promiſe to be the firſt to aſſail the Enemy.* Which Exhortations were followed by general Acclamations and conſent of all that were preſent, though for the moſt part it was believed the Conſtable and his, more in words than in deeds favoured the Kings party, and gave too willing an ear to the diſcourſes of the Hugonots, who were no leſs hated by the Nobility, than deteſted by the Pariſians, and not without reaſon.

The City began to feel the incommodities of a Siege, and ſuffered extreamly through want of Victuals; for the Admiral in a bravery at Noon-day, in the face of the Kings Army, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Bridge at *Charenton*, a league diſtant from the Walls, whereby the paſſage of the River being cut off, all manner of proviſion began to be

*Paris* beſieged and ſtreightned for victuals.

1567. at an exceſſive rate; but the greateſt difficulty was how to nouriſh ſuch a number of Horſe as were then in the Town: for which reaſon the Conſtable, provoked by the cries of the people, and impatient, having a much greater Army than the Enemy, that the City, to the ſmall reputation of the Kings Forces, ſhould be ſo ſtraightned and incommodated, iſſued out of *Paris* the ninth day of *November*, and quartered his Van-guard at *la Chappelle*, a place upon the high-way between the City and the Enemies Camp, which reſolution obliging the Hugonots to lie cloſe together in a Body, that they might not be ſurprized apart, they quitted the Villages about, ſo that the paſſages were again open, and the ways free to carry all things that were neceſſary into *Paris*. They ſent likewiſe to call back *Andelot*, who with eight hundred Horſe and about two thouſand Foot had paſſed the River to ſtreighten the Siege on that ſide, believing that the Conſtable (as it was true) being much ſuperiour in force, would advance, and preſently either ſhut them up in St. *Denis*, or elſe force them with great diſadvantage to fight.

The Prince of *Conde* with the Battel lodged cloſe under the Walls of St. *Denis*, keeping that Town for his ſecurity behind him; the Admiral with the Van lay on the right hand, at St. *Onyne*, a Village near the bank of the River, which ſerved him both for a fence againſt the Waters and the Enemy; and *Muy* and *Genlis* with the Rear at *Auberviliers*, a Town on the left hand; and becauſe on one ſide of them was a great open champagne, they made a ditch, and raiſed an indifferent work to ſecure them from being aſſaulted in the Flank, and placed a guard there of ſix hundred ſmall ſhot. But the Hugonots entring into debate, what was beſt to be done, being ſo much inferiour in number to the Kings Army, in which were ſixteen thouſand Foot, and more than three thouſand Horſe, many were of opinion it would do well to retreat till the Supplies they expected from divers parts were arrived; the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral thought it impoſſible to retreat without receiving an abſolute defeat; for the Kings Army lying ſo near, they could not poſſibly march away without being diſcovered, and conſequently followed and aſſaulted: wherefore they judged it beſt, as well to maintain their reputation, which to the Heads of a popular Faction, and eſpecially at the beginning of a War, is ever of great conſequence, as alſo that they might the better make a retreat, to give them battel; for the days being at the ſhorteſt, it would quickly be dark, and ſoon ſtay the fury of the fight, in which they hoped their Horſe (which were very good) would ſo damnifie the Kings Army, that they would not be able to follow them that night, by the benefit whereof they might retire, and meeting *Andelot* with freſh ſupplies, ſecure themſelves from danger.

Whilſt the Hugonots were in this conſultation, the Conſtable was not idle, but being confident they would either make a retreat; or if they came to fight, be totally ruined: the morning after, being the Vigil of St. *Martin*, one of the Protectors of the Crown of *France*, having put the Army in order, ſent reſolutely to aſſail the Enemy. The Duke of *Aumale* and the Mareſhal *d'Anville* led the Van, and were placed againſt the Admiral: the Duke of *Nemours* with a great number of Horſe which were ranged upon the champagne brought up the Reer, and the Battel commanded by the Conſtable was placed againſt the Prince of *Conde*, after whom followed the Swiſſes in their orders flanked by the Count of *Briſſac* and *Strozzi*'s Foot. It was already paſt midday when the Conſtable ſeeing the Enemy reſolved to give them Battel, not to loſe time, advanced with his Squadrons in ſuch haſte to charge them, that the Foot marching in order were left a great way behind, and could not come up to fight; which falling out according as the Hugonots deſired, they with their Cavalry (in which they had much the advantage) drew up behind the Conſtables Battle, and charging him courageouſly quite through, made a great ſlaughter amongſt his men. The Duke of *Nemours* thought to ſtay the fury of the Enemy by charging them in the Flanck; but the Ditch being in his way, and a gallant oppoſition made by the Hugonot Muſquetiers at the work, there was ſo much time to be ſpent there, that he could not make ſuch haſte as was requiſite to ſuccour the Conſtable. The Duke of *Aumale* and the Mareſhal *d'Anville* attempted the ſame, but were hindered by the Admirals Van, who having moved from his place, and retired almoſt to the bank of the River that he might not be ſurrounded, mingled valiantly with them, by which means the Conſtables Battalion being aſſailed and ſhaken by divers Troops of their Horſe, beſides the Princes own which was in the midſt, remained without receiving any ſuccours, ſo over-matched by the Enemy in number, that in a ſhort time it was abſolutely routed and deſtroyed.

On St *Martins* Eve the Kings Forces meet with the Hugonots Army out of *Paris*.

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The Conſtable had four little hurts in his face, and a great blow with a Battle-axe upon the head, yet he ſtill continued fighting valiantly, and was endeavouring to rally his men, when *Robert Stuart* a Scotch-man rode up to him with his Piſtol bent toward him, whereupon the Conſtable ſaid, Doſt thou not know me? I am the Conſtable; he replied, Yes I do, and becauſe I know thee, I preſent thee this, and inſtantly ſhot him in the ſhoulder, which made him fall; but as he was falling, he threw his Sword (which though the Blade were broken he held ſtill in his hand) with ſuch a violence at *Stuart*'s face, that he beat out three of his teeth, brake his jaw-bone, and laid him upon the ground by him for dead. The Conſtable lay a good while abandoned by his men that ran away, and left him in the power of the Enemy; but the Duke of *Aumale*, and Monſieur *d' Anville* having routed and defeated the Admirals Van, when they once ſaw them flee, left the purſuit, and came up to ſuccour and ſuſtain the Battalia, by which means the Conſtable was redeemed out of the hands of the Hugonots, who were then carrying him away priſoner, and his Son with much difficulty convey'd him though already half dead to *Paris*. The Duke of *Nemours* having in the mean while paſſed the Ditch, and with great ſlaughter driven the Hugonots out of their Work, with the like Maſſacre brake their Rear, and having chaſed thoſe that ran away into their quarters, rallied his Horſe, and returned furiouſly to mingle with the Enemy in the hotteſt of the fight. So the Catholick Van and Rear which had put to flight the Hugonot Van and Rear coming cloſe up to the Princes Squadrons, charged them ſo furiouſly in the Front and in the Flank, that many of his Troops being diſordered, the Victory manifeſtly inclined to the Catholicks. In the mean while the night overtook them, which was very dark and rainy, by favour whereof the Prince of *Conde*, who having had his Horſe kill'd under him, with much difficulty recovered another, and the Admiral who by the fierceneſs of a Turkiſh Horſe that he rid that day, was ſo far engaged amongſt the Enemies, that he had like to have been taken priſoner, retired in haſte to St. *Denis*, leaving the Field and the poſſeſſion of their dead as an aſſured token of a Victory to the Enemy. The Catholicks though victorious, partly through the loſs of their General, partly through the darkneſs of the night, left purſuing them, and the Foot having not had time to mingle in the fight, returned intire to their Quarters. 1567.

In the Battel of St. *Dennis* the Catholick Army prevails, but is much damnified.

The ſlaughter on both ſides was much more conſiderable in regard of the quality than number of the dead; for on the Kings party none fighting but the Horſe, and on the contrary thoſe Foot only that defended the Ditch which flanked the Rear, they that were killed were without doubt the moſt part Gentlemen or Perſons of Note, amongſt which, thoſe of the Hugonots ſide were the Count *de Suze*, the Vidame of *Amiens*, the Count *de Saut*, Meſſieurs *de Piguigny*, *Caniſy*, *S. Andre* and *Garenna*: of the Kings men few were killed, but very many hurt, as Monſieur *de Sanſac*, a Cavalier of great courage and expectation. The day after the Battel the Conſtable died, having at the 80th year of his age fought fiercely, with a youthful courage, and ſhewed no leſs ardour of mind than vigour of body. At his death he had no diſturbed thoughts, but on the contrary teſtified an exceeding conſtancy, inſomuch that a Confeſſor coming to his bed-ſide to comfort him, he turned about, and with a ſerene quiet countenance deſired he would not moleſt him, for it were a brutiſh thing having lived fourſcore years, not to know how to die a quarter of an hour. He was a man of an exquiſite Wit, and mature Wiſdom, accompanied with a long experience in the changes of the World, by which Arts he acquired happily for himſelf and for his poſterity exceeding great Wealth, and the chief Dignities in the Kingdom; but in his Military Commands he had always ſuch ill fortune, that in all the Wars of which he had the Government, he ever remained either a Loſer, or grievouſly wounded, or a Priſoner; which misfortunes were occaſion, that many times his fidelity was queſtioned; even in this laſt action, where fighting he loſt his life, there wanted not ſome who were envious enough to accuſe him, That having the command of the Kings Army againſt his own Nephews, he charged ſo late, and left the Foot behind on purpoſe, becauſe he would not, though he might, gain a compleat Victory.

Thoſe that ſpake without paſſion, gave him three principal attributes, That he was a good Souldier, and a loving Servant, but an ill Friend; for in all his actions he was ever ſwayed by the conſideration of his own intereſt. The ſame day died *Claud de l' Aubeſpine*, chief Secretary of State, a man of very great eſteem, and a faithful Inſtrument of the Queen-Mothers, in whoſe place was ſubſtituted *Nicholas de Neuf-ville*, Seigneur *de Ville-roy*, his Son-in-law, he who with great reputation of wiſdom,

1567. dom, following the ſteps of his Predeceſſor, continued in that place to an extream old age.

The ſame night after the Battel, *Andelot* joined with the Hugonots at St. *Denis*, who having paſſed the River with great difficulty by reaſon the Catholicks had ſunk or carried away all the Boats, could not come ſoon enough to the fight; but by his counſel the next morning, being the Eleventh of *November*, judging, as indeed it fell out, that by reaſon they had loſt their General, the Catholicks would not appear again in the Field; the Hugonots ſhewed themſelves in a body without the Trenches ready again to give Battel, maintaining with this bravado the reputation rather of Conquerors than otherwiſe. They ſtood ſtill in that manner a quarter of an hour, and in their retreat carried off ſome of their dead bodies: but having loſt the greateſt part of their Foot, and moſt of the principal Gentlemen amongſt them being either killed or grievouſly wounded, they reſolved not to ſtay any longer, leſt the Kings Army, being provided again with a General, ſhould reſent their former loſs; but having ſent advice to their friends that were already advanced to ſuccour them, the fourteenth they began to march in great haſte towards *Champagne*, with an intent to paſs that way into the Confines of *Lorain*.

The Prince and the Admiral at the beginning, when the Swiſſes raiſed by the Kings Order entered the Kingdom, ſent Meſſieurs *de Francfurt*, and *Chaſtelliere* into *Germany*; and perſwaded Prince *Caſimir*, Son to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, to raiſe an Army in their favour; to which purpoſe they had already furniſhed ſome ſmall ſum of money, with a promiſe, when he was arrived upon the Borders, that they would give him 100000 Crowns of the Sum for the payment of his men, which promiſe, with the hope of booty, and prey, ſtirring up Prince *Caſimir*, and divers other Captains uſed to live in Armies, and by the benefit of War, they got together (not long after they were in Arms, ſeven thouſand Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, and the Hugonots had advertiſement that they were ready with theſe Forces to enter upon the Confines of *Lorain*. For this reaſon they took a reſolution to march that way, that they might as ſoon as was poſſible join with the Germans, and be inabled with this addition of Force to purſue the War with ſuch counſels as the times and occaſions would adminiſter. The Army kept very cloſe together, being all the way to paſs through the Enemies Country, nor did any one man disband from the principal diviſions, neceſſity having taught them diſcipline; *Andelot* only with Harquebuſhiers ſcoured the Country, on all ſides cleared the paſſages, diſcovered the ſituations of places, and brought in proviſions; nevertheleſs they made all the haſte they could to arrive upon the Confines, though being ſtraitned of victuals to nouriſh their men, they were forced likewiſe to aſſault divers little weak Towns upon the way, with the pillage and prey thereof to ſupply the wants of the Souldiers, notwithſtanding they proceeded with ſuch celerity and addreſs, that they loſt not much time, nor ſuffered any of their men to disband or ſtraggle from their company. In this manner without uſing their Cannon they ſcaled and took *Bre-Conte-Robert*, *Nogent* upon the *Seine*, and *Pont-gone*, populous great *Bourgs*, in which, and in the Villages about, they found ſuch ſtore of Horſes, that having mounted all their Foot, they marched with leſs difficulty and more expedition.

In the mean while the Queen being by the death of *Momorancy* freed from the power and reputation of the great ones, and left ſole Moderatrix and Arbitreſs of the Catholick party, not meaning by the Election of a Conſtable or General of the Army again to ſubject her ſelf to the danger of being over-awed, but deſiring to preſerve an abſolute Authority in her ſelf and her Son, perſwaded him with many arguments to confer the command of the Army upon his Brother *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, a Youth of ſingular wit, and wonderful expectation, but ſcarce ſixteen years of age; and ſo much the rather becauſe the Council thought it not honourable for the King to go himſelf in perſon to command the Army, or to take Arms againſt his Subjects, becauſe it would give them too great a reputation.

*Henry* Duke of *Anjou* made Lieutenant-General of the Army.

Wherefore in this manner hindering all emulations or pretentions of the great ones, and not advancing any body to ſo ſupream a power, *Henry* was in the Kings Council declared Lieutenant-General of the Army; but becauſe he was ſo young, there were appointed for his aſſiſtance *Francis Siegneur de Carnavalet*, under whoſe diſcipline he was brought up from the beginning, and *Arthur de Coſſe*, Mareſhal *de Gonor*, a man for the opinion was had of his wiſdom and courage ever held in great eſteem. Beſides

ſides theſe, there were in the Army the Dukes of *Monpenſier*, *Nemours*, and *Longeville*, 1567.
*Sebaſtian de Luxembourg*, Signeur *de Martiguies* made Colonel General of the French Infantry, *Jaſper* Viſcount of *Tavanes*, *Timoleon* Count of *Briſſac*, and *Armand de Byron* then Maſter, or (as they call it) Mareſhal of the Field, who for his valiant exploits, will be often mentioned by us in the enſuing ſtory. Neither the Mareſhal *de Momorancy* nor *d' Anville* followed the Camp; for the Duke of *Monpenſier* being appointed as Prince of the Blood, to lead the Van, they pretended that Dignity belonged to *Momorancy* as firſt Mareſhal of *France*, who after the General, is to have the chief place in the Army. But the King not being willing to recal what was already done, as well not to diſoblige the Duke, as becauſe he was not confident of *Momorancy*, and thought it dangerous to commit that part of the Army which was firſt to front the Enemy to his truſt; the two Brothers in diſcontent choſe rather to remain near the Kings perſon than to prejudice their right. The Duke of *Aumale* likewiſe left the Army, having the ſame pretentions with the Mareſhals as he was the antienteſt Captain in *France*, yet he did not declare himſelf, becauſe he would not break with the Duke of *Monpenſier*, but under pretence of going to aſſiſt with his advice the young Duke of *Guiſe* his Nephew, (in whoſe Government, when the Germans, who were expected, came, the chief weight of the buſineſs would fall) went with the King and Queens approbation to imploy himſelf where there was moſt need of his aſſiſtance.

In this conjuncture arrived the Count of *Aremberg*, ſent out of *Flanders* by the Duke of *Alva* according to the former agreement at *Bayonne*, with one thouſand two hundred Lances, and three hundred Harquebuſhiers; a ſupply very conſiderable in it ſelf, but wrought a far greater effect through the Union that was ſeen to the ſame end between thoſe two Crowns. With theſe Commanders, with eighteen pieces of Cannon, and the whole Army, the Duke of *Anjou* moved to follow the Hugonots, hoping to overtake and to fight with them. before they could join with the Germans; which undoubtedly he had done, if there had been as much prudence and union amongſt his Counſellors, as there was in him deſire of glory, and a readineſs to encounter the Enemy.

The Prince with all his Army was come near *Sens*, the chief City in *Brye*, but neither by art nor nature much fortified, wherefore he thought he might take it as he had done divers other Towns in his march, by ſcaling; but the Duke of *Guiſe*, who with the forces of his Government had already reduced *Mets* into the Kings obedience, and placed the Mareſhal *de la Vieux-Ville* Governour there, taking that way which he heard the Enemies Army inclined, entered very opportunely into that City, and being prepared to defend it couragiouſly, was an occaſion that the Prince deſpairing to take it, not to interrupt the principal or neceſſary deſign, with his wonted readineſs turned another way; ſo that having received at *Monterolle* a recruit of certain Troops of Horſe, which came out of *Gaſcony*, together with three Field-pieces that were taken at *Orleans*, which they brought with them, he continued on his march; in which, though he uſed all poſſible diligence, yet he was unawares interrupted by a weighty and dangerous accident; for being now advanced as far as *Chaalon*, the principal City in *Champagne*, he met there the Marchioneſs of *Rotelline* his Wives Mother, being ſent from the Court to make a new overture of peace, with an intention, as many ſaid, only to hinder the Princes Voyage, and amuſe him till the Kings Army was come: and the iſſue confirmed this ſuſpicion; for ſhe having imprudently propoſed a ſuſpenſion of Arms for three days, in which the Kings Deputies were to come to a place appointed, and the Prince having no leſs imprudently accepted it, with a purpoſe to refreſh his Army, tired with their hard march, the Deputies appeared not; but the Duke of *Anjou* haſtning his march with exceeding diligence, as the truce expired, arrived ſo near the Camp, that reaſon perſwaded without farther delay to ſet upon them; for he knew the Hugonots with their ſpeedy march were ſo tired and broken, and were neceſſitated to lodge upon the plains of that Province in ſuch an open diſadvantagious place, that they could neither defend themſelves, nor refuſe a Battel; and fighting, there was no doubt (being ſo far ſuperiour in number) to give them a total overthrow.

The Count of *Briſſac*, who led the firſt Troops of the Army, believing all the reſt followed, as it was before reſolved, and according to which reſolution they had marched with great expedition in the Bourg of *Sarri*, furiouſly aſſaulted the laſt Squadrons of the Enemy, commanded by three Captains, *Bloſſet*, *Bois* and *Cleri*, and having with little reſiſtance put them to flight, purſued the reſt, who ran away as faſt as they could

1567. could to ſave themſelves. Monſieur *de Martigues* with part of the Van followed the Count of *Briſſac*'s example, and having overtaken three hundred Horſe which being placed in the Enemies Rear made their retreat, began a hot skirmiſh to keep them in play till all the Army came up; but whilſt the Mareſhal of *Gonor*, and *Carnavalet* who were the Dukes chief Counſellors, either took too much care to range the Army, or elſe, as it was ſaid, interpoſed artificial delays on purpoſe to hinder the deſtruction of ſo many of the Nobility, who were of their own blood, they gave the Hugonots time to ſave themſelves; for the Prince and the Admiral having given order, That the three hundred Horſe which were in the Rear, ſhould as long as they could ſuſtain *Martigues* charge, they in the mean while endeavoured to get off their men, and retreated with ſuch ſpeed, that in three days they marched more than twenty French Leagues, and ſtaid not till they had paſſed the *Meuſe*, a River upon the Confines of *France*, and gotten out of the Kingdom into a place of ſecurity, where though freed from the danger of being overtaken, or oppreſſed by the Enemy, they were ſtrucken with a much greater fear; for being arrived near *Pont a Mouſſon*, a place in the State of *Lorain*, where they thought to meet the Germans, but neither finding them, nor hearing in the Country about any news of their approach, the Souldiers ſeeing that hope fail for which they had ſuffered ſo many miſeries, and finding themſelves out of their Country, in a ſtrang place, and which was worſt of all, without any proviſion of victuals, entred into ſuch a fright, that they were reſolved to disband, and make the beſt ſhift they could by ſeparating themſelves, either through *Flanders* or *Lorain* to return to their own houſes, and many doubting they could not eſcape the hands of the Catholicks, through whoſe Country they were of neceſſity to paſs, reſolved upon a voluntary exile, and to ſhelter themſelves in the Cities of *Germany* till more quiet times. But the Prince and the other Commanders, with their intreaties, comforts, authority and reaſons ſo far prevailed, that for the preſent they ſtayed them from this reſolution, deferring for a few hours ſo deſperate a purpoſe, till they were altogether deſtitute of any manner of means to ſubſiſt.

On Chriſtmas Eve the Catholicks having an opportunity to fight with the Hugonots, would not, to prevent the effuſion of ſo much of their own blood, by which means the Hugonots ſave themſelves.

They ſtood ſtill thus in this perplexity of mind two whole days, till the morning of the third day, whilſt deſpair ſuggeſting againſt the ſame thoughts as before, arrived unexpectedly the deſired news that Prince *Caſimir* was upon his way, and not far from them. Then every private Souldier, as if reſtored from death to life, with exceeding expreſſions of joy, tenderly embraced each other, and with frolick cheerful ſpeeches went forth to meet the Germans, as their benefactors and deliverers: but the chief Leaders were again more perplexed and troubled than ever: for having promiſed Prince *Caſimir* and his men at their arrival upon the Confines to pay them one hundred thouſand Crowns, and being unfurniſhed not only of the whole Sum, but of the leaſt part of it, they were aſſured the Germans would advance no farther, and ſaw all their hopes, through which they had undergone ſo many hazards, vaniſh away to nothing. At length the Prince of *Conde* having called together all the Army, diſcovered the condition they were in; ſhewing, that ſince the generel welfare depended upon the union and readineſs of the Germans to aſſiſt them, it was neceſſary, though with private loſs, to ſuſtain the publick occaſions, and diſpoiling themſelves a little ſooner of that poor remainder which was left, with the price thereof to redeem their liberty and common ſafety. So exhorting all to contribute what they could; and two Miniſters being choſen, in whoſe hands the money, or whatever elſe was brought in, ſhould be depoſited, he was the firſt that gave not only all his money and plate, but even the rings off his fingers, and every thing elſe he had of any value, depoſiting it to be given to the Germans. By this example, and with the ſame readineſs the Admiral following, and all the chief Officers of the Army, and from hand to hand the Gentlemen, with the common Souldiers, and even the Footmen and Boys in the Camp, they made up the ſum of 30000 Crowns; with which, and the addition of infinite promiſes, the expectation of the Germans being ſatisfied, the Armies joined upon the eleventh day of *January*, in the year 1568.

Prince *Caſimir* Son to the Palatine of the *Rhine*, enters *France* with an Army, and joins with the Hugonots.

1568. The Armies thus united, and the men having repoſed ſome few days, they reſolved to return the ſame way through *Champagne* to *Beauſſe*, as well to nouriſh the Souldiers in a plentiful Country, full of Towns, in the which they might ſhelter themſelves from the incommodities of winter, as to ſtreighten again the Country and City of *Paris*, which was the head of the Catholick party, and in the poſſeſſion whereof the Victory was ever thought to depend through the whole courſe of the Civil Wars. They were

Hugo ſpurred

ſpurred on to this reſolution through the deſire they had to ſuccour *Orleans*, which they knew was hardly preſſed, and to gain an opportunity to join with the Forces of *Provence* and *Daulphine*, which they were advertiſed marched in great numbers that way. 1568.

*Francis* Seignieur *de la Noue*, a man of great wiſdom, and no leſs vertue, who in his time held the chief place among the Hugonot Faction, at the firſt breaking out of theſe troubles had poſſeſt himſelf of *Orleans*, and taken the Caſtle, which by order from the King was begun to be built, but not ſo far perfected that it could make any defence, and into that place, as more ſecure than any other, all the wives and children of the principal Lords of that Faction were retired for ſafety; but not with ſuch proviſions that they could make a long reſiſtance againſt a powerful Enemy; wherefore Monſieur *de la Valette* Colonel of the light Horſe, and the Count *Sierra Montinengo Breſſan* of the Kings party, having gotten together ſeven hundred Horſe and four thouſand Foot, came before that City, which being ill furniſhed with men, and other things neceſſary to maintain a Siege, was ſo ſtreightned, that in a few days it would either be rendred to the Catholicks, or elſe taken by force, if it were not very ſpeedily relieved.

In this regard the Hugonot Army made all the haſte it could into thoſe parts, the Leaders thinking they might perhaps meet an occaſion upon the way of fighting, which they would not have refuſed; for wanting the foundation to continue a long War, they were conſtrained to think how, as ſoon as they could, to bring it to the iſſue of a Battel. The Duke of *Anjou* in his heart was not averſe to their intentions, who being young, and deſirous of glory, thought by the ſucceſs of a Battel to gain a great reputation at the firſt, and to render himſelf known and conſiderable to other Nations: but the Queen, who had other deſigns, ſoon removed her Son from this opinion. She reſolved notwithſtanding the impediments of the ſeaſon, to go in perſon to the Duke of *Anjou*'s Army; for not relying upon any body ſo much as her ſelf, ſhe intended to be certainly informed concerning the report that was ſpread abroad, and to remedy thoſe diſorders which it was ſaid hindred the late Victory; wherefore being with extraordinary ſpeed, much more than women uſe to make, arrived at *Chaalon*, ſhe went afterwards to the Camp, where having called a Council of all the chief Commanders, ſhe deſired to underſtand particularly the reaſons why they omitted the opportunity to fight with, and ſuppreſs the Enemy. The Duke of *Monpenſier*, a dextrous ready man, not to offend any body, ſpake ambiguouſly of the late paſſages, commending the Duke of *Anjou*, and imputing the cauſe of the diſorders to their ill fortune. The Duke of *Nemours* excuſed himſelf, that he marching before to follow *Martigues*, knew not what was done or determined in the Camp. But Monſieur *de Tavanes* ſpeaking more freely, though he named no particular perſon, blamed the doubts, demurs, idle delays, and impediments that were interpoſed; intimating, that the diſcords which were amongſt thoſe of the Council, and the compaſſion ſome had of the Hugonots, were the occaſion of ſo much coldneſs in ſo great an Army.

After this they entred into conſultation what courſe was to be taken for the future; in which debate, many to pleaſe the General having concluded that it was beſt to fight, the Queen in a grave diſcourſe ſhewed, that the events of the Battel were different; for if the King loſt the day, he would put the Kingdom in great confuſion, and in a manner leave it totally a prey to the Enemy; whereas, if the other ſide happened to be overthrown, they hazarded nothing but ſome wretched baggage that they carried with them, and that deſperate fortune which they ſaw in time muſt of neceſſity come to nothing: ſhe laid before them likewiſe the difference there was in the means to maintain a War, for the King had wherewithal to keep his Army a long time, and to feed and ſuſtain it; but the Hugonots being hindred of all ſupplies, and reduced to ſuch extream miſery, that they had nothing to live upon, but that little that they got by pillaging the Country, could not long ſatisfie the craving and greedineſs of the Germans; and ſo ſcattering of themſelves, would leave an abſolute Victory to the King; which if they came to fight, would depend much upon chance: She conſidered that there wanted not divers other ways to diſſipate this Army; and when all failed, they ought rather by an Accommodation to ſeparate and divide the Enemies Forces, than by a deſtructive miſerable War to expoſe his Majeſties Subjects to be devoured and eaten up by ſtrangers; and for the Duke of *Anjou*, it was no leſs worthy a great Prince and a great Commander, to overcome by policy and conduct, than by violence and force of Arms; and that at his firſt entring into an action, he

1568. ought to be careful of ſhewing himſelf prudent and moderate, as well as bold and valiant.

The General being perſwaded by theſe reaſons, it was determined, that he, following the Enemies Army at a diſtance that they might not deſtroy the Country, ſhould ſtill keep near them, by ſome good Town in faſt quarters, that he might not be forced to fight, and endeavour by drawing out the War in length, to ſhake and ruine the weak foundations of the Enemy. And becauſe *Carnavalet* and the Mareſhal of *Gonor* were both of them no leſs ſuſpected in the Camp, than at the Court, to have held intelligence with the Hugonots, that were removed from about the Dukes perſon, and *Briſſac* and *Martigues* put in their places; that for courage, and this for conduct held by the Queen the fitteſt men for this imployment. Notwithſtanding ſhe made the Duke of *Aumale* the chief amongſt them, who after the Enemy had repaſſed the *Meuſe*, came back again to the Army, and to him, as to the antienteſt Captain in the Kingdom, ſhe publickly recommended the counſelling and directing her Son.

Now whilſt *Champagne* was thus become the principal ſeat of the War, the other parts of the Kingdom were not at quiet; but through the frequent continual Inſurrections of the Hugonots all places were full of tumults and blood: for they having at the beginning of theſe commotions gotten many Towns in all parts into their hands, the Provinces were ſo divided, that through the animoſity of both Factions, a dangerous War was kindled in every the moſt remote hidden corner in *France*. In *Languedoc* Monſieur *de Acher* ruled all the Country, the Vicount *de Joyeuſe*, who commanded there for the King, not having force ſufficient to ſuppreſs the multitudes of the Hugonots, or to oppoſe the induſtry and boldneſs of their Leader. In *Provence*, *Mouvans* and *Mont-brun*, men that by their violent proceedings got themſelves an eſteem, with more than ordinary ſucceſs croſſed the Catholick party under the Command of the Count *de Summerive*. In *Gaſcony* there wanted not ſtore of troubles, that Province being all in Arms; but Monſieur *de Monluc*, an old experienced Captain, had in ſo many incounters abated the fury of the Hugonots, that the Incendiaries thought it beſt for them to quit the Country, and many of them, though with much difficulty, fled to their main Army. In *Daulphine des Gourdes* the Kings Lieutenant, and the Sieurs *de Monſalez* and *Terride*, who were in their march towards *Paris*, many times fought with Hugonots forces and beat them, and at laſt forced Monſieur *de Ponſenac* to leave thoſe parts, by which means the ways to *Lions* were open; but he being afterwards joined with the Vicounts *de Montclair*, *de Paulin*, and *Bourniquet*, valiantly incountred the forces of *Auvergne* and *Daulphine*; and though the fight were long, obſtinate and bloody, the Kings Party in the end got the advantage, with ſo much the greater detriment to the Enemy, by reaſon that *Ponſenac* (who by his violence more than any thing elſe, gave life to the War) was at laſt in the retreat (together with many others) killed.

*The Pope ſends aids to the King.*

At the ſame time *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, who brought four Troops of Horſe out of *Piedmont*, that were raiſed in *Italy* by the Pope, together with ſix companies of Italian Foot, two French Regiments, and four thouſand Swiſſes that were newly entertained to join with the Duke of *Anjou*'s Army, arrived opportunely in *Burgundy* to ſuppreſs the remainder of the Hugonots in thoſe parts: for having divers times encountred and defeated them, he at length laid ſiege to *Maſcone*, which being taken, the Rebels had no place of retreat left whither they could retire for ſafety. From *Burgundy* the Duke went to join with the Duke of *Anjou*; but not many days after, as he returned with a few Horſe to viſit his own Country, he was ſet upon by the Enemy; and though with his wonted Valour he put them to flight, yet he received ſuch a grievous wound in one of his Knees, that he continued lame ever after.

But the Kings Party received a greater and more conſiderable blow in *Xantonge*: for through the negligence or connivence of Monſieur *de Jarnac* the Governour, and through the diligence of *Tracares* the principal Deputy, called by them the * *Scabin* of *Rochel*, that City revolted to the Hugonots, which ſtanding upon the Ocean over againſt *England*, ſtrong of ſituation, being every way incompaſſed with marſh grounds, or the Sea, rich with traffick, numerous in people, abundant in proviſions, and commodious to receive ſuccours from other parts, hath ever ſince been the Sanctuary and main prop of all thoſe who adhered to that Faction.

* Or Judge.

*Rochel* revolts to the Hugonots, which ever after ſerves them for a Sanctuary.

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In the mean while both Armies continued their march through *Champagne*, keeping the direct way that leads to *Paris*. The Hugonots kept close together, and durst not attempt the taking of any Towns by the way, for fear of giving the Catholicks an opportunity to fight with them at an advantage. The Kings lodging in strong secure quarters, had no other design but to hinder the Enemy from effecting any important enterprise, with which circumspection they both kept on their march till they were arrived, at the end of *February*, the Hugonot forces in *Beausse*, and the Kings not far from *Paris*. But the Prince of *Conde* having raised the siege at *Orleans*, (for at the news of his approach *la Valette* and *Martinengo*, not having forces to resist him, retired of themselves) was brought into great difficulties through the Counsels of the Duke of *Anjou*, who he saw was resolved to avoid all occasions of fighting, and to draw out the War in length; by which kind of proceedings knowing his Army would be soon destroyed, by reason he had neither money nor provisions to sustain or keep his own men together, that were all Voluntiers, nor wherewithal to satisfie the importunity of the Germans, who were ever craving, he was in a mighty perplexity, and every day held a Council of War to advise what was best to be done in so great a streight. At length, to try whether the Catholicks might be forced to that which otherwise they would not do willingly, he resolved to besiege *Chartres*, for extent and numerousness of people one of the principal Cities in *France*, and so near *Paris*, that with the Country about it furnished a great part of the provisions that went thither, believing that the Duke of *Anjou*, for his own credit, and the reputation of the Kings Army, would never suffer that place to be taken for want of relief, and not to give them longer time to reinforce the Garison, or fortifie it, having in two days with his Horse marched twenty leagues, which are forty English miles, the second day of *March* sat down before it. There went to command in the Town Monsieur *de Lignieres*, a Cavalier of much esteem, and with him entred fifteen Companies of old Foot, and about two hundred Horse, with which forces at the beginning of the siege he exceedingly annoyed the Enemy, and by frequent skirmishes kept them off a while; but was at length forced to keep in to maintain the Walls: for the Hugonots having taken all the passages, and placed guards upon the advenues, with four pieces of Cannon, so furiously battered that part of the Wall which joins to *Dreux*-Gate, that the sixth day they had made an assault, if the Defendants had not with great labour and diligence raised a Rampart within, with Casemats and other works, which hindered them from entring upon the breach. 1568.

But the siege of *Chartres* changed the face of things, and put the Catholicks to a great streight: for to relieve the Town with all their Army was contrary to their former resolution; and to let that City be taken, was, besides so considerable a loss, a very great prejudice to their reputation; and that which then happened to *Chartres*, would afterwards be the condition of many other great Towns; by succouring of which they should hazard the uncertain issue of a Battel; and if they succoured them not, they would be lost before their eyes: wherefore, after many attempts had been made, but in vain, to put men and munition into the Town, the Queen in this difficulty having recourse to her old remedy, which had so often succeeded, began to press a Treaty of Accommodation.

The Hugonots having besieged *Chartres*, the Queen makes new motions for an Accommodation.

When she left the Camp, she began to make new overtures of peace: for seeing strangers already entred into the Kingdom, and the Crown again in danger to be hazarded against desperate Enemies, she thought it necessary to keep the Treaty still on foot, that having many strings ready to her bowe, she might make use of them as occasion should require: wherefore having had a conference at *Chaalon* with some that were sent to her from the Prince to treat, returning to *Paris*, she carried with her *Odetto* then Cardinal of *Chastillon*, *Teligny*, destined to be the Admirals Son-in-law, and Monsieur *Bouchavanes*, a man of great esteem among the Hugonots; but not being willing they should go into the City for fear of some disorder among the people, who being furiously incensed, abhorred the name of peace, they staid at the Bois *de Vincennes*, and at length came to the Convent of * *Minimes*, a mile without the Town; where after divers parleys about the business, which at first went slowly on, when *Chartres* was besieged, they were so quickned, that the Hugonots with little difficulty obtained very large conditions.

* The Order of St. *Francis* of *Paul*.

But the Deputies being returned with the Propositions, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, the Vidame of *Chartres*, and some others, the chief amongst them, who not

1568. believing they could ever be ſecured by a peace, chuſing rather a dangerous War than a reaſonable agreement, refuſed to accept them, alledging, that the larger or more advantagious the conditions were, ſo much the more they were to be ſuſpected; and that if ſome ſtrong places were not put into their hands, whereby they might ſtand upon their defence, they ought not by any means to accept of an agreement, but purſue the War, and leave the hidden event thereof to Gods will and pleaſure; which the Queen having notice of, (knowing that the generality of the Hugonots being weary of the expence and danger of the War, ſo they might enjoy a Liberty of Conſcience, and break off with a ſhew of reputation, deſired a peace) ſhe ſent *Lewis de Lanſac*, *Robert de Combalt*, and *Henry de Memmie*, Seignieur *de Malaſſiſe*, popular, well-ſpoken men, to their Camp, who under pretence of treating with the chief of them upon the ſame Articles, began (as it eaſily falls out, by chance) to diſcourſe of the matter with ſome of their kindred, and in the aſſemblies of the Nobility, and meetings of private perſons, to lay open the juſtneſs and largeneſs of the conditions, to which the King, to ſave the effuſion of his Subjects blood willingly conſented; promiſing beſides that all ſevere Edicts ſhould be aboliſhed, and a free exerciſe of their Religion granted them as before; that every one ſhould be put again in poſſeſſion of their goods and dignities that they enjoyed before the War, that they ſhould remain ſecure of their lives, exempt from thoſe charges that had ruined and impoveriſhed their families, be reſtored to their Country, their honours, to the fruition of their Wives and Children, and from being wanderers and exiles, return to their former felicity and quiet; ſo that the reaſons and jealouſies ceaſing, for which they had taken Arms, there remained no occaſion to continue the War: whence it was manifeſt how far their intentions were from the publick good and quiet, who were againſt an Accommodation, and how under pretence of Religion they ſought only to uſurp an unjuſt Authority, and pernitious greatneſs. By theſe ſpeeches which were related again and infuſed into the people, covered over with the plauſible ſweet name of *Peace*, on a ſuddain ſuch a tumult was raiſed in the Army, that the Nobility and private Souldiers (as in popular Inſurrections every body will mingle their advice, and pretend to a ſhare in the Government) unanimouſly cried out, and threatned to forſake the Prince if he did not accept the Conditions that were propoſed; and Prince *Caſimir* himſelf, either moved with the evidence of the reaſons, or elſe the rewards and gains not anſwering his hopes, being beſides moved with the certainty of having his pay preſently, which the King offered in a great part to diſburſe for them, favoured and commended thoſe that demanded a Peace.

The Hugonots accept not the conditions of agreement.

Nevertheleſs the chief Leaders perſevering in their opinions, the Admiral being moſt earneſt, and ſpeaking in the name of all the reſt, laboured to make it appear, that this was a manifeſt policy of the Enemy, who ſeeing they could not ſuppreſs them whilſt they had ſuch a ſtrength, and remained united for their common defence, ſought to ſeparate and diſarm them, that they might the more eaſily deſtroy them one by one, that the buſineſs was now brought near an end; and there wanted but ſome few days patience to ſee the event of it; for if the Catholicks came to fight with them, they had Gods Providence and the ſtrength of their own hands to relie upon; and if they let them take *Chartres* without offering to ſuccour it, their fear would be ſeen to all the World, and ſuch a bridle be caſt upon *Paris*, being chiefly furniſhed from thence, that it would ſtarve for want of proviſions; that they had many times tried the little aſſurance and ſincerity of promiſes: for though the King always intended to keep his word, yet ſuch was the power and ſubtilty of the Queen-Mother, and the Princes of *Lorain* had ſo great credit, that they perverted all his deliberations, and turned that into poiſon which appeared to many in the adminiſtration wholſom Phyſick; wherefore they ſhould expect a few days longer, and not by a precipitate impatience ruine thoſe counſels which were thought by every body moſt conducing to their common ſafety. But the inclinations of the Army ſo obſtinately oppoſed their reaſons, and there appeared ſuch a diſpoſition in the Nobility to abandon the enterprize, and to return in all haſte to their houſes and families, wherein they ſuffered much prejudice by their abſence, through the horrible outrages that were committed in all parts of the Kingdom, that the chief Heads were conſtrained by force to accept of a Peace.

The Miniſters enveighed bitterly againſt the Prince of *Conde*, accuſing him, That he through inconſtancy deſiring to return to the delights and pleaſures of the Court, had ſuffered himſelf to be too eaſily overcome by a popular clamour. The Pariſians with

with no leſs liberty blamed the Queen, That ſhe not deſirous to put an end to theſe diſtractions, but that the diſcords and troubles might be continued, by the ſame means to continue her own greatneſs, had forced the King to conſent to an Accommodation. And not only the Pariſians, but the Pope alſo, and many other Catholick Princes were aſtoniſhed and ill ſatisfied with this agreement; the iſſue appearing to them very unlike the beginning; and this reſolution exceeding contrary to that earneſtneſs wherewith the Queen had ſollicited them to ſend her ſupplies of Men and Money: which coming to her knowledge, who was very inquiſitive to learn what was ſaid, ſhe began to make her excuſes to their Miniſters; but had a long private conference to that purpoſe with the Venetian Ambaſſador, who being leſs intereſſed, and more moderate than the reſt, was likelieſt to credit her reaſons; wherefore beginning with the original of things, ſhe related to him at large every particular circumſtance: That King *Francis* the Second her eldeſt Son being very young when he came to the Crown, and of a diſpoſition rather to be governed, than to exerciſe the charge of a King, was forced of neceſſity to confer upon her the Supream Power in managing the affairs, that it might neither fall upon the Princes of *Bourbon*, not only the chief pretenders to the Crown, but infected with Hereſie, and inclined to favour it; nor yet upon the *Guiſes*, men full of ambition and high pretences, who nevertheleſs were ſo far Maſters of the Kings will, in regard of his Marriage with their Neece, that ſhe was conſtrained to admit them to a great part in the adminiſtration of the Goverhment, and in many things to yield to them, for fear they might to the prejudice of the publick, and her own private diſgrace, have caſt her out of the Court, and perhaps out of the Kingdom alſo: That ſhe had nevertheleſs ever endeavoured ſo to carry matters, that the Kingdom might remain in quiet, and enjoy the bleſſing of peace, under a pious religious King; and tender of the preſervation of his people, if the violence of the Prince of *Conde*, and the malitious ſubtilty of the Admiral had not diſturbed the courſe of things, by turning not only againſt the *Guiſes*, with whom they profeſſed an open enmity, but even againſt her ſelf, contriving through hate by wicked practiſes to deprive her of her life: That the conſpiracy of *Amboiſe* being diſcovered, when all the Council concurred to proceed with extream ſeverity, ſhe uſed her uttermoſt endeavour that a moderate way might be taken to quiet thoſe troubles, forgetting through deſire of the common good, her own private injuries and dangers: That the Prince having continued to raiſe Inſurrections in the Cities and Provinces, and to plot even againſt the King himſelf, at length fell into her hands; at which times ſhe ever propoſed ways very far from cruelty or revenge, ſaving the King of *Navarre*, and divers others that were privy to the Princes counſels, which was manifeſtly to be known when the Kings infirmity began to be mortal; for the Princes of *Guiſe* preſſing very earneſtly that the ſentence of death might be put in execution againſt thoſe of *Bourbon*, ſhe reſolutely oppoſed it, approving rather gentle means than violent ſharp remedies: That ſhe being afterwards left with the King, a young Child not obeyed, and her other Children yet as it were in the Cradle, and her ſelf a ſtranger with very few Confidents, but an abundance of perſons of intereſt about her, though ſhe had more need than ever to guard her ſelf from thoſe who plotted ſome one way, ſome another, the ruine or diviſion of the Kingdom, and her death and her Childrens; yet overcome by ſo great and ſo ſtreight a neceſſity, to preſerve the peace, maintain the Crown and her Childrens Patrimony, and to gain time till the King came of age, ſhe many times ſuffered the Princes fury, and the inſolencies of the Hugonots; but that the impatience of the great ones with their diſcords and enmities, the ambition of the Princes of *Lorain*, and the contumacy of the Hugonots, had at length raiſed a War; to avoid which, God was witneſs with her, how much ſhe had done and ſuffered; that ſeeing the Kingdom through the infection of Hereſie in a general combuſtion, and the Engliſh and Germans called in to invade it, ſhe reſolved to try whether by a reſolute War ſhe could extinguiſh, and eradicate this evil, and not be wanting in any thing that might be juſtified by Religion, ſhe had reſolved to put it to a Battel, which her Letters written to the Conſtable, that were certainly amongſt his Papers (for ſhe knew he kept them) would ſtill teſtifie: That in the Battel the Conſtable was taken priſoner, and the Mareſhal of St. *Andre* killed; and though the Victory inclined to the Kings Party, with the taking of the Prince of *Conde*, yet the Admiral remained ſtill with a conſiderable Force, to which was added the ſuccours ſent from *England*, and a freſh powerful ſupply that came out of *Germany*: That ſince this, hapned that accident to the

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1568. the Duke of *Guiſe*, whereby the Kings Party were deprived of a Head, becauſe for her to command the Army was neither agreeable to her Sex or profeſſion, and there was not any body elſe fit to be truſted with ſo great a charge; whence being led by the perſwaſions of many, and particularly by the advice the Duke of *Guiſe* gave her juſt at his death, to which ſhe gave ſo much the more credit, becauſe at that time men uſe to forget private intereſts and ſpeak truth, ſucceeded a Peace, by granting to the Hugonots a Liberty of Conſcience, though for no other end but to ſtay thoſe enormous outrages, deſolations, plundrings, rapines, ſacriledges, violences and tyrannies that deſtroyed the whole Kingdom, hoping time would ſpend that humour which ſhe was very well aſſured proceeded rather from private enmities, and deſire of rule, than from love of Religion: That ſhe knew divers Princes very much blamed her for this Treaty, by the ſame token there wanted not thoſe who raiſed doubts concerning her belief, but that ſhe being ſatisfied in her own Conſcience, having placed her hopes in God, expected from him her Juſtification: That it could not be denied but the peace had rid the Kingdom of the Reiters, who cruelly waſted the Country, and driven the Engliſh out of *Havre de Grace*, who were neaſted there; and given the poor people time to breathe from ſo many troubles and calamities, by which they were ruined and devoured: That the Peace brought one great advantage by taking from the Hugonots all manner of pretence to rebel: That many things were done and ſuffered for no other purpoſe but to reduce the great ones to reaſon, and to mitigate the fury of hereſie, trying divers means to arrive at this juſt holy end, and to maintain the union of the Kingdom ſo profitable to Chriſtianity, and eſtabliſh Peace ſo beloved of mankind, but no remedies or agreement prevailing, the Hugonots at length came to the taking of Arms: That ſhe had uſed all poſſible endeavour ſpeedily to aſſemble the Kings Forces, that the Enemy might not have time to receive ſupplies from abroad: That ſhe had very much preſſed a Battel, as it followed at St. *Denis*, but with ſo little ſucceſs, that it was notoriouſly known things were afterward in a far worſe condition than ever: That ſince ſhe had procured of the King to make the Duke of *Anjou* General of the Army, to be aſſured no private intereſts ſhould hinder the publick good: That ſhe hoped on Chriſtmas-Eve laſt there would have been an abſolute deciſion of the differences and diſſentions in the Kingdom: That her Son had not failed in his part, who though he were young, and not accuſtomed to inconveniences, had marched a whole night, with a reſolution to fight, but that which ſhe had formerly feared in the General, was fallen out in the Counſellors, for the Enemy had time given him, ſhe knew not how, to paſs the *Meuſe*, and join with the Germans: That all things were running on to ruine and deſtruction, which ſhe had ever ſo much abhorred, for ſhe ſaw certainly that this body of *France* loſing ſo much blood on all ſides, could not eſcape a violent death: That the Siege of *Chartres* had produced an unavoidable neceſſity, either to hazard the whole Kingdom upon the caſt of a Die againſt an Army of deſperate Gameſters, or elſe to endeavour to put an end to theſe miſchiefs by a Peace: That by this Capitulation the Germans were again diſmiſſed, time given to take breath, the Enemy divided, the danger removed for the preſent, and the care of the future left to Gods Providence, with ſome lively reaſonable hopes at length to attain to the deſired end, and that one day the candour of her intentions would appear, and the juſtneſs of her deſigns.

But though the Ambaſſador communicated theſe reaſons to whom he thought good, and the Senate ever favouring Peace, diſliked not this counſel; yet the more turbulent Spirits forbore not to find fault with the Accommodation, and to make ſiniſter conſtructions of the Queens intentions. Nevertheleſs, thoſe that governed the affairs agreeing upon it, and the Capitulation being ſigned, on the 20 of *March* the Peace was publiſhed, with theſe conditions: That thoſe of the pretended Reformed Religion ſhould have free exerciſe of their Religion in all parts of the Kingdom, according to the former Act of Pacification; and that all Edicts publiſhed ſince to the prejudice thereof, ſhould be held as void: That the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and the reſt ſhould not be liable to thoſe ſentences which had paſſed againſt them, the King declaring he was certified whatſoever had been done was with very good intentions, and for the publick good: That the Hugonot Lords ſhould be reſtored to their Eſtates, and that they ſhould ſend away Prince *Caſimir* with his Army, the King contributing a certain ſum of money towards their payment; but before they left the Confines of the Kingdom, the King ſhould diſmiſs all the Swiſſes, the Italian Forces both Horſe and Foot,

and

and thoſe the Catholick King ſent into *France*: That of the money which was diſburſed to *Caſimir*, part ſhould be held as a gift from his Majeſty, and the reſt be repaid within a certain time by the Prince of *Conde* and the Hugonots: Laſtly, That all the Commanders and Gentlemen of the Religion might retire whither they pleaſed, enjoying their offices and goods without any let or contradiction. Which Agreement being publiſhed by the Parliaments, the Articles began to be put in execution; but neither the one ſide nor the other proceeded therein with that readineſs and candour, as was neceſſary for the quiet of the Kingdom; on the contrary, both ſides endeavouring what they could to hinder it, interpoſed difficulties and impediments upon every the leaſt thing whatſoever: for the Hugonot Lords, who conſented to the Accommodation againſt their wills, though they had diſmiſſed Prince *Caſimir*, who having received the pay promiſed by the King was marched towards *Lorain*, and from thence after much ſpoil done in the Country retired into his Fathers Dominions; yet they came not to an entire reſtitution of the places, but ſtill held *Sanſerre*, *Montauban*, *Albi*, *Millaud* and *Caſtres*, and the Cities of *Rochel* denying that they were to ſubmit to a Capitulation made without their conſent, not only refuſed to admit the Governour and Gariſon ſent them by the King, but prepared with much diligence to defend and fortifie themſelves. 1568.

The conditions of the treaty are not performed.

The Prince and the Admiral not daring to go to the Court, and much leſs to remain diſarmed, were retired, the one to *Noires*, and the other to *Chaſtillon*, and there ſtood upon their guard to watch for an advantage, or to imbrace any occaſion whatſoever; and ſtill maintained a Negotiation with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, to enter into a new league, and to make new levies. Many of the common Souldiers who knew they could not be ſafe at their own houſes, and had not wherewithal to live or ſubſiſt, aſſembled upon the Confines of *Picardy*, with a pretence to paſs into *Flanders*, to aid thoſe that were up in Arms there, a thing expreſly forbidden, and which the King had by divers ſevere Edicts prohibited: but having put themſelves under the command of Monſieur *de Coccaville*, they got poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of St. *Veleri* in the County of *Caux*, a place opportunely ſituated, as well for a paſſage into the Low-Countries, as to hold a commerce with *England*, which was conceived they durſt not have done without the approbation and incitement of the Prince of *Conde* and the other Hugonot Lords. On the other ſide the King alledging that all the places were not returned to their obedience, neither diſmiſſed the Swiſſes, nor disbanded the Italians, but with ſundry exceptions, and under divers pretences reſtrained in many things the liberty of Religion granted to the Hugonots, who were many of them ill treated by the people, and many, though in appearance for other reaſons, puniſhed by the Magiſtrates, and driven out of the Cities. At which time the King and the Queen conſulted perpetually what courſe was to be taken to free themſelves from theſe troubles, and then was firſt eſtabliſhed, and not before, that Council which is called the Cabinet Council, which conſiſted not of thoſe perſons which by their birth, or priviledge of their places are uſually admitted, but of a few choice men that the King liked, to whom he imparted ſecretly in his own private Chamber his moſt hidden inward thoughts. The firſt choſen to this confidence, beſides the Queen-Mother, upon whom the deliberations for the moſt part depended, were the Duke of *Anjou*, the Kings Brother, the High Chancellor *de l' Hoſpital*, *Lewis de Lanſac*, *John de Morvilliers* Biſhop of *Orleans*, *Sebaſtian de l' Aubeſpine* Biſhop of *Limoges*, *Henry de Meſmes*, Seignieur *de Malaſſiſe*, the Preſident *Renate de Birague*, and *Ville-Roy* Secretary of State. Theſe conſulting together of the preſent affairs, through the diverſity of reaſons, found it a very hard matter what to reſolve; for taking Arms again, the ſame difficulties would ariſe which in the greateſt fervour of the War made them chuſe and conclude a Peace; and on the other ſide, it was not poſſible by policy to put the former counſels in execution; for the Heads of the Hugonots were not in any degree diſpoſed to return to their obedience, and to make ſure of their perſons was not at all eaſie; for neither the Prince, the Admiral, *Andelot*, nor any of the reſt the chief amongſt them would be perſwaded to come to Court; but being full of jealouſies, kept themſelves armed in ſeveral places at a diſtance, diligently obſerving every thing that might be plotted againſt them; which difficulties having held the Council long in ſuſpence, and in the mean while complaints coming from all parts of new inſurrections and tumults, which were raiſed either through the impatience of the Catholicks, or the too obſtinate wilfulneſs of the Hugonots, but ever with blood, uproars and danger; at laſt they concluded, that to take

The beginning of the Cabinet Council.

1568. take away the roots of these continual perverse tumults, it was necessary to proceed with more resolution and less circumspection. Wherefore taking occasion upon the money disbursed to *Casimir*, and that Sum the Hugonot Lords were obliged to pay within a certain time, which was then expired, the King signified to the Prince of *Conde*, that he should provide to make payment thereof; advertising him withal, he understood not the money should be raised by way of contribution upon the Commonalty of the Hugonots: for he would not that any body should have the power or liberty to lay Taxes upon his people; but that he meant the Heads of them, who had been Authors of the late War and Commotion, should, as they had promised, out of their own Estates satisfie this debt which they had contracted without the advice or approbation of particulars, when for their own interest they called *Casimir* with the German Army into the Kingdom.

The King, to chastise the Heads of the Hugonots, takes occasion to demand the money paid to Prince *Casimir* upon their account.

This signification touched the Prince to the quick; for the debt amounting to the Sum of 300000 Crowns, he saw the King was resolved by this means to ruine him and the Admiral, with all the principal persons of the Factions: for not any of them being able to furnish so much ready money as might discharge them of their promise, their goods and estates would be seised upon at a low value; which being resolved not to endure, having sent for the Admiral to come to him, after a long consultation of the business, he answered the King resolutely, That this not being his own private or particular debt, but contracted for the service of those, who to preserve their lives and Religion had put themselves under his protection; and the Articles of Peace containing, that he and all the rest of his party should be engaged for the satisfaction of it, it was not reasonable, that now to ruine him, the payment should be required of him alone, and some few other Lords, who were already too much undone by resisting the persecutions of their enemies; and that if his Majesty were positively resolved to be presently paid, which might well be deferred to a more seasonable quiet time, it was necessary to permit them to raise the money upon the Reformed Churches, who he assured would willingly submit to the burthen; but if he would not permit it, his Majesty might well foresee, that many through despair would be constrained to think of new violent courses, against his will and intentions: That he well knew this proceeded from the malice of his enemies, who not desiring the peace and quiet of the Kingdom, infused such precipitate counsels to renew the War: That this was not their first attempt; for already in many places, cruelly murthering those who with his Majesties permission assembled at their devotions, they had put Arms into the hands of the most seditious people in *France:* That he desired his Majesty to inform himself of that which happened at *Rouen*, *Amiens*, *Bourges*, *Orleans*, *Troys*, *Clairmont* in *Auvergne*, *Angiers*, *Lagni*, and in many other places, to do justice to the oppressed, and cause his own promises to be observed: and at length concluded, That his Majesty considering with himself what was possible and just, without being obscured or palliated by the perswasions of others, would not tie him to do that which he could not by any means perform.

The Prince of *Conde* answereth and incenseth the King with a Letter of Protestation.

This Letter absolutely confirmed the King and his Cabinet Council in their resolution to proceed without any regard, because it seemed rather a protestation and threatning, than an excuse; and they knew well, whilst the Prince and the Admiral had any power, the Peace would neither be secure, nor the danger taken away of the Germans coming again into the Kingdom. Wherefore all doubts being removed, they determined to try whether they could on a sudden surprise the Prince and the Admiral, who contrary to their first resolution (to keep in several places, that they might not be both taken in one trap) were now both together at *Noyers*, upon the Confines of *Burgundy*, a Town not very strong, nor so well guarded, that it could make any long resistance. But because it was a business in the managing whereof secresie was more required than strength, *Jasper* Count *de Tavanes* Lieutenant to the Duke of *Aumale* in the Government of that Province, where he had fourteen Companies of *Gens d'Arms*, and the Count *Siarra Martinengo*, who with the Italians quartered likewise in those parts, had order to go so on a sudden upon that place and secure the passages, that neither of them might find any way to escape. The King thought he might justly do this; for besides their past actions, and the obstinate perverseness with which they stirred the people to rebellion, the Hugonot Lords had not in many things performed the Articles of the Capitulation; by which, and by nothing else, he was obliged to pardon them: but he had the more hope easily to effect his purpose, because *Noyers* being

Order given by the King to take the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral prisoners.

being beſieged, he might ſend ſuch a ſtrength into thoſe parts, that it would be neceſſarily reduced before they could receive any ſuccours; and the Prince and the Admiral being once removed out of the way, he believed neither *Andelot* nor any of the reſt had authority enough to renew the War. 1568.

But this deſign was no ſooner reſolved upon, than known to thoſe very perſons againſt whom it was intended; wherefore though they ſaw themſelves invironed on all ſides by the Kings Forces, for *Martinengo* having put two Companies of Foot into *Orleans*, and advancing ſtill under pretence of changing his Quarters, was not far from them; the Duke of *Montpenſier* and Monſieur *de Martigues* kept the paſſages of the *Loire*; the Duke of *Guiſe* with ſeven Companies of Lances was upon the Confines of *Champagne*; and the Mareſhal *de Coſſe* was in Arms in *Picardy*, having (to clear the ſuſpicion the King had conceived of his fidelity) gotten a Commiſſion to ſuppreſs thoſe who were in St. *Veleri*; and the Count *de Tavanes* lay nearer than all the reſt, and but a little diſtant from them; ſo that they were compaſſed in on every ſide as with a net: Nevertheleſs, being forced by neceſſity (before the Kings Forces, which were ſtill advancing, drew near) to take ſome ſpeedy reſolution, and thinking it a deſperate courſe to ſtay to be beſieged in *Noyers*, they determined to ſave themſelves by flight, and to retire into ſome place where they might not only be ſecure, but raiſe an Army, and gather together their partiſans and followers.

According to this reſolution, which they kept concealed from their own ſervants, the firſt of *September* in the night, getting ſecretly on horſe-back with their Wives and Children, accompanied only with two hundred Horſe that they might go the faſter, and not be ſo eaſily diſcovered, they marched in great diligence towards *Rochel*, and left Captain *Bois* behind with ſo many Horſe more to hinder, as much as was poſſible, the advancing of the Enemy, if he offered to follow them, that ſo they might have time to ſave themſelves; and by good fortune, through the extraordinary drought of the Summer, the waters were ſo exceeding low, that they might foord the *Loire* (a great rapid River) without any danger at *Rouen*, which otherwiſe, all the Bridges being poſſeſſed by the Kings Forces, they could not poſſibly have paſſed. Captain *Bois* had not the like ſucceſs, who being followed by *Martinengo*, and overtaken near the River, his men were without much diſpute abſolutely broken and defeated, and he flying to a certain Caſtle not far off, was conſtrained to yield himſelf at diſcretion to *Martinengo*, who ſent him priſoner to the Court. But the Prince and the Admiral, who had foorded the River long before without any impediment, marching an incredible pace, arrived without being overtaken in a few days at *Rochel*, a place in all conſiderations moſt proper to make the principal ſeat for their party, their place of Arms, and their Arſenal for the War: for the Princes having loſt thoſe great ſtrong Towns *Orleans* and *Rouen*, which lay ſo convenient to found and maintain the Faction, it was neceſſary for them to provide ſome other place, which being ſituated in a rich fertile Country, had the commodity likewiſe of a Haven; nor could they chuſe any more advantagious for them then *Rochel*; for poſſeſſing that Port, and the Neighbouring Iſlands that were fruitful and populous, they might at pleaſure receive ſuccours out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Britany* and *Normandy*, all Countries full of their partiſans, and ſettle themſelves in a Town very hardly to be taken from them; ſo that in the ſtreights they were then in, there was not much doubt to be made of the place whither they ſhould retire. Wherefore being received with great joy by the Bourgers of *Rochel*, and by many of their chief Miniſters, who were retired thither before for their ſafety, they began to diſpatch Curriers and Letters into all parts, ſummoning their Friends and Adherents to come in to them without delay, as well to ſecure their own perſons from the treacheries of their Enemies; as to unite themſelves, and form ſuch a body of an Army, that they might be able to reſiſt thoſe Forces which they knew were intended againſt them.

The Prince and the Admiral ſave themſelves by flight at *Rochel*, where all the Hugonots and the Queen of *Navvrre* come to them with great forces.

There was no need of many invitations, for at the report only of the flight and danger of the Prince of *Conde*, all thoſe of the ſame Faction began to riſe; and that they might be ready as ſoon as they were called upon, preſently took Arms, even thoſe very perſons which at the concluſion of the Peace were ſo violent for it, now (as that Nation is of an unconſtant voluble diſpoſition) being weary of lying idle a few months, already deſired a War, and were more ardent than the reſt to imbrace it. So the ſign being given, within a few days they aſſembled all their Forces together at *Rochel*: Thoſe of *Poiſtou* under the conduct of Meſſieurs *d' Ivoy* and *Bloſſet*, thoſe of *Perigord*

1568. under *Soubiſe* and *de Puviaut*, thoſe of *Cahors* under *Piles* and *Clairemont*, thoſe of *Normandy* under the Count of *Montgomery* and *Colombiere*, and thoſe of *Britany* under the Vidame of *Chartres* and *Lavardine*. *Andelot* and *la Noue* having in their paſſage over the *Loire* had divers skirmiſhes with the Duke of *Montpenſier* and Monſieur *de Martigues*, though in three or four encounters they loſt many of their men, yet they arrived ſafe with a good number of Horſe at the ſame place. At length the Queen of *Navarre*, either doubting no leſs than the reſt her own ſafety, or deſirous to animate and ſtrengthen her party, and to advance the fortune of the Prince her Son, now fifteen years of age, having raiſed a conſiderable number of Horſe and Foot in *Bearn*, came her ſelf in perſon to the general rendezvous at *Rochel*. Only *Odetto* late Cardinal of *Chaſtillon*, who lived at *Beauvais*, and was encompaſſed with the Kings Forces, not thinking it poſſible to make ſuch a long journey in ſafety to join with the reſt, went diſguiſed in a Mariners habit to the Sea-ſide, and from thence paſſed with much danger into *England*, where being received with great reſpect by the Queen, he afterwards did very good ſervice to his party, remaining in that Court as Agent for the Hugonots.

*Odetto* Cardinal of *Chaſtillon* who called himſelf Count of *Beauvais*, flies diſguiſed like a Mariner into *England*, and afterwards remaineth with that Queen as Agent for the Hugonots.

But the Hugonot Lords having in a ſhort time raiſed a great Army about *Rochel*, according to their old cuſtom, before they would do any thing, to juſtifie their reaſons, and give a fair pretence for their proceedings, publiſhed a Manifeſt, in which after a long Narration made of all the injuries done in divers places, and at ſeveral times to thoſe of the Reformed Religion, ſetting forth at large the great danger they were continually in, whilſt they continued unarmed to be abuſed and oppreſſed, concluded at laſt, That they had taken Arms only for the defence of their Liberties, Lives and Religion, which under God they profeſſed, without any other end or deſign; deſiring ſtill to live as Subjects in obedience to his Majeſty, ſo they might be ſecured for their Lives and Conſciences. At the ſame time Queen *Jane* publiſhed certain Letters, directed to the moſt Chriſtian King, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, in which, repeating the ſame things the Hugonots had ſet forth in their Manifeſt, ſhe declared, That ſhe could do no leſs than join with the Prince of *Conde* and the reſt of the ſame Religion with her ſelf, as well for the maintenance of that Doctrine in which ſhe only believed, as to ſecure her ſelf from the treacherous deſigns which the Cardinal of *Lorain* on the one ſide, and the Spaniards on the other had continually upon her life and her Sons, and upon the miſerable relicks of the Kingdom of *Navarre:* which reaſons, though they were ſet forth with great flouriſhes of Rhetorick; yet it appeared plainly, ſhe either invented or added to them, and that nothing moved her more than the exceeding deſire ſhe had that *Calvin's* Religion flouriſhing and increaſing, her Son ſhould become the Head of that Faction, as the Prince of *Conde* then was, and as her Husband the King of *Navarre* had been formerly.

A Manifeſt of the Hugonots, and Letters of the Queen of *Navarre*.

But the moſt Chriſtian King, and the Queen his Mother, ſeeing in a moment all the Hugonot Commanders not only retired into a place of ſecurity and advantage; but an Army raiſed on a ſudden, and a War begun, which with ſo many arts and diſſimulations they had ſought to avoid, plainly perceived the ſecrets of the Cabinet Council were revealed, nor could any body be ſuſpected thereof ſave only the High Chancellour, who beſides his not conſenting to what was reſolved upon concerning the Prince and the Admiral, it was known his Wife, his Son-in-law, and his Daughter, were all three of the Hugonot Religion, and that he himſelf held a great correſpondence with *Teligny*, deſtined for the Admirals Son-in-law, a young man full of ſubtilties and diſſimulation, and therefore liked of by him to marry his Daughter, as underſtanding thoſe arts wherewith he ordinarily governed his actions: which jealouſie of the High Chancellour, grounded only upon report, and a general conſent, prevailed ſo much with the King, that though there were no material proofs againſt him whereby he could be deprived of his Office; yet the King not only put him out, but commanded him from the Court, and gave the Seals to Monſieur *Morvilliers*, a man of great experience and no leſs wit, who being an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, was very averſe to the Faction, free from any intelligence with the Hugonots, and a dependant upon the Houſe of *Guiſe*.

The King enters into a jealouſie of the High Chancellor *de l' Hoſpital*, and putting him out of his office, confers it upon Monſieur *de Morvilliers*.

*Michael de l' Hoſpital* being removed from the Court and the affairs, the King and the Queen deſiring to take away all matter that might adminiſter fewel to the fire that was again ready to break out, cauſed an Edict to be publiſhed, in which they promiſed to obſerve the Capitulation, and that accordingly a Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be tolerated to all thoſe who remaining peaceably in their Houſes, abſtained from Arms,

and

and from joining with them who went about under ſeveral pretences to ſtir up the people to Rebellion. But not many days after, either perſwaded by the reaſons the Catholicks alledged againſt this Edict, as a means to advance the deſigns and practices of the Enemy, or elſe ſeeing that the Hugonots, neither reſtrained by fear, nor pacified by the Kings favour, were with a general conſent, and with the ſame intentions as before gone all to *Rochel*, nor could not, with any promiſes whatſoever be withheld from running furiouſly to take Arms, being willing to ſatisfie the requeſts, and to confirm the fidelity of the Catholick party, which at that time was the main prop of the Royal Authority, and deſirous likewiſe to gain the Amity of the Pope *Pius Quintus*, who both by threatning meſſages, and particular graces granted to the King, perpetually ſollicited the prohibition of the Hugonot Religion; and being reſolved to declare their affections in this point, till then much doubted of by all Chriſtendom, cauſed another Edict to be publiſhed, in which the King, after a long diſtinct Narration of the indulgence and benignity he had ſhewed to reduce the Hugonots to a right underſtanding, and after a particular mention of the ſeditions and conſpiracies by which contemning his Majeſties grace and goodneſs, they had continually diſquieted and moleſted his Kingdoms, bringing in ſtrangers and mortal Enemies, to the French Nation, to poſſeſs and invade the ſtrongeſt places, and moſt flouriſhing parts of the Kingdom; at length, revoking all Edicts publiſhed concerning Religion during his minority, and nullifying the laſt Capitulation made *pro interim*, and by way of proviſion, ordained and commanded that the exerciſe of any Religion whatſoever, except the Roman Catholick, ever obſerved by him and the Kings his Predeceſſors, ſhould be prohibited and expreſly forbidden and interdicted in all places of the Kingdom: baniſhed the Calviniſt Miniſters and Preachers out of all the Towns and places under his Dominion, commanding them upon pain of death within the term of fifteen days to avoid the Kingdom; pardoned through ſpecial grace all things paſt in matters of Religion, requiring for the future under pain of death a general conformity to the Rites of the Catholick Church; and finally ordained, that no perſon ſhould be admitted to any Office, Charge, Dignity, or Magiſtracy whatſoever, if he did not profeſs and live conformable to the Roman Religion. 1568.

The King ſetteth forth an Edict againſt the Hugonots, by which all the former are revoked.

This Conſtitution being publiſhed with an incredible concourſe of the Pariſians, and received with exceeding joy by all the Parliaments, gave a clear teſtimony, that the King and Queens intentions had ever been to ſuppreſs and deſtroy the Hugonot party, but deſired to do it without the noiſe of War, and with as little prejudice to the people, or danger of diſmembring the Kingdom as was poſſible: Wherefore their arts and diſſimulations, after ſo long patience proving all vain, at length taking off (as the ſaying is) their Mask, they declared an implacable War againſt the followers of the Hugonot Faction.

They were not leſs diligent to make proviſions for the War, than ſevere and reſolute in their decrees: For the Duke of *Anjou* being declared Lieutenant General of all the Provinces, preſently got an Army together, with a reſolution immediately to advance into *Xaintonge*, to ſuppreſs the Hugonot Forces before they received any ſuccours from other parts, or from the Queen of *England*, or the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*: On the other ſide, the Prince and the Admiral, remembring the ſucceſs of the late Accommodation, had obliged themſelves and all the reſt by a ſolemn Oath at *Rochel*, to perſevere until death in the defence of their Religion, nor ever to condeſcend to an agreement without the general conſent of all the Commanders, and ſufficient ſecurity for the preſervation of their lives, and to injoy a full Liberty of Conſcience. After which Covenant thus ſworn and eſtabliſhed amongſt themſelves, they ſent forthwith into *England* and *Germany*, to procure Aids from thence. And becauſe the Admiral, a man who by long experience had learned the true diſcipline, knew that food and other neceſſary proviſions are the only means whereby Armies ſubſiſt and proſper, (wherefore he uſually ſaid, *An Army is a certain Monſter, which begins to be formed by the belly*) ſeeing they were ſhut up in a corner, which though fruitful, was yet ſtreightned on the one ſide by the River *Loire*, and on the other by the Mountains, which from *Languedoc* and *Gaſcony* extend themſelves to the *Pirenees*; perſwaded the Prince and the other Chiefs, that all manner of care ſhould be uſed to get ſtore of Corn, Money and Munition, whereby they might ſupply their preſent occaſions, and the neceſſities of the enſuing Winter: to which end they made ready a Fleet of thirty ſail of ſeveral kinds and burthen, which ſhould ſcour the Sea, and run up into the Rivers, robbing

New preparations for War.

The Hugonots ſet out a Fleet to fetch in proviſions.

1568. Merchants ſhips, and little Towns upon the coaſts, not only to bring what Corn they could from other places to *Rochel*, but to take what booty they met with in money to ſupply their preſent want. Nor was this counſel without effect; for in the ſpace of a few months, having taken many Veſſels, which without any fear of ſuch an encounter, put freely to Sea, they got ſuch a conſiderable Sum as was ſufficient to defray the expences of the Army for ſome time after: but they had much more help by the induſtry of the Queen of *Navarre*, who with often Meſſages and earneſt Letters ſo ſollicited the Queen of *England*, that ſhe diſpoſed her, notwithſtanding the peace newly made with the moſt Chriſtian King, not only to accommodate the Hugonots with Ships, Corn and Munition, but with 100000 Crowns alſo for the payment of their Army; in which ſhe pretended not to have broken the conditions of the Peace, for the Forces raiſed by the Hugonots were for the Kings ſervice, and aſſiſtance of the Crown, againſt the Oppreſſors of the Royal Liberty, and the Perſecutors of the true Worſhip of God.

In the mean while the Prince and the Admiral marching forth with the Army, poſſeſſed themſelves without oppoſition of all the Neighbouring Towns, and had ſuch good ſucceſs, that in a few weeks they were Maſters not only of all the Country of *Xaintonge*, but of the moſt part of the Cities of *Poictou* and *Tourain*, which either by force or agreement joined with the Confederates, and received Hugonot Gariſons. Theſe proceedings were not at firſt hindered by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who being ſent to that Province with an inconſiderable number of men, could not make reſiſtance againſt ſo ſtrong and powerful an Army: wherefore the Hugonots being Maſters (without diſpute) of the Field, over-run, burnt and pillaged all the Country, and every moment multiplied in ſtrength and adherents; for thoſe that governed the affairs were not careful enough at the firſt to ſend a ſufficient force after to ſuppreſs them, or at leaſt to hinder their increaſe, and now they were conſtrained to ſpend much time in getting men together from other parts, and making them march ſo far from their own Country.

But *Henry* of *Lorain*, Duke of *Guiſe*, the Count of *Briſſac*, and Meſſieurs *de Biron*, *Martigues* and *la Valette* being at length joined with the Duke of *Montpenſier*, they unanimouſly agreed that they would lie abroad in the field, to curb the inſolencies and incurſions of the Enemy, and to defend thoſe Towns that were not yet in the power of the Hugonots; and ſo it happened, that at the ſame time that the Duke of *Montpenſier* leaving *Angiers* went to lie with his Army upon the Banks of *Vienne*, Meſſieurs *de Mouvans* and *Acier* who had raiſed all the Hugonot Forces of *Daulphine*, *Provence*, *Auvergne*, and *Languedoc*, going to join with the Army, arrived at the ſame place. They were about 18000 Horſe and Foot, but for the moſt part tumultuary people, and not accuſtomed to the War; who partly to ſecure themſelves from the ſeverity of the Magiſtrates, partly in hope of the booty that was propoſed to them, had voluntarily joined with certain of the Nobility. Nevertheleſs they were very ſtrictly obedient to their Officers, and marched in exceeding good order, divided into two Battels, the firſt led by Meſſieurs *de Mouvans* and *Pierregourde*, the other by Monſieur *de Acier* himſelf, and for the moſt part lodged ſo near, that in a little time they might eaſily ſuccour one another, with which kind of diſcipline having overcome all difficulties, they were arrived, laden with booty, from the fartheſt parts of *Lionoiſe* and *Daulphine*, upon the borders of *Xaintonge*.

The Duke of *Montpenſier* being advertiſed of their coming, reſolved to fight with them; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Van, through their long march, or whatever elſe were the reaſon, forſaking their wonted order, was advanced a good way before the Battel. Wherefore departing from *Veſſonne* two hours before day, on the 30 of *October*, he diſpoſed the order of the aſſault in this manner: That whilſt he with frequent skirmiſhes kept the main body in play, which was with *Acier* in the ſecond Squadron, the Count of *Briſſac* and the Duke of *Guiſe*, with all the Cavalry ſhould charge *Mouvans* and *Pierregourde*, who with the leſſer number went before, and invironing them with their Troops, fight with them as they marched into the *Champagne*, where the Foot, of which they had good ſtore, but no Pikes, had ſo much diſadvantage, that he thought it eaſie without much contention to defeat them. But the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Count *de Briſſac* mounting 1200 Foot in *Croope*, made ſuch haſte, that contrary to the order given, they came upon the Enemy whilſt he was yet lodged in the Village of *Meſſignac* before he began to march, inſomuch that they loſt

that

that advantage by which they hoped with a leſſer number to overcome a greater. Notwithſtanding ſeeing the Hugonots, fearing the Horſe, kept in, and ſtood upon their defence, not to ſeem to come in vain, they aſſaulted the Village with great force; and the fight was ſo hot there, that for the ſpace of two hours they ſtood to it obſtinately on both ſides, till the Catholick Commanders, finding they laboured to no purpoſe, and through the ſtrong ſituation of the place, expoſed their men to an evident danger, reſolved to ſound a retreat; and returning the ſame way they came, placed themſelves in ambuſh in a Wood, a little diſtant from *Meſſignac*, which extended it ſelf largely behind a hill, expecting there to ſee what the Enemy would do. *Monvans* and *Pierregourde* believing the Kings Forces were gone to meet with their Foot, with an intent to come again to aſſault them in the ſame place, hoping before their return they might gain *Riberac*, a ſtrong place held by the Hugonots, and but five leagues off, without taking any care to diſcover the Country, began to march with great diligence, to prevent the return of the Catholicks, who they thought were by that time a good way from them. But they were ſcarce advanced into the midſt of the field without *Meſſignac*, haſtning to recover a Wood which reacheth from thence to *Riberac*, when the Catholicks coming upon them with their Horſe divided into divers Troops, charged them furiouſly on all ſides; and though they were not very well able to defend themſelves, all their Foot being Musketiers, without any Pikes, in a plain open place, yet fighting with exceeding conſtancy, made the Victory bloody to the Enemy. *Monvans* and *Pierregourde* were killed, and together with them remained dead upon the place about two thouſand Foot, and more then four thouſand Horſe: the Catholick Souldiers having by command from their Officers not endeavoured to take priſoners, which, redeeming themſelves for a ſmall ranſom, would perverſly return to the ſervice of the Hugonots. 1568.

The Duke of *Montpenſier* having in the mean while overtaken the Enemies Battalia at S. *Chatier*, which was in a great body flanked with good Horſe of *Provence* and *Daulphine*, purpoſed not to charge them with all his force, but thinking it ſufficient to keep them at a bay, ſo that they might not ſuccour their Van, entertained them with frequent hot skirmiſhes till the evening, when night coming on, he being retreated towards *Veſunne*, they taking the advantage of the dark, marched all night without intermiſſion, ſo that about break of day they arrived at *Riberac*; and the day following, which was the firſt of *November*, joined with the Prince and the Admiral at *Aubeterre*.

But the Duke of *Anjou* with the Army marching in great diligence, was now come to *Amboiſe*; wherefore the Duke of *Montpenſier* and the other Commanders after the Victory at *Meſſignac*, leaving to moleſt the Enemy, went away with all their forces to join with him; and the tenth day of *November* both the Armies met at *Chaſtel-rault*, a Town in the Confines of *Poictou* upon the River *Vienne*.

Great was the expectation every body had of the valour and generoſity of this Prince, who in the firſt flour of his age, being adorned with moſt noble Endowments, ſeemed as it were born on purpoſe to ſuſtain the weight of the greateſt Empires in *Europe*; for to his excellent form of body, was added ſuch a perfect conſtitution, that the delicateneſs of his complexion hindred him not from ſupporting all the inconveniences that belong to a Souldier; and in his mind appeared ſuch ſigns of courage, magnanimity, prudence, and a generous Spirit, that his Vertue was thought much beyond his years; which ornaments being accompanied with a natural eloquence, and the knowledge of ſuch Letters as belong to a Prince, gained him not only wonderful love, but a ſingular reverence likewiſe, both from the Army, the Nobility, and from the whole Nation. And though his actions indeed gave ſome teſtimonies of a humane condition, which is never altogether free from the marks of moral frailty; yet his inclinations to pleaſures were imputed to the tenderneſs of his youth, and his profuſe liberality to his domeſticks and ſervants, thought rather a magnanimity of mind not yet fully ſettled, than any weakneſs or want of judgment. In this great eſteem was the Duke of *Anjou* with all men, to which that his actions might correſpond, he deſired without further delay to meet the Enemy in the Field, and being ſtreightned by the ſeaſon of the year already inclining to Winter, forthwith making a general Muſter of his Army, in which were 7000 Horſe, 6000 Swiſſes, 2000 Italians, and 12000 French Foot, moved with all his Forces marching through the ſame fruitful Country of *Poictou*, towards the place where the Hugonots were.

At

1568. At the ſame time the Prince of *Conde* being Maſter of all the Country about, ſeeing ſuch a powerful Enemy come againſt him, was with twenty four thouſand Foot, and little leſs than four thouſand Horſe, upon his march, with a reſolution to approach as near as he could to the Kings Army, without abandoning the Towns belonging to his party, and opportunely to imbrace the advantage of any occaſion that the propitiouſneſs of his fortune ſhould preſent. Both the Generals had the ſame deſign, a thing rarely falling out, that two Enemies ſhould concur in the ſame opinion for the managing of the War; for the Duke of *Anjou* who thought himſelf ſuperiour, not only in number, but alſo in the courage of his Souldiers, and diſcipline of War, deſired to come to a Battel, hoping to ſuppreſs the Hugonots before their ſuccours came out of *Germany*; and the Prince of *Conde* likewiſe, who commanding Voluntiers, which for the moſt part ſerved without pay, knew the ardour and union of his Souldiers would not long continue, thought it better to make uſe of them whilſt their fervour laſted, than by prolonging the War run into thoſe inconveniences, of which he had formerly had too much experience.

But the deſire and determinations of the Generals was croſſed by the contrariety of the ſeaſon, for it being then about the end of *November*, the extraordinary cold, great ice, and ſnows, hindered the progreſs both of the one and the other; for the days being ſhort, and the nights exceeding cold, they could not (the ways being broken, and covered with ſnow) either eaſily fetch in proviſions, or march with their Army, or advance with their Cannon, wherefore they were forced by making ſhort journies, and lodging in convenient quarters, to eaſe the grievous labour of the Souldiers: for neither the men nor the Horſes could by any means lie in Tents, by reaſon of which incommodities, both Armies advanced very ſlowly. But at length all difficulties being overcome, with a wonderful conſtancy on both ſides, they came ſo near together between *Poictiers*, *Chaſtel-rault*, and *Luſignan*, that they were not above four French leagues a ſunder, which, as is ſaid before, anſwer to eight Engliſh miles.

The Duke of *Anjou* with the groſs of the Army quartered at *Jaſeneuil*, a Town upon the great Road, which from *Poictiers* lead directly to the Enemy, and part of the Cavalry with ſome few Foot for the more convenience lodged at *Sanſe*, a Village but a league diſtant from *Jaſeneuil*. The Prince of *Conde* on the other ſide marching with all his Forces towards the Catholicks, was come to lodge at *Colombiere*, two leagues out of *Luſignan*, at which Town all his Army quartered very commodiouſly. In the mid-way equally diſtant from both Camps was a Village called *Pamprou*, upon which each General had a deſign with an intent to lodge his Van there, that he might be the nearer to vex and trouble the Enemy. It ſo happened that *Martigues* on the Catholick ſide, and *Andelot* on the Hugonots, advanced both at the ſame time, with the firſt Troops of their Armies to poſſeſs it. At their meeting there was a fierce bloody skirmiſh between them, which was gallantly maintained many hours, though with various ſucceſs to both parties: but whatſoever were the occaſion, the Catholicks began to yield, and the Village at laſt remained in the power of the Hugonots, who purſuing their Victory, advanced to follow the light Horſe which were upon their retreat.

In the mean while arrived the Duke of *Montpenſier* on the Catholick ſide, who bringing with him above ſix hundred Lances, *Andelot* being much inferiour in ſtrength retired to the deſcent of a Hill, which was between him and the Village, where extending the Front of his Horſe, and placing in Foot in each wing, the Enemy could neither take a view of his Flanks nor his Rear, but ſeeing ſuch a large body towards him, thought their whole Army had been brought thither, and ſo loſt the opportunity to rout and defeat *Andelot*. But the condition of things was ſoon changed, for within a little while the Prince and the Admiral appeared with all their Forces, inſomuch that they were exceedingly too ſtrong for the Catholicks, who had nothing with them but their Van, all the reſt of the Army being left behind in their Quarters in *Jaſeneuil*. *Montpenſier* and *Martigues* knowing the inſufficiency of their ſtrength, and doubting if the Enemy perceived it, they ſhould be charged with diſadvantage, by little and little left off skirmiſhing, and retreated to a great thick Wood which was behind them, and there put their men in order, drawing into as large a Front as they could, and placing the Muskiteers among the trees to make the greater ſhew: but the Hugonot Commanders ſeeing it grow late, and believing through the ſame miſtake, that all the Catholick Army was drawn out as well as theirs, thinking they had done enough

enough to draw them from *Pampron*, ſtaid there to lodge under covert, and had not any thought to aſſail the Enemy that night; wherefore *Montpenſier* and *Martigues* having cauſed the Swiſſes to beat their Drums till midnight, to make the Hugonots believe all the Kings forces were there, and particularly the Swiſſes of whom they had a great eſteem, and cauſing lighted matches to be hanged upon the hedges, and up and down in the woods to confirm the miſtake of the Enemy, in the dead of the night retired with exceeding ſilence to *Jaſenevil*; avoiding, by the benefit of the dark, ſo evident a danger of being utterly defeated. 1568.

The Prince and the Admiral finding in the morning the errour by which they had loſt ſo great an opportunity, not to loſe their time likewiſe in vain, reſolved to ſet upon that part of the Army which was quartered at *Sanſe*, with an intention, the Duke of *Anjou* not moving, to break and ſcatter it, and afterwards advancing to try the fortune of a day in the open fields. But the Duke of *Anjou* had the ſame morning upon the Enemies approach, ſent for all his Forces to the head Quarter, and quitting the Village, brought the whole Camp to *Jaſenevil*, which being unknown to the Hugonots, they by the favour of a thick miſt, ſetting forth early in the morning, marched with the whole Army, in great ſilence toward *Sanſe*. But coming to a place where two ways part, the one whereof goes to *Sanſe*, and the other to *Jaſenevil*, the Admiral taking the left hand, went on as he intended towards the Village, and the Prince through miſtake turning on the right hand, took that way which led directly to the Catholick Camp at *Jaſenevil*, neither did he perceive by reaſon of the miſt, that he was out of the way, till he was ſo near the Kings quarter, that he came afront the Enemy in a plain open place, and was ſo far engaged that he could not make a ſecure retreat. The Duke of *Anjou* ſeeing the Enemies approach, not knowing their miſtake, thought they came with a reſolution to aſſault him; wherefore he drew up his men into a place of advantage, though ſomewhat too ſtreight for his Horſe, and expected with a daring courage to join Battel. But the Prince of *Conde* at length finding his errour, and not knowing where the Admiral was with the Van, going himſelf to view the ground, preſently reſolved what to do, and with all the haſte he could made himſelf maſter of two little hills on each ſide the way, where he placed his Foot being drawn into two diviſions, among the ſtakes of the Vines, making himſelf a defence of the ditches and banks, which are uſual in that Country to incloſe their grounds. The Foot being lodged in ſuch a place of advantage, and in a manner out of danger, the next care was to ſecure the Horſe, which being ranged upon the high-way, could not refuſe to fight whenſoever the Catholicks would charge them; wherefore that they might not diſcover a fear, ſtill moving ſoftly on, the Prince made ſhew as if he would join Battel in the plain, which lay between the two hills and the Kings Camp.

The Duke of *Anjou* believing the Prince meant to fight, when he ſaw the Enemies Horſe in the plain, commanded fire to be given to all the Cannon, of which he had a great number placed in each Flank, hoping thereby to terrifie them, and withal to ſcatter two great wings of light Horſe, which being in the Front of the Army, before the reſt, marched towards him. But the Prince taking his time whilſt the ſmoak of the Cannon covered the plain, retired dextrouſly with his Horſe behind the hills, and preſently began to draw a Ditch croſs the high-way, ſo that being covered on both ſides with the hills, and having cut off the Enemies paſſage, he placed there four Field-pieces, and 600 *Gaſcon* Musketiers to defend that Poſt. The ſmoak being vaniſhed, the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Count *de Lude* with two Squadrons of Horſe advanced to charge, but found the field void and abandoned by the Hugonots; wherefore having marched up as far as the hills without meeting any encounter, they returned to their Body with news that the Prince began to intrench in the plain. The Duke of *Anjou* almoſt confounded with this uncertain proceeding of the Hugonots, preſently ſent the Count of *Briſſac* with the French Musketiers, and Monſieur *de la Valette* with four Troops of Horſe to ſecond him, towards the hills, to try whether by skirmiſhing they could engage them to fight; but the Enemy not ſtirring from their place, and ſcouring the plain under them with their Muſquet-ſhot, the reſt of the day was ſpent in light skirmiſhes; for neither the Prince moved from the hills, but on the contrary went on with his trenches, nor would the Duke of *Anjou* ſet upon the Hugonots in their works with ſo great diſadvantage.

In this interim the Admiral underſtanding by the noiſe of the Cannon what had happened, without attempting any thing at *Sanſe*, was returned in great haſte to join with the

1568. the Prince: complaining that fortune heaping errour upon errour, ſhould with ſuch frowardneſs delude the prudence and warineſs of his counſels. The Armies ſtood to their Arms, with great diligence guarding their poſts all that night, but the next morning both ſides being vanquiſhed by the violence of the cold, and the exceeding ſufferance of two nights watching continually in Arms, the Generals reſolved to retreat, and ſo as it were by mutual conſent, the Duke of *Anjou* marched away to *Poictiers*, and the Hugonots to *Mirebeau*.

The Duke thought by retiring into an open plain Country, either to invite the Enemy to fight upon equal terms, or elſe by often moving and changing Quarter, to approach ſo near to them, that he might gain ſome ſeaſonable advantage. But the Hugonot Commanders, not to give the Enemy ſuch an opportunity as he ſought after, thought of another way, and reſolved marching from the Catholicks to fall on a ſudden upon *Saumur*, a City upon the *Loire*, where there is a very fair Bridge, which is one of the principal paſſes over that River, to enter into the other Provinces of *France*, or to receive ſupplies from them, and particularly to enable them to join with thoſe forces that come to their aid out of *Germany*: for the *Loire* dividing in a manner the whole Kingdom into two parts, ſeparates the Country anciently called *Aquitania* from the two *Gallias*, *Celtica* and *Belgica*; a great part whereof are yet ſubject to that Crown. They hoped likewiſe by beſieging and ſtreightning a place of ſo much conſequence, that the Duke of *Anjou* rather than ſuffer it to be taken before his eyes, would be brought to fight with ſome diſadvantage; for though the one ſide and the other very much deſired battel, yet they both ſtudied to contrive it ſo, that they might be in a manner aſſured of the Victory. But this ſtratagem proved fruitleſs; for the Duke knowing that *Saumur* being a ſtrong place, and reaſonably well guarded, might eaſily hold out againſt the Hugonots, reſolved to raiſe them by a diverſion, without bringing himſelf into a neceſſity to fight at their pleaſure: wherefore letting the Prince march towards *Saumur*, he departed two days after with good ſtore of victuals for his men from *Poictiers*, and went directly to aſſail *Mirebeau*, which was forced and taken with great loſs to the Hugonots, (for the remainder of the Army with a great part of their carriages were left there) and without loſing any time, advanced farther into the Enemies Country to beſiege *Loudun*.

Monſieur *d' Acier* commanded in the Town with twelve Companies of Foot, who though he ſhewed a great readineſs to defend it, principally through the confidence he had of the badneſs of the ſeaſon, which was ſuch, that by reaſon of the Ice, the Catholicks could neither raiſe any batteries, nor advance their trenches; yet ſeeing ſuch a powerful Army ſate down before it, he perpetually ſollicited the chief Commanders of the Army, that conſidering his danger, they would come to ſuccour him; who being moved with his earneſtneſs, but much more to ſee the Duke already ſo far advanced into that Country from whence they had all their proviſions and ſupport, preſently left *Saumur*, without having been able to attempt any thing, and marched toward the Catholick Army, being reduced to that neceſſity to fight at a diſadvantage, to which they thought to have forced the Enemy. But advancing with great circumſpection, and in ſuch order as was behooveful for experienced Commanders, the twentieth of *December* they came to lodge in the Suburbs of *Loudun*, and with exceeding diligence encamped on the other ſide of the Town, oppoſite to that which was battered and aſſaulted by the Catholicks.

Whilſt the Duke of *Anjou* batters *Loudun* on the one ſide, the Prince of *Conde* coming to relieve it, lodgeth in the ſuburbs on the other, and being both reſolved to fight, they are hindred by the coldneſs of the ſeaſon.

Between the two Armies ſtood the Town, and on each ſide a large ſpacious champagne, without banks and ditches, or any other impediments, which was wonderful commodious for the Armies to skirmiſh, or to fight upon equal terms with Enſigns diſplayed; but the natural commodity that the place afforded was hindred and interrupted by the quality of the ſeaſon; for the cold was ſo extream, that the Souldiers limbs were in a manner ſtupified and dead, and through the abundance of Ice and frozen ſnow, the ground was ſo ſlippery and hard, that every hour an infinite company of Souldiers were brought out of the skirmiſhes into the tents, who falling down were maimed, and unable to do ſervice. The Cavalry was more inconvenienced; for the ground being low and full of water, was covered all over with ſuch hard Ice, that the Horſes finding no foot for their feet, fell one upon another, and the men being armed, if they offered to move or turn, could not advance a ſtep without diſordering their Squadrons, and confounding the Files, through which difficulties it being impoſſible for the Armies to fight, (for that party which ſtirred firſt, would rout and diſorder it ſelf)

ſelf) after they had ſtayed four days, and both ſides beginning already to ſuffer want, (for the ſeaſon hindred the Suttlers to bring in proviſions) the Duke of *Anjou*, who lying in the open field ſuffered moſt, not to conſume his Army to no purpoſe, reſolved to retire back four leagues from the Enemy, and getting a little River before him, quartered his men in the neighbouring Villages and Towns; which when it was known to the Hugonots, believing that the Army for this commodity of lodging being divided in divers places, could not eaſily be brought together, they reſolved to fall into the Duke of *Anjou*'s own quarter, hoping to gain a Victory before the reſt of the Army could come to aſſiſt them. But being come in the morning, which was the twenty ſeventh of *December*, to the banks of River, thinking to paſs without any reſiſtance, they found it ſo reſolutely defended by the guards that were placed upon the foords, that after having tryed twice or thrice in vain to force their paſſage, they were conſtrained to retire; which they did ſo much the rather, becauſe two pieces being ſhot off, they conceived rightly that they were a ſignal for the Catholicks to come to the ſeveral paſſes of the River, which they were before appointed, if occaſion were, to defend; ſo that they concluded it was impoſſible to paſs over without too evident a danger. 1569.

Through their paſt ſufferings a great mortality ſeiſeth upon the Armies.

After this retreat, a grievous ſickneſs, through their paſt ſufferance, beginning to grow in the Army, and the Souldiers continually murmuring that they were led to fight not againſt men, but againſt the perverſeneſs of the weather, and the very force of Nature, the chief Commanders reſolved to retire to ſome place at a good diſtance, where they might lie ſecure until ſuch time that the ſharpneſs of the winter being in ſome meaſure paſt, the ſeaſon would again permit them to go on with the War: for theſe reaſons the Prince and the Admiral being retreated into the lower *Poictou*, towards the confines of *Xaintongue*, the Duke of *Anjou* following the like counſel, went with all his forces to *Chinon*, where they began to feel the effects of their former ſufferings; for ſuch a cruel infection entred into both Armies, that in the ſpace of a few days above four thouſand men died on each ſide; as if Fortune ſeeing the intentions of the Generals, and the ſtrength of the Armies equal, would likewiſe diſtribute amongſt them equal ſufferings and loſſes.

1569.

The year 1568. being ſpent in theſe actions, began the year 1569. which was full of great accidents and infinite bloodſ: in the beginning whereof the Prince of *Conde* having left the care of the Army to the Admiral, went himſelf in perſon to *Rochel*, to ſollicite for money, and other proviſions to maintain the War, which coming ſlowlier than they imagined, had brought them into extream want of every thing; for being driven into a corner, though one of the moſt fertile in all *France*, and lying in a Country that held with their party, though they lived for the moſt part upon free-quarter, and at the charge of the peaſants, yet they had no occaſion to plunder, with which they uſed in other places to maintain and ſatisfie the Souldiers. The 100000 Ducats ſent by the Queen of *England* were already ſpent, beſides the money brought in by their Fleet, which they ſent out to rob the Merchants ſhips; and the Citizens of *Rochel*, though they were ready to part with all their ſuſtance towards the maintenance of the War, yet traffick failing, and the contributions falling ſo heavy upon them, they were ſo exhauſted, that they were not able to furniſh much more; wherefore the Prince of *Conde* being forced by neceſſity, took a reſolution to ſell the Treaſure of the Church which was in *Xaintonge*, and the other Provinces under his command; and the more to encourage men to buy, the Queen of *Navarre* engaged her own Eſtate for their ſecurity.

The Hugonots being in a ſtreight, the Prince of *Conde* ſells the goods of the Church.

With this ſale, for which (to the incredible ſcandal of the Parliaments, and contempt of the Royal Authority) they gave publick Commiſſions to particular perſons, and with certain Contributions gathered in *Rochel* and the adjacent Iſlands, they got together ſuch a ſum of money as was ſufficient to ſupply the Army for ſome months, hoping in the mean while the ſeaſon would grow more favourable to advance into a larger Country, where they might with their wonted plundering ſatisfie the clamour and evident want of the ſouldiers.

The reſt of the Provinces were not at quiet; on the contrary, all parts of the Kingdom ſuffered divers changes and miſeries; for Monſieur *de la Chaſtre* Governour of *Berry*, and the Count *Siarra Martinengo* having beſieged *Sancerre* upon the *Loire* ſometimes with good, ſometimes with ill ſucceſs, but ever with great ſlaughter on both ſides, continued to batter and aſſault it: and the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral ha-

1569. The Monaſtery of St. *Michael in eremo* deſtroyed by the Rochellers *Anno* 1569.

ving left *Noirs*, the Count *de Barbeſieux* with the Forces of *Champagne* aſſaulted and took it; the Rochellers likewiſe made themſelves Maſters of the Iſles near *Xaintonge*, and with great deſolation had ruined that moſt noble ancient Monaſtery of St. *Michael de deſert*, deſtroying with fire and ſword thoſe moſt venerable relicks of the devotion and piety of their Anceſtors.

Whilſt theſe things were done, the violence of the Winter was paſt; wherefore the Duke of *Anjou* having received freſh ſupplies, (for the Marquiſs of *Baden* had brought 1500 German Horſe, and the Count *de Tande* the Gentry of *Provence*) about the beginning of *March* leaving *Chinon*, and keeping along the *Charente*, marched towards the Hugonots. On the other ſide, the Prince and the Admiral having received advertiſement that the Viſcount *de Montcler* and *Bourniquet*, and the other Gentlemen of *Languedoc* and *Gaſcony*, with a great number of Horſe and Foot were coming to their aid, and doubting the Catholick Army might hinder their paſſage, leaving the Territory of *Rochel*, where they ſtayed to refreſh themſelves, and paſſing the *Charente*, advanced to meet them. But having notice afterwards of the Duke of *Anjou*'s moving, they ſtopt their journey, and breaking all the bridges, and placing ſufficient guards where the water was foordable, ſtaid at *Jarnac*, a Town two leagues from the River, with an intent either to hinder the paſſage of the Kings Forces, or to ſtarve them; for all the Country held for that party; or elſe, if they attempted to force their way, to ſet upon the Troops that firſt got over, not doubting, they being diſordered in their paſſage, to gain an aſſured Victory.

Nevertheleſs, the Duke of *Anjou* having taken by the way the Caſtle of *Mele*, and *Ruffec*, came to *Chaſteau-neuf*, a frequent ordinary paſs over the *Charente*, there he found that the Hugonots had already broken the bridge beyond *Chaſteau-neuf*, and left a Gariſon of 1000 Foot in the Town, which the Prince thought a ſufficient ſtrength to defend that place. But experience ſhewed he was miſtaken, for the Count of *Briſſac* having drawn the French Infantry thither, and with his Cannon beaten down ſome of their works, thoſe within being terrified, without expecting any ſuccours, abandoned the Town, and paſſing the River in certain boats that they found ready, retired to the Army which lay two leagues off The taking of *Chaſteau-neuf* nothing advantaged the Duke of *Anjou*; for the bridge being broken, and the Enemies ſtanding prepared on the other ſide to hinder his paſſage, it was a very difficult matter to repair the old bridge, or to make a new one, and much more dangerous to force a paſſage againſt ſo powerful an oppoſition: wherefore the Catholicks ſhewing their skill, to ſurmount thoſe difficulties by policy which they could not overcome by force, having left Monſieur *de Byron* Maſter, or as they ſay, Mareſhal of the Field, with ſuch orders as were neceſſary at *Chaſteau-neuf*, the Duke with all the Army moved towards *Cognac*, marching along the river, and making ſhew to ſeek ſome more eaſie expedite conveniency to paſs over.

At the ſame time the Admiral moved with the Hugonots Van on the other ſide of the river, and advanced the ſame way, ſo that there being nothing between the two Armies but a narrow ſtream, they continually played upon one another with their ſhot. In this manner they marched all day, though very ſlowly; but night drawing on, the Admiral having given order that the light Horſe, and certain choſen companies of Foot ſhould ſtay to guard the paſſes, he not to incommodate his men, who being Voluntiers could not, or would not longer endure to lie in the open Field, removed about a league from the River, and lodged with the Van at *Baſſac*, a reaſonable great Village which was ſufficient to receive them all, and the Prince with the Battel not being yet moved from his quarters, ſtaid ſtill at *Jarnac*, in a manner right againſt *Chaſteau-neuf*.

The next day the Duke of *Anjou* having obſerved how the Enemy quartered that night, deſired to confirm them in the opinion that he went ſeeking an opportunity to paſs over; and having put ſome ſmall Barks upon the River, with a good number of Musketiers, made ſhew of forcing the Hugonots guards; but finding a ſtrong reſiſtance in every place, continued his march in the ſame manner as before until towards night, when through the frequency of the skirmiſhes having advanced little more than a league, and the Admiral being already retired to lodge in covert at *Baſſac* where he quartered the evening before, the Duke having in the beginning of the night cauſed the Reer under the command of the Duke of *Guiſe*, to wheel about, and ſo one Body after another, the whole Army, marching with great expedition, returned in a few hours to *Chaſteau-neuf*: where he found that Monſieur *de Byron* had with exceeding diligence

diligence mended the broken bridge, and made another very commodious one of boats, so that though it were late in the night, yet being very clear, and fit for his design, he presently caused the Duke of *Guise* and Monsieur *de Martigues* to pass over with two Squadrons of Horse, after whom followed the whole Army in very good order, and in it the Duke himself without meeting any opposition whatsoever; for the Count of *Montgomery* and Sieurs *de Soubise* and *de la Loue*, who with the light Horse had the charge to guard the banks of the River, watching at those passes towards which the Catholicks marched the day before, did not believe they could turn back so quickly, or pass over just in that place where the main of the Army lay ready to defend the passage of the River: but such was the negligence both of the Souldiers and Commanders, partly through the security they thought themselves in, partly through the usual disobedience of Souldiers in civil Wars, partly likewise because the Country being ruined, the Commissaries and Sutlers not keeping any order, were forced to seek and fetch in victuals afar off, that it was already day, and the greatest part of the Catholick Army was drawn up upon the banks on the other side, before the Scouts had any notice of what was done. The first that gave advertisement of it was Captain *Montaut*, who riding the Round with fifty Horse, to see if the guards did their duty, as soon as he perceived the Enemy was gotten over, spurred as fast as he could to advertise the Admiral, who being not only confounded with so important and unexpected an accident, but in a manner desperate that his wisdom should be deluded by the industry of a young man, whom he ever held and esteemed as a Child, resolved to retire to *Jarnac*, to joyn with the Battel, and there to consult with the Prince what course, as things went, was best to be taken. 1569.

But it was first necessary, not to leave them a prey to the Enemy, to send for the Foot that were appointed to guard the passes of the River, and to get together the light Horse, which for want of victuals and commodity of quarter, were dispersed into several places; in which, though all possible diligence were used, yet so much time was spent, that he found himself contrary to his purpose in a necessity to fight: for the Duke of *Anjou* having imbattelled his Army, and resolved whatever hapned, to make a day of it, sent all the light Horse before, and in the head of them Monsieur *de Martigues*, called generally, The Souldier without fear, to fall in upon the Enemies Reer, that so he might hinder their march, and gain time for the rest of the Army to come up.

*Martigues* coming upon the Hugonots just as they left *Brissac*, began to skirmish so hotly, that the Admiral being forced to stay, gave order to make an halt, and facing resolutely about, perceived it was impossible any longer to avoid the encounter of Battel; wherefore having sent the Prince of *Conde* word of the danger he was in, he placed the Sieurs *de la Noue* and *Loue* in the Reer, commanding them to maintain their ground against the light Horse, and to hinder their advancing, whilst he passed into a certain place full of ditches, and encompassed with water, beyond which he meant to draw up his men in order, that the strength of the situation might in some measure supply the defect of his forces, or at least defend them in the Flank from the multitude and fury of the Enemy. These Commanders sometimes skirmishing, and sometimes couragiously mingling amongst them, sustained a good while the charge of the Catholicks; but Monsieur *de la Valette*, the Count *de Lude*, Monsieur *de Monsalez* and *Malicorn* coming up with four Squadrons of Lances, they set upon them with such violence, that the Captains being taken prisoners, all the rest of the men plainly ran away: Whereupon the Admiral finding he could not long make resistance, and desiring as far as he was able to avoid the necessity of fighting piecemeal, left *Andelot* with 120 Horse to make good that place of advantage, that he might hinder the Enemies passage, and himself with all the rest of the Van retired a good trot to meet the other part of the Army, which was already marching towards them with great diligence.

The Prince of *Conde* understanding the Admirals danger, came with all the Horse to succour him, and left order that the Foot should follow softly after, conceiving he should have time enough to join with the Van, and bring all the Army together to fight. But when he saw part of the Admirals men routed, and so hotly pursued by the Enemy, who every moment increased in number and strength, he made a stand upon the high-way, having on one Flank a pool, which defended him on the right

1569. hand, and a little hill which covered him on the left, and with exceeding warineſs ranged thoſe forces he had with him, taking all the advantage that was poſſible of the ſituation of the place. In ordering of his men he left a free void place for the Admiral, who though he arrived a full gallop with the Horſe, took his poſt without making any diſorder, and facing about to the Enemy, put himſelf in a readineſs to fight, keeping the left Flank at the foot of the hill. In the mean while the firſt Squadrons of the Catholicks Horſe had ſet upon *Andelots* poſt, who finding himſelf ſeconded by *Puviauts* Musketiers, which being placed behind the hedges, and the banks, filled every thing with ſmoak, cries and blood, bravely oppoſed the Enemy; and it was a ſpectacle worthy the remembrance, that in the charge he encountered the Duke *de Monſalez*, (who behaved himſelf no leſs couragiouſly) and came up ſo cloſe to him, that with his bridle-hand he lift up the Beaver of his Helmet, and diſcharged a Piſtol in his face, of which ſhot he fell down dead upon the ground; nevertheleſs the Hugonots yielding to the ſuperiour number of the Catholicks, could not maintain that poſt above half an hour, but ſetting ſpurs to their Horſes, gallopped away to the main Body of the Van, and ranged themſelves on the place that was appointed for them.

*Andelot* mingles with the Enemy in ſuch manner, that lifting up the Duke of *Monſalez* Beaver, he diſcharges a Piſtol in his face.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Duke of *Anjou* having without tumult or confuſion diſpoſed his Army in very good order, advanced readily to begin the Battel, the beginning of the day giving great hopes of an aſſured Victory. Without any detraction both ſides ſhewed an equal reſolution, and boldneſs of courage; but the other circumſtances were not equal, and eſpecially their Forces: for part of the Hugonots Foot, which were diſtributed upon the banks of the River, hearing of the Enemies paſſage, and believing they could not poſſibly joyn with the reſt of their Army, were paſſed over the River, and retired to a place of ſecurity; and the reſt that were with Monſieur *d' Aciere*, according to their orders, following the Prince of *Conde*, could not come ſoon enough to the fight, but diſperſed themſelves in ſeveral places without making trial that day of their fortune. Notwithſtanding the Hugonots being defended on one ſide by the Lake, and on the other by the Hill, and therefore ſure they could not be hurt in the middle, bravely ſuſtained the fierceneſs of the encounter; the Commanders no leſs than the common Souldiers fighting boldly on both ſides, and with great courage diſputing the ſucceſs of the day.

The Duke of *Guiſe* charged the left wing, where were the Admiral and *Andelot*, with a great number of the Nobility of *Provence*, *Britany* and *Normandy*, and there the fight was very hot, the event of the Battel remaining very doubtful for many hours: but the Catholicks being continually furniſhed with freſh ſupplies, the Hugonots being no longer able to reſiſt ſo much a greater number, all the Van was at length utterly routed; and the Commanders ſeeing the Admirals own Cornet upon the ground, by reaſon of the impriſonment of Monſieur *de Guerchy* that carried it, the Baron *de la Tour* General of the *Rochel* Fleet killed, and *Saubiſe*, *Languilliers* and *Monteran* the principal Barons of their party taken priſoners, they reſolved before they were too much preſſed by the Enemy, to provide for their own ſafety by flight. The ſame did the Count *de la Rouch-fou-cault*, and the Count *de Montgomery*, who were in the right wing of the Battel by the Lake; for they being furiouſly charged by the Duke *de Montpenſier* who led the Catholick Van, after a long obſtinate defence, leaving *Chandenier*, *Rieux*, and *Corbouſon* dead upon the place, with a great number of the Nobility of *Provence*, *Languedoc* and *Gaſcony*, deſpairing of the Victory, ſought to ſave themſelves. Only the Prince of *Conde*, who in the beginning of the fight encountered the Duke of *Anjou*'s own Squadron, though he were broken and often charged through, ſtill rallied his men, and with a wonderful courage maintained the force of the Battel, but after the flight of the Van, and afterward of the Rear, being charged on all ſides by the Conquerors, and an innumerable company of the Enemy, yet he fought deſperately with thoſe that ſtood to him till the laſt: for as he was rallying his men, being hurt with a blow on the leg by a Courſer of the Count of *Roch-fou-caults*, having afterwards his own Horſe killed under him in the fight, and being grievouſly wounded in divers places, he ſtill with one knee upon the ground couragiouſly defended himſelf, till Monſieur *de Monteſqueou* the Dukes Captain of his Guard ſhooting a Piſtol in his head, laid him dead upon the place.

In the Battel of *Briſſac* the Prince of *Conde* is ſhot in the head, of which he dies the 16 of *March* 1569

There

There was ſlain by his ſide *Robert Stuart*, he who in the Battel of St. *Denis* killed the Conſtable; *Tabaret*, *Melare*, and in a manner all the Nobility of *Poictou*, and *Xaintonge*, who being invironed by the Catholicks Squadrons, could not find any way to ſave themſelves; in the heat of which Battel the Duke of *Anjou* fighting valiantly beyond the force of his age, in the head of his Squadrons, and having his Horſe killed under him, was in exceeding danger of his life, if he had not been ſuccoured by the courage and addreſs of his Souldiers, and of his own valour, and thoſe that were near about his perſon had not defended him from the fury of the Enemy, who fighting deſperately, compaſſed him on all ſides. But after the death of the Prince, and the defeating of his Squadron, in which were the moſt valiant Souldiers in the Army, there was no body made any reſiſtance, but every one thinking how to ſave himſelf, fled a ſeveral way, and the night that was drawing on advantaged them not a little in their eſcape. The Admiral and *Andelot* went to St. *Jean d' Angely*, *Acier* to *Cognoc*, *Mongomery* to *Angouleſme*; all the reſt, and particularly the Foot, which had not fought, diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral places, not any one Regiment ſave only *Pluviauts* and *Corbonſons* being preſent at the buſineſs. 1569.

This was the Battel of *Briſſac* that happened the ſixteenth of *March*, in which the quality of the ſlain was much more conſiderable than the number: for the Hugonots loſt not in all above ſeven hundred men, but they were moſt of them Gentlemen and Cavaliers of note; for their chief ſtrength conſiſted in their Cavalry: and on the Catholick ſide very few were killed, but amongſt thoſe Monſieur *de Monſalez*, *Hypolite Pic*, Count *de la Mirandole*, *Prunay*, and *Ingrande*; for Monſieur *de Lignieres* whom ſome have named amongſt the dead, died many days after at *Poictiers* of a natural death.

The Duke of *Anjou* purſuing the Enemy, entred the ſame night of the Battel victorious into *Jarnac*, whither the body of the Prince of *Conde* was carried as in triumph upon a poor Pack-horſe, all the Army making ſport at ſuch a ſpectacle, which whilſt he lived were terrified with the name of ſo great a Perſon. The Duke permitted not any contempt or violence to be uſed to the body, being ſatisfied that what could not be done by Policy or Juſtice, was effected by the War: wherefore a few days after, to ſhew that reſpect to the dead which he thought due to the Royal Blood, he reſtored it to *Henry* Prince of *Navarre* his Nephew, who without any other pomp, ſave only the abundant tears of all the Faction, cauſed him to be buried at *Vendoſme*, in a Tomb belonging to his Anceſtors.

The body of the Prince of *Conde* was carried in triumph upon a Pack-horſe by the Catholicks, and afterwards reſtored to his Nephew the Prince of *Navarre*.

Thus lived and thus died *Lewis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*, who by having ſo many times ſtirred up Civil Wars in his own Country, and with the brand of having been the chief Diſturber of the Catholick Religion in the moſt Chriſtian Kingdom, obſcured thoſe excellent endowments of the mind, which for boldneſs, conſtancy and generoſity, would otherwiſe have rendred him moſt conſiderable amongſt the firſt Princes and Captains of that age.

The day after the battel thoſe who in the terrour of the flight were ſcattered in divers places, underſtanding that the moſt part of the Foot, being untouched, was retired to *Cognac*, endeavoured by ſeveral ways to get all to the ſame place; ſo that before many days were paſt, beſides Monſieur *de Aciere* who ſaved himſelf there at the firſt, there met there the Counts *de la Roch-fou-cault*, and *Montgomery*, Monſieur *d' Ivoy*, who, with his Brother being killed, called himſelf *Jenlis*, *Jaques Bouchard*, *Teligni*, *Bouchavanes*; and at length the Admiral himſelf and *Andelot* came thither from St. *Jean d' Angeli*.

After this defeat the affairs of the Hugonots were in a very uncertain tottering condition; for there was no doubt, the Prince of *Conde* being dead, but that the firſt place either for dignity or reputation of wiſdom was due to the Admiral: and it was not forgotten, that after the Battel of *Dreux* in which the Prince remained Priſoner, the charge of the Army was by a general conſent conferred upon him; but there were many who for birth, riches, and other advantages did not willingly yield to him: on the contrary, at this very time there was a common ſlander laid upon his reputation, That through his ſloth and negligence, the Catholicks got an opportunity to paſs the River, whilſt he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded by the ſtratagems of a youth, who then only entered upon the rudiments of War; and that after the paſſage of the Army he had baſely yielded in all places; giving a beginning, by his flight,

1569. flight, to the ſucceſs and victory of the Enemy; which imputations, though he fully anſwered, ſhewing that the paſſage of the Catholicks happened only becauſe his Orders were not obeyed, and becauſe thoſe who were appointed to guard the paſſes, for conveniency of quarter, left their poſts without leave; ſo that he, who could not be every where, was not advertiſed ſoon enough to remedy it; yet that his flight ought indeed to be attributed to greatneſs of courage; for the Army being routed, and the Victory deſperate, he choſe rather to ſave himſelf, that he might riſe again as a new *Anteus* to the ruine and perdition of his Enemies, than by deſpairing of the future, through dejectedneſs of mind to die unprofitably out of ſeaſon, and without having effected any thing: nevertheleſs partly through envy, partly through ambition, partly through grief of the late loſs, and the death of the Prince, he was ſpoken againſt and hated by many.

Beſides this, it was thought that wanting the Authority and Name of a Prince of the Blood, the foundation and credit of the Faction would fail; for neither the people would ſo readily believe and follow a man of private condition, nor ſtranger Princes much truſt to his fidelity; nor would the reaſons of their cauſe have that wonted pretence to make War for the publick good, and ſervice of the State; the nature of this charge being ſuch, that whoſoever undertook it, ought to be the neareſt allied Princes of the Blood Royal. To this was added, that many accuſtomed to the liberality, candour and integrity of the Prince of *Conde*, abhorred and feared the diſpoſition and carriage of the Admiral, who was thought a man exceeding covetous, of deep thoughts, of a treacherous ſubtil nature, and in all things inclined wholly to attend and procure by any means his own ends. And it happened at the ſame time, that *Andelot* and *Jaques Bouchard*, the one Brother, and the other ſtreightly united by intereſts with the Admiral, either ſpent with labour, or overcome with grief and trouble of mind, fell both into a grievous ſickneſs, of which they died not many months after, whereby that party which deſired the greatneſs and advancement of the Admiral, not knowing how to manage their buſineſs, remained extreamly weakned. But he with his ſubtilty overcoming all theſe impediments, reſolved by deſpiſing ambition, and ſpeciouſneſs of titles, ſtill to retain in himſelf the chief Power and Authority: for transferring the name of Heads of the Faction, and the titles of Generals of the Army to *Henry* Prince of *Navarre*, and *Henry* Son to the deceaſed Prince of *Conde*, he ſaw the common cauſe would not only keep the ſame authority and the ſame reputation of being upheld by the Blood Royal; but they being both in a manner children, the ſole adminiſtration of the whole buſineſs ſhould ſtill remain in him; ſo to quiet the ambitions and pretences of the great ones, ſo to ſatisfie the expectation of the people, and by this means to renew again that league amongſt the Faction which through diverſity of opinions ſeemed now in a manner broken.

*Andelot* after the loſs of the Battel dieth of grief.

With this reſolution, not attempting that which could not be obtained, he preſently ſent to Queen *Jane* to come to the Army, ſhewing her the time was now come to advance her Son to that greatneſs which properly belonged to him, and to which ſhe had ſo long aſpired. Queen *Jane* wanted neither willingneſs nor courage, being before fully reſolved, deſpiſing all danger, to make her Son Head of that Faction; wherefore with a readineſs and quickneſs anſwerable to the occaſion, ſhe went inſtantly with both the Princes to the Camp, which was then at *Cognac*, full of diſcords within it ſelf, and in a condition rather to diſſolve, than to keep together, to remedy the diſorders and loſſes already hapned. There the Queen of *Navarre* after ſhe had approved the Admirals counſels, the Army being drawn together, with wonderful courage and manly ſpeeches, exhorting the Souldiers to remain united and conſtant in the defence of their Liberties and Religion, propoſed to them the two young Princes, whoſe preſence and aſpect moved the affections of them all, to be their Generals; encouraging them under the auſpicious conduct of thoſe two branches of the Royal Blood, to hope for a moſt happy ſucceſs to their juſt pretentions and the common cauſe: at which words the Army, which through the paſt adverſities, and preſent diſcords, was in a manner aſtoniſhed and confounded, taking new vigour, the Admiral and the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault* firſt ſubmitted and ſwore fidelity to the Princes of *Bourbon*; by whoſe example the Gentlemen and Commanders doing the ſame, the common Souldiers likewiſe with loud applauſe approved the Election of the Princes for Protectors and Heads of the Reformed Religion. *Henry* of *Bourbon* Prince

The Prince of *Navarre*, and *Henry* Son to the Prince of *Conde*, are approved of and received for Heads of the Hugonot Faction.

Prince of *Navarre* was then fifteen years of age, of a lively ſpirit and generous courage, altogether addicted and intent to the profeſſion of Arms; wherefore through the inclination of his Fate, or the perſwaſions of his Mother readily without any demur attempting the invitation of the Army, in a ſhort Souldier-like ſpeech he promiſed them, *To protect the true Religion, and to perſevere conſtantly in the defence of the common Cauſe, till either death or victory brought that liberty they all deſired and aimed at.* The Prince of *Conde* rather by his actions than words conſented to what was done, for he was ſo young that he could not expreſs himſelf otherwiſe; ſo that in all other things likewiſe yielding to the maturer age, and pre-eminence of the firſt Prince of the Blood, the chief Authority of the Faction was eſtabliſhed in the Prince of *Navarre*: wherefore Queen *Jane*, in remembrance of this Act, cauſed afterwards certain pieces of Gold to be coyned, which on the one ſide bore her own Effigies, and on the other her Sons, with this word, *PAX CERTA, VICTORIA INTEGRA, MORS HONESTA.*

1569. The Prince of *Navarre* was fifteen years of age, and the Prince of *Conde* a child.

Money coyned by the Queen of *Navarre* with her own figure on the one ſide, and her Sons on the other.

The Princes then being choſen Heads of the Faction, they preſently called a Council of the chief Commanders to deliberate in the preſence of Queen *Jane* how to manage their buſineſs, what remedies were expedient to repair their paſt loſſes, and how to divert the extream danger that threatned them. There before any thing elſe, it was determined, That the Admiral, by reaſon of the minority and little experience of the Princes, ſhould govern the Army and all things elſe belonging to the War; but Monſieur *de Aciere* ſhould be General of the Foot: which charge firſt by the infirmity, and afterwards by the death of *Andelot*, was vacant, and Monſieur *de Genlis* General of the Artillery which was formerly ſupplied by *Bouchard*. After which Elections, diſcourſing how to proceed with the War, many not yet aſſured from their fears, would that the Army ſhould be drawn into the Cities and ſtrong holds about *Rochel*, ſhewing it would be impoſſible for the Duke of *Anjou* to make any attempt upon thoſe places which were ſo invironed with waters, and marſh grounds, whilſt there was any reaſonable ſtrength to defend them: but this appeared to the Admiral (the other Commanders of beſt eſteem being of the ſame opinion) a too cowardly reſolution, and therefore it was determined, That all the Army ſhould be divided into the ſeveral Towns upon the Rivers, to keep them, and to hinder the progreſs of the Conqueror, till they had certain news of the forces the Duke of *Deux-ponts* was bringing to their aid out of *Germany*, who when he came near the Army ſhould draw together again to meet him whereſoever he was, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to join with him: for by obtaining that end, they ſhould remain at leaſt equal, if not ſuperiour in ſtrength to the Kings Army; and if they could not effect it, they ſhould be ſeparated and carry the War into divers places, and the King likewiſe being conſtrained to divide his Forces, they might make War upon even terms; which things being reſolved on, Queen *Jane* went to *Rochel* to ſollicite for new aids and proviſions, the Admiral with the Princes retired to S. *Jean d' Angeli*, Monſieur *de Piles* took upon him the Defence of *Xaintes*, *Montgomery* and *Pavian* turned about to *Angoleſme*, Monſieur *d' Aciere* with the greateſt part of the Foot remained at *Cognac*, and *Genlis* with a ſtrong Gariſon ſhut himſelf up in *Loudun*, all places either for ſtrength of their ſituation, by help of art, or in regard of the Rivers, (which in that Country are many and very deep) likely to hold out a long time.

The care of the Army committed to the Admiral.

In the mean while the Duke of *Anjou*, having given three days to refreſh his men, who were wearied out with continual labour, and buſied in dividing their booty, by the advice of his Captains, reſolved to ſet upon thoſe very Cities the Hugonots meant to poſſeſs, as the moſt ready way to manage the War; to which purpoſe he ſent for the great pieces of Battery from *Poictiers*, having for the more expedition marched only with field-pieces. This time of reſpite retarded for ſome days the courſe of their Victory, and gave the Hugonots leiſure to put their before-mentioned deſigns in execution; beſides the expecting Orders from the Court which was far off, and where the reſolutions are not always eaſie and poſitive, produced at leaſt delays and loſs of time. The firſt place they moved againſt was *Cognac*; but it ſoon appeared they had undertaken a long and difficult enterpriſe; for the late Victory was gained rather by induſtry in paſſing the river, and the death of the Prince of *Conde*, than any great loſs or ſlaughter among the Hugonots; and their running away, which proceeded only from a ſudden terrour as it was a cauſe of loſing their General, ſo it preſerved the Army, which being now divided, with abundant proviſions to defend the ſtrong places,

1569. places, burnt with a deſire by ſome remarkable valiant actions to cancel the infamy of their late flight; whereby the taking of the principal Cities became exceeding difficult.

There were in *Cognac* ſeven thouſand Foot, and more than ſix hundred Horſe with Monſieur *d' Aciere*, and divers of the Nobility and chief Commanders, who as the Army approached, and ſeveral days after ſallied out in ſuch numbers, that their encounters ſeemed rather little Battels than great skirmiſhes; and beſides the fierceneſs and courage the Hugonots ſhewed, they did likewiſe great damage to the aſſailants, ſo that they had no leiſure by reaſon of the continual ſallies, to think either of making their approaches, or raiſing batteries, but were forced for their own ſecurities, and to avoid the fury of the Enemy, to keep the Army in perpetual duty, and in arms; by which difficulties the Duke of *Anjou* concluding it was in a manner impoſſible, in the ſtate the Town then was, to take it; not to ſpend his time in vain, or to conſume the Army to no purpoſe, reſolved to advance farther, to aſſemble and clear thoſe places more in the heart of the Enemies Country, which were neither ſo ſtrong, nor ſo well provided, ſo that they being taken, *Cognac* would remain like an Iſland cut off from all commerce, and fall of it ſelf; which in time he hoped undoubtedly to effect: for experience had in all occaſions manifeſtly ſhewn, that there was no poiſon ſo deadly to the Hugonots as delays.

Wherefore the Duke of *Anjou* at the end of four days leaving *Cognac*, and marching toward St. *Jean d' Angeli*, he, or ſome of his Commanders, by the way took *Tiſange*, *Montaut*, *Foreſt*, and *Aubeterre*, and at length came to beſiege *Mucidan*. There the Count of *Briſſac* with his wonted courage tending his batteries, whilſt he reſolutely advanced to view the breach, was ſhot in the right thigh, of which wound he died, generally lamented by all men. His misfortune ſlackned not, but on the contrary added to the fierceneſs of the Catholicks, in ſo much, that having made a furious aſſault and taken the Town, in revenge of his death, not only all the Souldiers, but the Inhabitants likewiſe were put to the Sword.

*Wolfangus* of *Bavaria* with an Army of 14000 men comes to the aid of the Hugonots.

In this interim *Wolfangus* of *Bavaria* Duke of *Deux-ponts*, moved by the money and promiſes of the Hugonots, had by the aid of the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and by the perſwaſions and aſſiſtance of the Queen of *England*, gotten together an Army of 6000 Foot and 800 Horſe, Monſieur *de Muy* and Monſieur *de Morvilliers* with 800 Horſe, and Monſieur *de Briguemaut* with 1200 French Musketiers being ſent into *Germany* to join with them. In this Army were *William* of *Naſſau* Prince of *Orange*, with *Lewis* and *Henry* his Brothers; who being driven out of *Flanders*, to avoid the ſeverity of the Duke of *Alva*, followed the ſame Religion, and the ſame fortune with the Hugonots.

The King of *France* and the Queen his Mother had endeavoured, firſt by Embaſſies to the Proteſtant Princes, and afterwards by the authority of the Emperour *Maximillian* the Second, with whom they entertained a ſtreight league, to hinder the raiſing of this Army; but the Proteſtants being much more zealous to advance their own Religion, and the hope of gain and booty more prevalent than either the Kings promiſes, or the Emperours threats, they brought their Forces together with a firm reſolution, deſpiſing all dangers, to paſs without delay to the aid of the Hugonots. But the King and the Queen-Mother, who to ſhelter themſelves from this tempeſt, were gone to *Metz* upon the borders of *Lorain*, when they ſaw this Army raiſed, to hinder which they had uſed all manner of arts, gave commiſſion to the Duke of *Aumale*, with the Cavalry of *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, and 6000 Swiſſes newly received into pay, to enter the Confines of the Proteſtant Princes, waſting their territories and ſpoiling their people, to force them to keep the Army at home for their own defence, ſo that they might not paſs that year into *France*; believing the Emperour, in conſideration of the juſtice of their cauſe, and the league they had with him, would not oppoſe this reſolution. But the Duke of *Aumale* having in the territories of *Strasbourg*, one of the free Towns of the Empire, met with, and made a great ſlaughter among a certain number of French that were going from *Geneva* and the Country about, to join with the Duke of *Deux-ponts* his Army, not only the other Towns, and all the Princes of the Empire, but even the Emperour himſelf was ſo offended thereat, that the King and the Queen, not to exaſperate them further, or raiſe new Enemies, ſent directions to the Duke of *Aumale*, that he ſhould preſently withdraw his forces into *Burgundy*, to keep things in order at home, being already aſſured through the perverſeneſs of ſtranger Princes, that they ſhould have work enough in their own Kingdom.

The

1569. The Duke of *Deux-ponts* enters into *France*, waſting and ſpoiling the Country.

The Duke of *Deux-ponts* with his Army preſently followed the Duke of *Aumale* into *Burgundy*, with exceeding cruelty waſting and ſpoiling all the Country through which he paſſed; nor could the Duke of *Aumale*, being ſo much inferiour in ſtrength, either hinder his march, or fight with him in the field; wherefore retiring into the Towns, he only kept him from entring into the ſtrong places, or making that ſpoil and thoſe incurſions which he would have done, if finding no reſiſtance, he had made himſelf Maſter of the Country. In this manner the Armies skirmiſhing almoſt every day, though ſometimes with loſs, they marched all over *Burgundy*, till the Duke of *Aumale*, ſeeing the Enemy for want of pieces of battery could not force the ſtrong Towns, and knowing to follow them at a diſtance would be to no purpoſe, went directly through the Country of *Auxerre* with that ſtrength he had, to the Duke of *Anjou*, that being ſo joined, they might be the better able to reſiſt the Enemy.

But the German Army being advanced to the *Loire*, was in exceeding pain how to paſs over; for all the bridges upon that River are either within the Towns, or elſe cloſe under the walls, and were then held by the Kings forces; for the Duke of *Anjou* being certainly advertiſed of the Germans coming, leaving the Enemies Country, had drawn all his Army to the River, and having placed ſtrong guards upon the paſſes, expected what reſolution they would take; by reaſon whereof the Germans were in great ſtreight, there being no means to paſs the River, but by making their way through the Towns; and they had neither pieces of Battery, nor other proviſions fit for ſuch a purpoſe: inſomuch, that they began to fear this great Army, which was raiſed with ſuch a noiſe, would at length be deſtroyed without effecting any thing.

Nevertheleſs, the baſeneſs or treachery of men rendred that very eaſie, which was of it ſelf exceeding difficult: for the Commanders of the German Army reſolving to fall upon *la Charite*, a Town upon the River, rather with an intent not to ſpend their time idly, than with any reaſonable hope of taking it; and meaning to batter the Walls, which were of the old faſhion, with thoſe few ſmall pieces that marched with the Army, he was ſcarce encamped before it, when the Govetnour (without any apparent cauſe) (for at that time) as it is uſual in Civil Wars, men were led by divers unknown intereſts and inclinations) fled ſecretly out of the Town; whereupon, the Souldiers running away in diſorder, the Townſmen were ſo terrified, that they began to enter into a Treaty of yielding themſelves; during the which, being negligent of their guards, they without on a ſudden faſtned their Ladders to the Walls, and finding no oppoſition, *Briquemauts* men firſt, and after them the whole Army entring, miſerably ſacked that Town, whilſt the Duke of *Anjou* being certainly advertiſed of the Germans attempt, ſent a conſiderable force to relieve it. So the German Army having at the ſame time gained a convenient paſs and retreat, on the twentieth of *May* paſſed over the River.

In the mean while the Admiral with the Princes, under whoſe names all things were governed, made ready to march towards the Germans, with this conſideration, That if they could join their forces, the Army would be by that means much the ſtronger; and if they could not, the Duke of *Anjou* lying between the two Armies would be compaſſed in, and exceedingly ſtreightned on all ſides: Wherefore Monſieur *de la Noue* being left Governour of the Militia at *Rochel*, for all things elſe were directed by the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Count of *Montgomery* ſent to the aid of *Bearne*, (of which Province Meſſieurs *de Monluc* and *Terride* the Kings Lieutenants in *Gaſcony* and *Guyenne* were abſolute Maſters;) they marched with 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe towards the *Loire*, daily increaſing in ſtrength through the continual concourſe of the Nobility, that came in to them from the adjacent Provinces; but being not yet certainly advertiſed of the Duke *de Deux-ponts* paſſage, they were not fully reſolved which way to take, but advanced very ſlowly, reaſonably enough doubting that they might be aſſailed by the Catholicks before they could join with the Duke of *Anjou*, after the German Camp had paſſed the *Loire*, fearing to be engaged between the two Armies, withdrew his Forces from the River and retired into *Limoſin*, conceiving the Woods and Mountains in that Country would ſtill ſecure his Quarters, and that the Germans who were accuſtomed to lie covered and live in plenty, through the barrenneſs of the ſoil could not long ſubſiſt there.

The Duke of *Deux-ponts* dies of exceſs of drinking before he joins with the Princes.

On the other ſide the Duke of *Deux-ponts* when he had paſſed the *Loire*, being deſirous to join with the Princes, haſtened his march all that he could; but death croſs'd his deſign, for either through the incommodities of ſo long a journey, or as ſome ſaid

1569. through the exceſs of drinking, he fell into a continual Feaver, which ſoon becoming malignant killed him in a few days after, leaving it doubtful (having marched ſo far through the Enemies Country without any loſs, and paſſed ſo many great deep Rivers) whether it were to be attributed to fortune or his own conduct that he had ſo happily advanced to join with his Confederates into the furtheſt parts of all *Aquitaine*.

Count *Mansfield* ſucceeds him in the charge of the Army.

The Duke being dead, the charge of the Army fell upon Count *Volrade* of *Mansfield*, who was his Lieutenant-General, without any oppoſition either of the Princes or other great Commanders in the Army, who avoided it more through the apprehenſion of many imminent dangers, than either through modeſty or want of pretences. The third day after the death of the General, the German Army joined with the Admiral and the Princes upon the banks of the *Vienne*, where having made a muſter, and given them a months pay out of the moneys which the Queen of *Navarre* had with great pains raiſed upon the Rochellers, and out of the contributions of the neighbouring Towns, they marched together towards the Duke of *Anjou*, being deſirous to fight before any new accident happened to diminiſh their forces.

The Pope, the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Duke of *Alva* ſend ſupplies to the King.

The Duke of *Anjou* had recruited his Army with the ſuccours that came out of *Italy* and *Flanders*: for the Pope deſirous to have the War continued againſt the Hugonots, and for the reputation of the Apoſtolick Sea, had ſent to his Majeſties aid 4000 Foot and 800 Horſe under the command of *Sforza* Count *di Santa Fiore* a Perſon of Quality, and an experienced Souldier: and the great Duke of *Tuſcany* had added 200 Horſe and 1000 Foot under *Fabiano del Monte*. The Duke of *Alva* likewiſe ſent Count *Peter Erneſt de Mansfield* out of *Flanders* with a Regiment of 3000 Walloons and 300 Flemiſh Lances, being deſirous to deſtroy the German Army in which were the Prince of *Orange* and his Brothers, who though exiles, retained ſo great a power and credit in all parts of the Low-Countries.

But notwithſtanding theſe ſupplies, their miſeries, ſickneſs, and want of pay had ſo diminiſhed the Army, that it was rather inferiour than ſuperiour in number to the Hugonots; wherefore the Duke of *Anjou* being unwilling to fight, having retired into the Country of *Limoſin*, ſtaid at *Rochebeille* in a ſecure quarter; for the main body of the Army lying upon the top of a ſteep rocky hill, of difficult aſcent towards the plain Country, a little on each hand were two other craggy hills full of ſtems, and trees, in either of which ſtood a Village. In that on the right hand was *Philippo Strozzi*, whom the King had declared Colonel General of the Infantry, with two French Regiments, and in the other on the left the Count *di Santa Fiore*, *Fabiano del Monte*, and *Pietro Paulo Toſinghi*, with the Popes and the Tuſcan Foot. On the top of the hill the Cannon was planted, which commanded all the places about, and between the Head-quarter and the Villages where the Foot was intrenched in the plain, but with a running ſtream in their Front, lay the light Horſe with the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Italian Commanders. Being thus diſpoſed in their ſeveral Quarters, having the City of *Limoges* a little behind them, the Camp abounded with victuals, of which by reaſon of its barronneſs there was great ſcarcity in the Country about.

The Admiral, who with the Princes and the Army was advanced within half a league of the Catholick Camp, conſidering the advantage of the place where they lay, and the difficulty to nouriſh his men amongſt barren Woods and ſtony Mountains, reſolved at the ſame time to ſet upon *Strozzi*'s quarter and the Italians, knowing if he could beat them from thence and get poſſeſſion of the Villages, he ſhoud ſo ſtreighten the Enemies Camp, that loſing the uſe of the plain, and not having wherewithal to feed ſuch a number of Horſe, they would be conſtrained to retreat with evident danger of being routed. Upon which grounds the twenty third of *June* he with his Van (the Foot under *Piles*, *Briquemant*, and *Rouvray*) going firſt; then Count *Lewis* of *Naſſau* with a Regiment of Germans; and laſtly, *de Muy*, *Teligny*, and *Saubiſe* with their Horſe, marched directly towards *Strozzi*'s Quarter; and the Princes with the Battel commanded by the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault* and the Prince of *Orange*, in which were *Beaudine*'s, *Blacon*'s and *Pouillier*'s Foot, another Regiment of Germans, and the Marqueſs of *Renel*, *Mombrun*, *Aciere*, and *Ambrus* with their Horſe, advanced to the Italians Quarter; the moſt part of the Germans and two Regiments of Muſketiers under the command of the Count *de Mansfield* and *Genlis* ſtaying with the Cannon in the champagne.

The Armies front each other, and the Admiral ſets upon *Strozzi*'s quarter, who through his too much forwardneſs is taken priſoner

But the aſſault which was appointed to be given two hours before day, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of the night, began juſt as the light appeared, when the Admiral falling upon

upon *Strozzi*'s Quarter, called *Piles* his Musketiers to go on firſt, after whom the reſt following, which were about 4000. there began a moſt fierce and bloody fight, the Hugonots relying upon their number, and the Catholicks upon the ſtrength of the ſituation; for being covered with trees and hedges, and having the advantage of an higher ground, with their ſmall ſhot they exceedingly annoyed the Enemy, who on the other ſide being ſo much ſuperiour in number, that they fought four to one with continual ſupplies of freſh men, made a fair attempt to overcome the inequality of the place, and to beat the Catholicks from their poſt, which would have been impoſſible, if too much ardour (conſidering how they diſpoſed themſelves) had not rendred their reſolution vain: for *Philippo Strozzi* being incenſed beyond his uſual temper by the cries of the French, (who having the Count of *Briſſac* freſh in their memories, reproached him with his name, and ſhewed a kind of diſdain to be commanded by an Italian) advanced to the head of his men, and earneſtly encouraging every one with fair words and his own example to follow him, leaving the advantage of the place, fell in with ſuch fury upon *Briquemauts* and *Piles* his Musketiers, that he forced them to retire in great diſorder: But the Admiral ſeeing him through the heat of the fight, and eagerneſs to purſue thoſe that ran away, advance inconſiderately into an equal place, and come into the plain champagne where the Horſe might be uſeful, advanced likewiſe with all the Van, hemming him in on every ſide; and though with the help of his Souldiers he couragiouſly defended himſelf, yet being overborn by the Horſe, and full of wounds and blood, he was at length taken priſoner, which occaſioned many to paſs this cenſure upon him, That his courage was more commendable than his wiſdom: but it was almoſt impoſſible, that a man who hath in him the thoughts of honour, when he finds himſelf provoked, though by them that are ignorant, ſhould keep within thoſe limits which he himſelf knoweth are preſcribed and dictated by reaſon. 1569.

There remained dead upon the place St. *Loup* and *Roqueleaure*, both Lieutenants to *Strozzi*; 22 Captains, ſome that were reformed, ſome that had Companies; and 350 of the beſt Souldiers; and on the Hugonots ſide 150 Horſe and Foot, amongſt which *Trememont* and *la Fountaine*, both Commanders of great power and eſteem.

The Admiral bravely purſued the remainder of *Strozzi*'s men, who retreated fighting to their Poſt; but the place was of ſuch a nature, that the Horſe could do no good, and the Foot being weary and diſordered, could not ſo briskly renew the aſſault; wherefore the Catholicks, who were ſtill a conſiderable number upon the hill, eaſily ſuſtained the charge, till the light Horſe which were near, ſeeing the danger their friends were in, came to ſuccour them, and being joined, beat back the Hugonots, to the great honour of *Franciſco Somma* of *Cremona*, a Captain of the Italian light Horſe, who with the greateſt part of his men, lighting from their Horſes, fought amongſt the Hedges and the Cheſnut-trees in the firſt ranks with wonderful courage, and exceeding detriment to the Enemy. On the other ſide, whither the Prince of *Navarre* and *Conde* led the Battalia to aſſail the Italians, there happened leſs execution on either ſide; for the Count *de S. Flour* not being ſo precipitately raſh as *Strozzi* was, nor moved by the unexperienced forwardneſs of his Souldiers; maintaining his ground, defended himſelf without any ill ſucceſs, reſolutely ſuſtaining the aſſault of *Bandine* and *Pouilliers*, who with a great number of Foot endeavoured to beat him from it; and though the fight endured with great ardour on both ſides an hour longer than at the other quarter which the Admiral attempted, yet it ended with little blood, for there were not killed in all above 120 men.

This was the firſt day in which *Henry* Prince of *Navarre* hazarded himſelf in the War; for though he was carefully brought up by his Mother in all Warlike Exerciſes that were uſed amongſt us, as Riding and Handling his Arms, yet till that day he never was preſent in any real occaſion; but then charging in the Front of his men, he ſhewed ſuch a noble courage and boldneſs, which was ſo much the more remarkable, becauſe danger at firſt ſeems moſt terrible, that he gave ſufficient teſtimony of ſuch a Vertue as was likely to fill the World with the renown of his Actions.

The buſineſs being thus ended, the Princes and the Admiral, that they might the more ſtreighten the Catholicks, reſolving to encamp in the ſame place where they had fought, judging that by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the quarters the Kings Horſe muſt neceſſarily be reduced to great extremity: but within a few days they found how prejudicial that reſolution proved; for by the means of *Limoges* which lay behind him,

1569. the Duke of *Anjou* was abundantly furniſhed with victuals, which they could no way prevent; but in their Camp the barrenneſs of the Country, and the power of the Catholicks over the adjacent Towns, cauſed ſuch a dearth of all proviſions, that they were forced to riſe, and marching towards *Perigord* to ſeek a more fertil Soil, whereby to ſatisfie the greedy appetites of ſo many Germans, who being led on by the hopes of plenty and rich booty, found want of food and lying in the field ſo much the more inſupportable.

The Hugonots for want of proviſion are forced to riſe from before the Catholicks

About this time the Queen-Mother came to the Duke of *Anjou*'s Camp, accompanied by the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Lorain*, to conſult and reſolve how to manage the War: for not only in the Kings Council, but much more in the Army the Commanders were of divers opinions; ſome parallelling the Kings Forces with the Hugonots, thought it moſt expedient preſently to come to a Battel, believing that the old bands (ſo they call the Kings ſtanding Regiments) and the firm Battalion of the Swiſſes, by ſo many actions already become terrible to the Enemy, could not receive the leaſt oppoſition by the Hugonots new-raiſed men, and that the Catholick Horſe conſiſting of the Flour of all the Nobility in the Kingdom, would eaſily maſter the Squadrons of the Reiters, (ſo they call the German Horſe) which beſides the Officers and ſome few Gentlemen, are made up of people taken out of Stables, and ſuch like mean drudges, very unproper to bear Arms: Wherefore they concluded, That in a few hours they might deliver *France* from the infinite diſtractions and calamities of War, and with one blow ſuppreſs the obſtinate perverſeneſs of the Hugonots; whereas keeping things with wary counſels and ſlow reſolutions from coming to an iſſue, the People were conſumed, the Nobility deſtroyed, the Kings Revenues brought to nothing, and the Country ruined, with a general deſolation over the whole Kingdom; ſtill giving time and opportunity to the Enemy by his induſtry to gain advantages, beſides the evident danger, if a new ſupply came out of *Germany*, as it was already reported, That the Kings Army being weary and decayed with a continual War, would at length remain a prey to the force of the Enemy.

Others thought it a raſh precipitate counſel, to hazard a Kingdom upon the uncertain event of a Battel, againſt an Enemy that had not any thing to venture; for all the Germans fortune conſiſted in their Arms and that little Baggage they carried with them; and the Hugonots could loſe nothing, but what they had taken and uſurped from the Crown: wherefore it was too viſible a danger to fight without any hope of gain againſt a deſperate multitude; that more ſolid ſecure reſolutions ought to be taken, and by prolonging the War ſuffer the German Forces to conſume away of themſelves, as they always uſe to do; for being brought into a climate ſo contrary to that where they were born, when the heats of Summer came, and Grapes were ripe, of which they are exceeding greedy, ſickneſs would without doubt enter amongſt them, by which their Army would remain, if not abſolutely defeated, at leaſt notably diminiſhed and weakned; that if the Heads of the Hugonots determined, as it was likely they would, to attempt the principal Towns held by the Catholicks, they would be ſure in aſſaults and skirmiſhes to loſe their beſt men, which was a certain way to ruine them; that though time, want of money, ſcarcity of victuals, and the unhealthfulneſs of the ſeaſon did not utterly deſtroy the Hugonots, yet it was a much ſafer counſel, when the Kings Army had reſted, to return again with freſh men and a greater ſtrength to the trial of a Battel againſt a body languiſhing and decayed with long continual labour; which now on the contrary, by reaſon of the freſh ſupplies, was very powerful and vigorous: that for the preſent year they needed not apprehend the coming of more Germans, who it was known had not yet made any Levies; and therefore they ought not through a vain fear to precipitate thoſe reſolutions, which being managed with prudence and moderation, might bring the buſineſs to a certain iſſue, and a happy end.

This opinion, as moſt ſecure, at length prevailed, eſpecially with the Queen, who in her nature and judgment was diſpoſed to follow theſe counſels which were furtheſt out of the power of fortune, and which might be effected with leaſt danger or blood, being wont to ſay, That members, though never ſo putrified, uſe not to be cut off without extream neceſſity; and whenſoever they are cut off, the body not only ſuffereth ſharp pains, but a dangerous debilitation, and too great a defect: Wherefore in her heart ſhe was always inclined to favour thoſe reſolutions, which ſuppreſſing the Heads of the Hugonots, might cure the madneſs of the people,

and

and preſerve the welfare of the Crown; for which reaſons ſhe abhorred the trial of a Battel, by which (beſides the uncertainty of the event) the body and ſtrength of the Kingdom would remain exceedingly weakned. 1569.

This determination being approved and concluded of by the King, the Duke of *Anjou* (after he had placed ſufficient Gariſons in the Towns that lay next to the Hugonots) diſmiſſed the Nobility, and divided the reſt of the Army into a fruitful convenient Country, with a command, That by the firſt of *October* next they ſhould all return to their Colours, purpoſing then to re-unite his forces, and to proceed according as the occaſions ſhould require; and he himſelf with a ſmall train of Lords and Officers, (that he might be near, if any accident ſhould happen) went to *Loches*, a ſtrong place upon the Confines of *Touraine*.

The Duke diſmiſſeth the Nobility of his Army, ſends the reſt into Gariſon, and goeth himſelf to *Loches*.

*The End of the Fourth* BOOK.

THE

1569.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The FIFTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*THE Fifth Book relates the determination of the Hugonots to take in the Cities of* Poictou *and* Xaintonge: *The Siege of* Poictiers, *the Duke of* Anjou's *deſign to relieve that City by a diverſion, to which end drawing his Army together he ſits down before* Chaſtel-rault: *The Admiral raiſeth his Siege, and cauſeth the Duke of* Anjou *to do the like: Monſieur* de Sanſac *beſiegeth* la Charite, *but without ſucceſs: The Count* Montgomery *conquers the Kings party in* Bearne, *beſiegeth, and taketh Monſieur* de Terride. *The King cauſeth the Admiral to be proclaimed Rebel, his goods to be confiſcate, and his houſes demoliſhed; he continues the War vigorouſly. The Duke of* Anjou *grown very ſtrong, deſires to give Battel: the Admiral endeavours to avoid it, but forced by the tumultuous conſent of his whole Army, prepares to fight, and yet tries to march away. The Duke of* Anjou *follows, and overtakes him near* Moncounter; *they skirmiſh hotly toward the evening, and the Cannon doth great harm to the Hugonots: Under favour of the night, the Admiral paſſeth the River, and retreats, the Duke paſſes the ſame River in another place: The Armies face one another upon the plain of* Moncontour, *and fight valiantly; but the Victory is the Duke of* Anjou's, *with infinite ſlaughter of the Hugonots; many of them are diſheartned, the Admiral encourageth them, and with many reaſons perſwades them to proſecute the War. The Princes quit all the Country except* Rochel, St. Jean d' Angeli, *and* Angouleſme, *and retire with the reliques of their Army into the Mountains of* Gaſcogne *and* Languedoc. *The Duke lays Siege to* St. Jean, *and takes it, but with the leſſening of his Army, and loſs of time; he goes ſick to* Angiers, *and thence to* St. Germains: *The Princes join with the Count* Montgomery *in* Gaſcogne, *they paſs the Winter in the Mountains, and at the Spring-time draw into the plains, paſs the* Rhoſne, *and inlarge themſelves in* Provence *and* Daulphine: *They march toward* Noyers, *and* la Charite, *with an intent to come near* Paris: *The King ſends an Army againſt them under*

*under the command of the Mareſhal* de Coſſe, *a ſlow man, and not deſirous to ruine the Hugonots: They meet in* Burgogne, *but the Princes ſhun the Battel; a Treaty of agreement is begun, and in the end concluded at the Court. The Princes and the Admiral retire to* Rochel; *the King endeavours to beget an aſſurance in them, and for that cauſe offers to give his Siſter the Lady* Margaret *in Marriage to the Prince of* Navarre, *and to make War with the Spaniard in* Flanders; *the Match is concluded, and they come all to Court: The Queen of* Navarre *is poiſoned, after her death the Marriage is celebrated, amidſt the triumphs whereof the Admiral is ſhot in the Arm: The King reſolves to proſecute and free himſelf of the Hugonots; upon St.* Bartholomews-*Eve at night the Admiral and all the reſt of them are Maſſacred in* Paris, *and many other Cities of the Kingdom: The King attempts to ſurprize* Rochel, *and* Montauban, *but neither deſign takes effect; many Treaties paſs to bring the Rochellers to ſubjection, but they reſolving to defend themſelves, the Duke of* Anjou *draws his Army together, and beſiegeth them with all his Forces: They hold out many months, till the Duke of* Anjou *being Elected King of* Poland, *condeſcends to grant them very good conditions, with which they in appearance return unto the Kings Obedience. The King of* Poland *departs: The Duke of* Alancon *his next Brother pretends to ſucceed him in all his Dignities; is repulſed, whereat being diſcontented, he applies his mind to new deſigns. The King of* Navarre, *the Prince of* Conde, *the Houſe of* Momorancy, *and the Hugonots unite themſelves with him, and plot a Conſpiracy; which being diſcovered, the Duke* de Alencon, *the King of* Navarre, *and many others are impriſoned; the Prince of* Conde *eſcapes into* Germany: *The King falling into a dangerous ſickneſs, commits the troubles of the Kingdom unto his Mothers care: Armies are raiſed in* Poictou, Languedoc *and* Normandy, *where the Count* de Montgomery *coming out of* England, *lands, and takes many places. Monſieur* de Matignon *goes againſt, defeats, beſieges, and takes him; he is brought to* Paris, *condemned and executed. King* Charles *having declared his Mother Regent, yields under the burthen of his diſeaſe, and departs this Life in the flower of his Age.* 1569.

THE Duke of *Anjou*'s reſolution to diſſolve his Army for a time, and draw into Gariſons, put the Hugonots affairs into a very hard condition: for having ſuch a multitude of men, and ſo little means to nouriſh and maintain them, which way ſoever they turned their thoughts, they met with exceeding great difficulties. To paſs the River of *Loire*, as many adviſed, and to endeavour the ſubduing of the largeſt and moſt ſpacious Provinces of the Kingdom, and even *Paris* it ſelf, the Seat and Baſis of the Catholick party; though it repreſented hopes, by cutting the ſinews of the contrary Faction, to end the War victoriouſly; and though viſibly it adminiſtred occaſion to rob and plunder, (the only end of the Germans, and the only way to keep them together;) yet in effect it appeared a deſign full of danger, and uncertainty, for putting themſelves (without money, ammunition, good ſtore of Cannon, order for Victuals, and which imported moſt without any Town, or ſtrong place whither they might upon any occaſion retreat, and defend themſelves) into the middle of an Enemies Country; they ſaw plainly, that any the leaſt ſiniſter incounter, or light impediment that croſſed their attempts, was enough abſolutely to ruine and deſtroy them; nor were the hopes of gain or ſucceſs ſuch as could counterpoize this danger; for the principal Towns were ſtrongly guarded, and the Kings Army being rather divided, than diſſolved, was eaſily to be re-united upon any occaſion, and capable to drive them into great ſtreights, if raſhly they engaged themſelves amongſt the Enemies Forces, without conveniency to retire, or provide againſt neceſſities, which would be likely daily to grow upon them.

On

1569. On the other ſide to ſpend their time in beſieging thoſe Towns, which in *Aquitaine*, and beyond the *Loire*, held yet for the Catholick party; and by taking them to gain the abſolute Dominion of that Country, whereof they already poſſeſſed the greateſt part, and from which they expected the chief ſupport for their Army, had two weighty oppoſitions; the firſt, That in beſieging the ſtrong places one by one, which were ſo well provided of all things neceſſary for their defence, would occaſion the loſs of much time, and greatly waſte the Army, a thing well foreſeen by the Catholicks, and one of their chiefeſt aims: the other, That by ſtaying there they ſhould deſtroy that Country with taxes and contributions from which they had their ſubſiſtence; ſo that they ſhould neither be able to raiſe money enough to pay the Souldiers, nor to get ſuch booty as would ſatisfie their greedineſs, and impatience.

But it being neceſſary of two evils to chuſe (as it is uſual) the leaſt; the Princes, and the Admiral at length reſolved, to attempt thoſe which were neareſt, ſo to make an abſolute conqueſt of all that Country beyond the *Loire*, and eſtabliſh their party ſecurely in that Canton (as I may ſo ſay) of *France*; hoping to have ſuch ſupplies of money out of *England*, and by the prizes taken by the Fleet, (ſince the death of *la Tour*, commanded by Monſier *de Sore*) as would ſuffice to ſupply the Army for ſome time, in which *interim*, an occaſion might perchance ariſe, of a more fortunate, and more happy progreſs.

The Hugonots reſolve to take in as many places as they can, by intelligence poſſeſs themſelves of *Chaſtel-rault* and *Luſignan*, with the Caſtle there.

With this deliberation, having taken the rich Monaſtery of *Branthome*, and to make them more ready and obedient, granted the pillage thereof to the Germans, in which manner they uſed divers other leſſer places, the Admiral with the Army went to *Chaſtel-rault*, in which Town he had many days before held ſecret intelligence with ſome of the inhabitants; nor was the enterprize at all difficult; for the Conſpirators having raiſed a tumult, and made themſelves maſters of one of the gates, let in the Hugonots: which unexpected accident ſtruck ſuch a terrour in the Governour who held it for the King, that he fled away to *Poictiers* without making any reſiſtance, and the Town without diſpute remained abſolutely in the Admirals power, who received it as he did all the reſt, in the name of the Prince of *Navarre*, by whoſe authority (as firſt Prince of the Blood) all matters were diſpatched and governed.

*Chaſtel-rault* being taken, the Admiral advanced to beſiege *Luſignan*; and having taken the Town without much difficulty, ſate down before the Caſtle, which is eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt places in *France*, and had formerly (though often boldly aſſaulted) held out with good ſucceſs a long time againſt the Engliſh; but now the reſolution of the defendants was not anſwerable to the vertue of their predeceſſors; for having ſcarce ſtaid for the battering, (which though it made a large breach in the Wall, yet the Caſtle ſtanding upon the top of a Rock, it was almoſt impoſſible to go on to the aſſault) they began to treat of delivering it up, and in a few days capitulated to march out, with flying colours and all their baggage, which agreement (contrary to their cuſtom) was exactly obſerved. *Luſignan* thus taken, before which Meſſieurs *de Breuil* and *du Cheſny*, Souldiers of great reputation, were killed by the Cannon; the Admiral taking ſix great pieces with him which he found in the Caſtle, reſolved to march towards *Poictiers*, after *Paris* a City of the greateſt circuit of any in the Kingdom, and head of the adjacent Provinces, whither were carried as into a place of ſecurity, all the wealth and treaſure of thoſe Countries; judging, that if he could reduce this ſo conſiderable a place to his devotion, all the reſt would without much difficulty yield of themſelves.

*Poictiers* after *Paris* a City of the greateſt circuit of any in *France*.

But when it was known at *Loches*, where the Duke of *Anjou* lay, that the Admiral made preparation of Pioneers, Artillery, and other things neceſſary to lay ſiege to *Poictiers*; though the fierce warlike diſpoſition of the people, gave hopes that it would be ſtoutly maintained: yet the Council thought that ſo ſpacious a place, ſo thinly peopled, and ſo ſubject to be annoyed by the Enemy, would require a great number of valiant men to defend it, as well to ſecure a Town of ſo great importance and reputation, as alſo ſo much the longer to amuſe the Hugonots, and by the difficulty of this attempt diſcourage and tire out their Army; which was their chief deſign at the beginning, when they divided their forces. Wherefore beſides the ordinary Gariſon that was in *Poictiers*, under the Count *de Lude* Governour of the City, the Duke of *Guiſe* reſolved to put himſelf into it, a young man, who with ſingular expectation ſhewed himſelf as Head of the Catholick party, to renew by his brave and notable example in that beginning of his Warlike actions, the glory of his Father, who by defending *Metz* againſt the

Forces

Forces of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, made his way to a high degree of power and eſtimation. This example of the Duke of *Guiſe*, was followed by *Charles* Marqueſs *de Mayenne* his Brother, the Sieurs *de Montpezat*, *de Seſſac*, *de Mortemer*, *de Clairiaux*, *de la Rochebariton*, *de Rufec*, *de Fervaques*, *de Briancon*, *de Chaſtilliere*, and many other Gentlemen, noble by birth and valour; in whoſe company were alſo *Angelo Ceſis*, and *Giovanni Orſino*, with 200 Italian Horſe: ſo that there were then in the City 800 Cuiraſſiers, and about 400 light Horſe; to theſe were added 4000 Foot, of the beſt diſciplined in all *France*, under the command of *Baſſac*, *la Parade*, *Verbois*, *Bonneval*, *Charry*, and many other Colonels of great reputation; ſix companies of Towns-men, each of four hundred very well armed and exerciſed, beſides 300 Italian Firelocks commanded by *Paulo Sforza*, Brother to *Sancta Fiore*. There were alſo in the City a very great number of Peaſants, by whoſe labour the moſt ſuſpected places of the ramparts were fortified with great care, and Cannon planted, where they ſaw the Enemy was likely to encamp. Beſides all this, the City was plentifully ſtored with proviſions for the War, eſpecially fireworks of divers kinds, which made the defendants confidently hope to repel the aſſaults of the Enemy. 1569.

Notwithſtanding all theſe preparations, the Admiral (either ardently deſirous to ſuppreſs the two young *Guiſes* his particular enemies, and therefore preferring that before all other reſpects; or deſpiſing the advice of the other Commanders, who judging the enterprize very difficult, counſelled to turn their Forces another way) ſate down before the City the 24 of *July*, and in his march cauſed the Infantry to ſtorm the Suburb that lieth without the port of St. *Lazarus*, no ways fortified, but defended only by Colonel *Boiſvert* with 400 French Musketiers, who having valiantly ſuſtained the aſſault for the ſpace of three hours, at laſt by the multiplied Forces of the Hugonots, were conſtrained to quit it, being a place utterly impoſſible to be kept: but the Duke of *Guiſe* ſallying forth in perſon, gallantly reſiſted the fury of the Enemy, till the houſes near the gate, and about the works were burnt, and levelled with the ground, leſt they ſhould have that conveniency to lodge and offend the Town. The Army lay that night two miles from the walls, and the next morning the firſt Troops of the Camp skirmiſhing hotly with the Cavalry that ſallied out in many places, the Admiral encamped with very good order in thoſe quarters which with prudent conſideration were before reſolved on.

The platform of *Poictiers* is of a great circumference, and unequal ſituation; for extending it ſelf in a ſtony, rugged way from Eaſt to Weſt, ſometimes it aſcends, ſometimes deſcends, here crooked, there in a direct line, but three ſides of it lie open to the Cannon from the rocks that encompaſs it, only the fourth is even, and ſo high, that no place without can command or annoy it; and though indeed it may be battered from divers places without, yet it is no eaſie matter afterwards to advance to the aſſault; for the Clain that runneth about a great part of it, and a deep lake cauſed by the ſame river, make it in a manner inacceſſible, and the unevenneſs of the rocks that afford means to offend it, yield alſo commodious retreat to the defendants; for the ſteep craggy cliſs upon which it is ſeated, is ſo eaſie to be wrought into, that almoſt of it ſelf it maketh ſtairs, and narrow paſſages, very advantageous to be long made good againſt the Enemy. The Admiral taking notice of this ſituation, endeavoured to enlarge himſelf, and inviron as much of the circuit as he could poſſibly, playing at once upon ſeveral parts of the City, ſo far diſtant one from another, as he might both divide the courage and forces of the beſieged. To that end he placed the German Infantry at the fartheſt corner of the City beyond the river, quartering them in the Hoſpital and Mill near to it, joining them together with a bridge drawn croſs the river with ropes, which likewiſe ſerved the foot of *Gaſcony* and *Provence*, who lay along the banks of the river as far as the Fauxburg, called *Rochereuil*; himſelf with the Van lodged in the Monaſtery of St. *Benet*; the Prince who led the Battel, with the Count *de la Roch-fon-cault* and Count *Manſfield*, at St. *Lazarus*; *Briquemaut*, *Piles* and *Muy*, with the Reer at the Fauxburg of *Pierre Levee*, taking up in this manner all that ſpace of ground which reacheth from the North to the Weſt, and from the Weſt to the South; and the Cavalry quartered in the Villages about, ſpreading as far *Cruſtelle*, almoſt two leagues from the Town.

Scarce was the Infantry encamped about the City, when Monſieur *de Seſſac*, the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Lieutenant, accompanied with *Giovanna Orſino*, and 120 of the moſt reſolute Horſe of the Gariſon, ſallying out at the gate of the Trench, fell into a quarter

1589. of Cavalry in a Village called *Marne*, and finding them in diſorder and unprepared, as they were about to take up their lodging, with ſmall trouble killed a great number, and diſperſed the reſt; and afterwards in his return meeting *Briquemaut* with 200 Reiters, and divers French Horſe, he charged them ſo boldly, that at the firſt encounter, they all ran away, leaving above forty of their men dead upon the place: wherefore the Admiral neceſſitated to hinder ſuch unwelcome ſallies, cauſed Colonel *Blacon* with 2000 Foot, to lie in the ruines of the Suburb, and with Fortifications and Trenches to make his approaches ſo near to the gate, that they played upon one another continually with Musket-ſhot: but nevertheleſs Colonel *Onoux* who had left St. *Maixent* as a place too weak to be held, with only 600 Foot but choſen men, marched nine leagues in ſix hours, and arriving at the beat of the *Reveille*, paſſed happily through all the works they had made, and in ſpite of the oppoſition of *Blacon* and all his men, entred through the ſame gate of the Trench, to ſtrengthen the Gariſon of *Poictiers*.

But the ſiege being laid and ſetled, the firſt days were ſpent in ſharp skirmiſhes, of which though the event were divers, according to the variety of fortune, yet the Hugonot Army was exceedingly endamaged by them: for beſides the loſs of their ſtouteſt Souldiers, whereof very many were killed, they were likewiſe hindered in their works, which nevertheleſs by the diligence of Monſieur *de Genlis* General of the Artillery, ſtill went on, who making his approaches in divers places, raiſed a battery, where he planted fourteen Cannon beſides divers ſmall pieces, which being at laſt brought to perfection, though with much difficulty, becauſe the whole Camp was perpetually moleſted with ſhot from the City; upon the firſt of *Auguſt* they began to batter, and in three days made a breach in the Ravelin, and brake down the Tower, which joining to the port of St. *Cyprian*, guarded and flanked the enterance on that ſide; but the bottom of the Tower being filled with earth, ſo that notwithſtanding the upper parts of it were fallen, it ſtill defended it ſelf: the fourth day it was aſſaulted in vain, being reſolutely maintained by Colonel *de l' Iſle* with his French Foot, which the Admiral perceiving, and that the attempt of that gate proved more difficult than was expected, he turned his Cannon on the other ſide, and the fifth day began to batter the Curtine, which lying along the River, reacheth to a place commonly called the Abbeſſes meadow: for though the water which ran between his Trenches and the Town-walls were ſome hinderance to him; yet he knew the works were much weaker there than in other places, becauſe the Engineers thinking it was enough ſecured by the River, had been more careleſs in fortifying thereabouts: by the tenth of *Auguſt*, (which was the Feaſt of St. *Laurence*) the Artillery had made ſo large a breach as might very commodiouſly be aſſaulted, and the bridge by which one might eaſily paſs the River, was already caſt over; when the Admiral cauſing the breach to be viewed, and being informed that there were Caſamats, and works very well contrived, to make it good on the inſide, beſides that by the advice of the Count *de Lude*, four Troops of Lanciers were ſallied out of the gates to fall upon the aſſailants at the ſame inſtant, when they had paſſed the bridge, and were in that open plain ſpace between the Wall and the River, not willing to ſend his men into ſo manifeſt danger without hope of ſucceſs, gave out that by reaſon of the weakneſs of the bridge, which perchance might break, he would not run ſo evident an hazard of drowning his Souldiers; whereupon they retreating to their Quarters, who all were ready for the aſſault, he gave command for the making of another bridge, which might not only ſerve to paſs over the aſſailants in better order and more ſecurity, but alſo ſome number of Horſe, to make Head againſt the Cavalry of the City. But the night following *Biagio Capizuchi*, a Roman Gentleman under *Paulo Sforza*, with two companions, all excellent Swimmers and good Divers, (whilſt the Enemy was amuſed by frequent alarms, and the Cannon, beſides a party ſent out with Monſieur *de Fervaques*) ſwom under the bridge, and cut the ropes that held it together, ſo that on a ſuddain, before the Hugonots were aware, it was utterly looſed, and carried away with the ſtream; and whilſt it was repairing, the Defendants had leiſure to fortifie themſelves within the breach; in which buſineſs the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf took great pains, carrying the earth upon his own ſhoulders, whoſe example generally moved no leſs the women than the men to further the work, by which means in a very ſhort ſpace they raiſed a breaſt-work ſtronger and thicker than the firſt.

But

But the Admiral re-inforcing his battery with great violence, and cauſing three bridges to be made, all ſtronger than the firſt, upon the eighteenth day gave a terrible aſſault to the Wall, and they were already, though with much blood, maſters of the breach, when they diſcovered a Cavalier raiſed within the Covent of the Carmelites, from whence many ſmall pieces of Artillery plaid, which lighting upon the place, that was poſſeſſed by the Hugonots, before they could ſufficiently ſhelter themſelves, they were forced within a little while to forſake it, leaving dead upon the place Monſieur *de Mondaulph*, a man of great account amongſt them, with ſeven Captains and many Foot-Souldiers; beſides an infinite number that were wounded, amongſt which Monſieur *de la Noue* received a Musket-ſhot in his left arm; and the Baron *de Conſorgine* another in the right thigh, of which hurts it was very long before they could be cured: nor did the Defendants ſcape without loſs, there being killed that day Monſieur *Biglie* of a very noble Family, and *Antonio Seraſone* a Roman, who with great praiſes of valour and induſtry, was imployed in the Office of an Engineer. 1569.

They continued ſhooting all the next day, and the ſooner to make an end of the buſineſs, brought eight Culverins more to the battery, by which means the Ramparts of the City were in a few days made wholly indefenſible: but the induſtry of the beſieged found a remedy againſt ſo imminent a danger; for having ſtopped the courſe of the River on the lower ſide, near the Tower of *Rochereuil* with banks and piles of wood, they made the waters ſwell to ſuch a heighth, that the under part being left almoſt dry, they drowned all the Abaſſes meadow, and overflowed the very breach in the Wall, ſo that the Hugonots could not poſſibly come to aſſault it; upon which occaſion the Admiral being forced to take a new reſolution, commanded the battery to be removed lower, to play upon, and take the Tower of *Rochereuil*, below which the Catholicks had made their dam, that ſo being maſters of that place, they might free the courſe of the River, and take away from them the ſo uſeful defence of the water. To this purpoſe the Cannon having beaten down above ſixty yards of the Wall, upon the 24 day they gave a general onſet at the Tower of *Rochereuil*, and the Curtine joining to it; *Piles* fell on firſt, ſeconded by *Briquemaut*, and at laſt by the German Infantry, where no leſs the Commanders and Voluntiers, than the common Souldiers, fought on all ſides with ſingular valour and conſtant reſolution; the gallantry of the Duke of *Guiſe* appearing moſt clearly in this action, by whoſe Squadron the Enemy was in the end beaten off, and driven back with great loſs, they having with no ſmall difficulty brought off *Piles*, who was extreamly wounded, and almoſt half dead, though afterwards being cured, he recovered his former health and vigour: yet all this ill ſucceſs abated not the courage of the Hugonots; but continuing with great obſtinacy to batter the work which the Defendants had caſt up behind the breach, they reſolved to give it an unexpected aſſault about midnight, thinking to ſurprize the Catholicks either aſleep, or at leaſt in confuſion, and unprovided; but being come to the place, they found (contrary to their expectation) the Defendants in ſo good order, and ſo ready to receive them, that without any more ado they gave over the attempt, being bravely followed by the Italian Foot, who ſallying through the ſame breach, purſued them into their very Trenches, doing great execution upon them, by reaſon of the difficulty and narrowneſs of their retreat.

A great mortality in the Hugonot Army. The Admiral ſickneth, yet deſiſteth not from the ſiege of *Poictiers*.

But in the midſt of ſo many ſufferings, the exceſſive heats of Summer began to cauſe the uſual ſickneſs of that ſeaſon, of which there died not only many of their common Souldiers, and particularly of the Germans, but the principal Officers of the Army were likewiſe grievouſly infected with it, amongſt which the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault* had left the Camp to be cured, and Meſſieurs *de Briquemaut* and *de la Nocle* were retired to *Niort* with ſmall hope of life, for which cauſe the Princes with no other train but their own families, reſolved to go to St. *Maixent*, and by change of air to avoid the malignant Feaver that was ſo mortal in the Camp, leaving the Admiral almoſt alone to command the Army, who worn out with continual toil and watching, fell ſick at laſt of the Flux; yet though he was exceedingly ſpent and weakned with the Diſeaſe, the vigour of his mind was not at all diminiſhed, but he perſiſted with the ſame ardour to proſecute the end of his deſign; for concluſion whereof he commanded the aſſault to be given in many places upon the ſecond day of *September*, cauſing the French and German Infantry to fall on ſeverally, that the emulation of one another might animate them to fight with a greater courage and reſolution: the aſſault laſted moſt part of the day, the violence of the Enemies being reſiſted by the Duke of *Guiſe*

1569. on one ſide, and on the other by the Count *de Lude*, with ſo much valour and gallantry, that the Hugonots being beaten, not only by the Cannon and ſmall ſhot, but with ſtones, pikes and fireworks in great abundance, they were in the end forced precipitately to quit the wall, leaving dead and wounded above ſeven hundred upon the place, amongſt which Monſieur *de S. Vane* Brother to *Briquemaut*, and who commanded his men, was killed with a granado.

But this Victory gave little comfort to the beſieged; for being by the death of Monſieur *d' Onouz*, Colonel *Paſſac*, and many other valiant men reduced to a ſmall number in reſpect of the greatneſs of the place, and their horſes for want of meat being brought to extream weakneſs, they could not find the ardour and perſeverence of the Hugonots at all abated; wherefore with frequent letters and many meſſages they ſollicited for the relief which the Duke of *Anjou* had promiſed them within a few days.

The Duke re-uniting the Army ſooner than was intended at the dividing of it, had drawn his forces together at the beginning of *September*, reſolving rather to try the fortune of a day, than to ſuffer *Poictiers* to be taken, with ſo many of the Nobility, and the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf, who was at that time very much beloved by him: wherefore he marched away from *Loches*, and ſate down before *Chaſtel-rault*, aſſuring himſelf, that the Hugonots to ſuccour that place, where a great number of their ſick men lay, would leave the ſiege of *Poictiers*, about which they might eaſily perceive, they ſhould but tire themſelves in vain, it being favoured by ſo great, and ſo near a power. Nor was the event different from the Dukes deſign; for the Admiral having by the failing of his laſt enterpriſe loſt all hopes of taking the Town, and ſeeking ſome plauſible occaſion to leave it, as ſoon as he had intelligence that the Army moved, he reſolved to raiſe the ſiege; and drawing off his Artillery, upon the 15 of *September* marched with all his forces towards *Chaſtel-rault*: and on the ſame day the Count *de Sanze*, and *Pietro Paulo Toſinghi* entred *Poictiers* with 300 French Horſe, and 800 Italian Foot, and ſupplies of money and victuals, whereby the City was at once freed from the ſiege, and opportunely furniſhed with neceſſary proviſions. Thus ended the ſiege of *Poictiers*; in which, as the Princes Army diminiſhed both in ſtrength and hopes, by the loſs of 3000 men, and two months of the Summer; ſo the Duke of *Guiſe* came out of it with ſo great applauſe and reputation, that all the Catholick party began to turn their eyes upon him as a Pillar of the Roman Religion, and a Worthy Succeſſor to his Fathers Power.

After many aſſaults bravely ſuſtained, the Admiral quits the ſiege, and goes to relieve *Chaſtel-rault*.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, who had ſuſtained the ſiege, gets great reputation.

The ſucceſs of the Kings forces at the ſiege of *la Charite* was not unlike to that of the Hugonots at *Poictiers* at the ſame time; for the Duke of *Anjou* purpoſing utterly to cut off the paſſage of the *Loire* from the Army of the Princes, and to take away all hopes from them of oppreſſing thoſe Provinces which are on this ſide the River, had given commiſſion to Monſieur *de Sanſac* to gather the forces of *Beauſſe*, *Nivernois*, *Bourbonois*, and part of *Burgundy*, and to beſiege *la Charite*, which had before been taken by the Germans in their paſſage, and was the only place upon the River in poſſeſſion of the Hugonots: but ſo firm was the reſolution of the Souldiers, and ſo conſtant the courage of the Townſ-men, commanded by Monſieur *de Guerchy*, Cornet of the Admirals own company of *Gens d' Arms*, that ſuſtaining all the aſſaults and attempts of the Catholicks, they finally conſtrained Monſieur *de Sanſac* to give it over, having in the ſiege loſt many Gentlemen, and no inconſiderable number of Souldiers.

The Catholicks beſiege *la Charite*, which being ſtoutly defended they give it over.

In the mean time the affairs of both Factions were proſecuted in *Bearn*, whither the Prince of *Navarre*, ſollicitous to preſerve his own patrimony, had ſent the Count of *Montgomery* to oppoſe Meſſieurs *de Monluc* and *de Terride*, the firſt of which poſſeſſed the Confines of the Province, and the other with a great power battered *Navarines*, the only place that after many loſſes and troubles of the Country remained in the power of the Hugonots: but in concluſion, whatſoever the fault was, (for the Commanders laid it upon one another) the buſineſs went very proſperouſly for the Prince of *Navarre*; for Monſieur *de Terride* being riſen from before *Navarines*, was in his retreat fought withal, ſurrounded, and taken priſoner; and Monſieur *de Monluc* not being able, or not coming time enough to help him, was fain to retire into *Gaſcony*; ſo that all the Country began to ſubmit to the devotion of *Montgomery*, who uſing ſtrange unaccuſtomed cruelties, had with terrour conſtrained even thoſe places that were beſt manned, and moſt ſtrongly fortified to yield themſelves up into his hands.

In the interim, the Duke of *Anjou*, who becauſe he was not yet ſtrong enough to raiſe the ſiege of *Poictiers*, had encamped before *Chaſtel-rault*, to obtain the ſame effect by

by that diverſion, conceived ſome hopes of taking the place, and perſiſted in battering it with much violence; but the iſſue proved very contrary; for when there was a ſufficient breach in the wall, he made the Italian Infantry to fall on, who putting themſelves forward by reaſon of their emulation with the French, poſſeſſed themſelves at firſt very proſperouſly of the breach, but with more raſhneſs and fury than diſcretion; for being plaid upon with great execution both in the front and flank by the Artillery planted opportunely upon the ramparts that were caſt up within, which they had not (as according to the Rules of War they ought) been careful to diſcover, after they had fought in vain above three hours, they retired to their trenches with the loſs of above 250 men, amongſt whom were *Fabiano del Monte*, and many other Gentlemen and Officers. 1569.

*Fab. del Monte* Head of the Tuſcan forces killed before *Chaſtel-rault.*

The next day their thoughts of aſſaulting the Town were changed into thoſe of marching away: for the Admiral, with all his Army, deſirous to recover the time, and recompence the loſſes he had received at *Poictiers*, had in three ſeveral quarters poſſeſſed himſelf of the Suburbs on the other ſide *Chaſtel-rault*, oppoſite to the place where the Catholick Army lay, and reſolved by any means to try his fortune, if he could do it without diſadvantage; for which cauſe the Duke of *Anjou* knowing himſelf much inferiour in ſtrength, the Nobility not being yet joined with him, nor many Companies of Foot which were too far from the Army, thought it beſt to retire; and therefore took the opportunity to do it at the ſame time that the Admirals Souldiers (being quartered to refreſh themſelves after their march, in one of the Suburbs of the Town, that lay beyond the River *Vienna*) were either ſecurely ſleeping, or making proviſion of victuals and lodging; it not being probable, the day being ſo far ſpent, that either ſide would change their quarter that night. So taking the opportunity of the time, the Duke cauſed his Artillery to be drawn off with good order, but incredible expedition; and having ſent them before with all his baggage, ſome two hours after, it being about Sun-ſet, he marched without noiſe away, neither the Admiral, nor any of his party at all perceiving it, till the laſt Squadrons were moving; who made good the retreat, being led by Monſieur *de Chavigny*, Monſieur *de la Valette*, and the Count *di Sancta Fiore*. At that time it being far in the night, the Hugonot Army was at reſt in their quarters, or elſe ſcattered up and down; therefore the Admiral ſeeing his men weary, diſperſed, and unfit for the purſuit, thought it not beſt raſhly to follow the Catholick Army, which being many hours before him, retired quietly without any diſorder or confuſion. Thus the Duke of *Anjou* not being followed nor moleſted by the Enemies, the ſame night paſſed the River *Creuſe* at *Porte de Piles*, four leagues from *Chaſtel-rault*, and the next morning having left the bridge ſufficiently guarded on both ſides of the River, he drew his Army to *Selle*, a very ſtrong and well-fortified quarter.

The Catholicks raiſe the ſiege from before *Chaſtel-rault.*

At break of day the Admiral marched after the Catholicks; and being come to *Porte de Piles*, he ſent forth Monſieur *de Soubiſe*, with a party well-horſed, to diſcover the ſtate of the Enemy; who having routed and put to flight many ſcattered Souldiers that were caſt behind the Army, fell on, hotly skirmiſhing even to the very Turnpike of the Bridge; the Infantry ſeconding him reſolutely, aſſaulted the barricadoes of the Catholicks, uſing their uttermoſt endeavour to drive away the guard, and to gain that paſs; but notwithſtanding the redoubled onſets, made with exceeding courage by the moſt valiant Commanders of the Hugonots, *la Valet*, and *Paulo Sforza* with the French light Horſe, and the Italian Foot defended the Bridge, and being helped by the ſtrong ſituation of it, beat off the Enemy with much loſs, and fruſtrated all their attempts: whereupon the Admiral giving over that deſign, made a foord to be ſought for in ſome other place, which being eaſily found by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of the water, he paſſed over the next day four leagues below *Piles*, and came ſo near to the quarter of the Duke of *Anjou*, that he hoped to force him to give battel: but ſeeing that the Duke, containing himſelf within his trenches, was very well ſtored with victual, becauſe all the Country behind him were his friends; and that on the other ſide his Army ſuffered great ſcarcity, being forced to make his proviſions afar off, becauſe two Rivers were between him and the Country that was well-affected to him; he deſpairing to force the Catholicks to fight againſt their will, reſolved the third day to retire; and having paſſed the two Rivers of *Creuſa* and *Vienna*, marched to *Faye la Vineuſe*, and lodged his Army in the neighbouring Villages to refreſh his men after ſo much toil and ſufferance; who being all (eſpecially the Germans) impatient,

1569. patient, and unaccuſtomed to lie in the fields, began to grow very mutinous and diſorderly.

The Duke of *Anjou* took the like courſe, who withdrawing his Army to *Chinon* in *Turain*, went to ſee the King his Brother, and the Queen his Mother, who according to their ordinary cuſtom of being near the Army, were come to *Tours*, where likewiſe was arrived the Duke of *Guiſe*, loaden with honour and reputation for his famous and proſperous defence of *Poictiers*. Here they began to adviſe of the means of managing the War; and this was the firſt time the Duke of *Guiſe*, being received into his Fathers place, was admitted to the Cabinet Council, and the participation of the moſt ſecret affairs. The cauſe and beginning of this truſt, beſides the nobleneſs of his Blood, the merits of his Father, his own Vertue, and the protection of the Cardinal his Uncle, was chiefly the implacable hatred the King bare the Admiral; for after the death of the Prince of *Conde* in the Battel of *Baſſac*, he had entertained confident hopes, that the Hugonot party (being deprived of the Authority of ſo great a Prince, and having loſt their principal Head, upon whoſe valour and reputation chiefly depended the conduct of ſo weighty a buſineſs) would diſſolve and diſſipate, or at leaſt incline to the yoak of his obedience: but he found on the contrary the Authority of the Blood Royal, by the ſagacity of the Admiral, revived in the perſons of the two young Princes, and the union of the Hugonot Faction founded on their proper ſtrength and valour, to occaſion more miſchiefs, and to bring the ſtate of affairs into greater dangers than ever formerly they had been in the revolution of ſo many years: and therefore having with a publick and heavy ſentence divulged in many languages, made him to be declared Rebel by the Parliament of *Paris*, he alſo cauſed his effigies to be dragged through the ſtreets, and to be hung up in places where they uſed to execute publick malefactors; and ſo ordered the matter, that his houſes were razed to the ground, and his goods ſold by the Officers of his Courts; after all which, continuing a reſolution to perſecute him to death, he began to exalt and favour the Houſe of *Lorain*, and particularly the Duke of *Guiſe*, who deſirous to revenge the death of his Father, profeſſed a publick and irreconcileable hatred to the Admiral.

*Henry* Duke of *Guiſe* admitted to the Cabinet-Council

The Kings decree Againſt the Admiral.

The Kings Cabinet Council coming now to debate of thoſe courſes that were to be taken in ordering the War, at firſt their opinions diſagreed; for the Mareſhal *de Coſſe* (by his ſevere proceedings againſt the Hugonots in *Picardy*, having purged himſelf of the ſuſpicions conceived againſt him, and regained his former credit and eſtimation of wiſdom) thought it beſt to try rather by time, than force, to overcome the Enemy: who being without money, without means to victual their Army, without retreat, without any conſiderable ſupply from abroad, and full of want, diſorder, diſcord and deſperation, would quickly be vanquiſhed by their own neceſſities, and diſſolve to nothing of themſelves. On the other ſide, the Count *de Tavanes* repreſented, that the Hugonot Army was leſſened, wearied out, and put into confuſion by the long and fruitleſs ſiege of *Poictiers*, and therefore very eaſie to be overcome, and that it was neceſſary to fight preſently, and not to ſtay till the Prince of *Orange*, who was gone diſguiſed into *Germany*, had time to make new levies, or that the Count *Montgomery*, who had gotten the better in *Bearn*, ſhould come with the Forces of *Gaſcony* to join with the Admiral; for ſo the War would be again renewed, which could not by any means be more certainly extinguiſhed than by fighting, and by eager purſuing of the Enemy, now they were diminiſhed both in number and courage.

The reſolution would have been hard to agree upon, but the Duke of *Anjou* cutting off all diſpute of different opinions, concluded that it was expedient to fight with the Army of the Princes, now that tired and waſted with their late loſſes and ſufferances, they were not likely to have force and vigour enough to reſiſt the Catholick Army, which freſh, in full ſtrength, and well recruited, had an ardent deſire to ſee the Enemy in the field. With this intention he departed from *Tours*, in the company of the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Montpenſier*, and ſo gathering together thirty Enſigns of Foot, and 2000 Horſe of the Nobility and Gentry that held their lands of the Crown, who about that time came to the Army, he advanced with his whole body towards *Faye la Vineuſe*, where the Hugonots were encamped with a deſign to meet them, and as ſoon as poſſibly he could, force them to give him Battel.

But matters were not ſo reſolved among the Hugonots; for though the Gentry, who for the ſpace of a whole year had lived from their own houſes, ſpending all they had, thinking they had done much more than either the nature or cuſtom of the French

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is wont to bear, desired earnestly to meet the Enemy, or to be dismissed the Camp, and that every hour were heard the groans of those that wished for an end of those miseries, or of their lives; though Count *Volrade* with his Germans, weary of suffering and lying in the field, and deprived of their fancied hopes of rich booty, in a mutinous way demanded their pay; and to be led on to encounter the Enemy: yet the Princes, the Admiral, and the most experienced Commanders of the Army, knowing the valour of the Kings Souldiers, and the weariness and disunion of their own, inwardly disapproved the advice of coming to a final trial, and desired to govern their affairs with the same prudence which they had observed in the Catholicks, who when they found themselves inferiour in strength, had always avoided the hazard of a Battel, though now being assured of the advantage, they very much desired it: Therefore, as when the Duke of *Anjou* shunned the encounter, they had used all possible means to provoke him to it; so now that he came resolved to do the like, they endeavoured to prolong the event of things, and to proceed with more slow and more secure advice, but they dared not to make show of this intention, for fear of filling the Army with tumults and discontents, being certain the Gentry would presently forsake them, and the Germans undoubtedly mutiny, as soon as they should know there was no hopes of putting it to a Battel: Wherefore letting themselves be led by necessity, and by the inclination of the Army, as a man doth for the most part that rides a fiery ill-managed horse, they seemed to consent to the opinion and desire of the Souldiers, and made show of readiness and resolution to give battel: but the Admiral, who thought he could compass any thing by his arts and subtilties, deluding their expectation, and declining all occasions, absolutely determined in himself, with all possible care to avoid the doubtful issue of a battel. 1569.

To this end, as soon as he heard the motion of the Catholicks towards him, the Princes being made privy to his counsels, he marched with his whole Army from *Faye*, which is in the Confines of *Poictou* and *Anjou*, to pass the Rivers that are near, to gain the other side called *Basse Poictou*, bordering upon *Guienna*, where by reason of its strong situation, and the many Cities that were there of his Faction, he thought it more easie to delay the Battel, or else to fight with so much advantage, that the Victory might not at all be doubtful: and to the end the Gentry and the Germans might more willingly follow him, he caused a report to be spread through the whole Army, that the Count *de Montgomery*, grown strong and victorious in *Bearn*, was upon his way to join with him, and that he was already near *Parthenay*, a Town not above twelve leagues distant, where he pretended it was necessary to meet him, lest the Enemy getting between them, should keep them still asunder, or should defeat the Count, whose number was inferiour to theirs.

By this device he laboured to win them to follow him willingly, till he were gotten amongst the Cities of his own Faction, where always lodging himself under the protection of some strong place, he hoped by many, but not dangerous skirmishes, to abate the fury of the Kings Army, and partly to qualifie his own Souldiers desire of fighting, till the beginning of the Winter (which was not far off) should of it self hinder them from further action; in the mean time, by the nearness of *Rochel*, and the diligence of the Queen of *Navarre* to supply him, he was confident he should not be destitute of provisions; whereas the Duke of *Anjou*, by reason of the Rivers that were behind him, would probably be reduced to great want and scarcity. But the diligence of the Duke who out of a desire to fight had marched with great expedition, frustrated these wary counsels; for the Admiral marching with his Army in several divisions towards *Moncontour*, where he had designed to quarter the last day of *September*; and the Camp-Royal advancing the same way with great expedition, as soon as they heard of his moving; whilst the Admiral deceived by the negligence of his Scouts, believed for certain, that the Catholicks were many miles from thence: their Van-guard commanded by the Duke of *Montpensier* came so near to the Reer-guard of the Princes, (in whose last Squadrons was Monsieur *de Muy* and 300 Horse, and four Ensigns of French fire-locks) that they could no longer avoid the encounter of one another. Yet the Admiral still persisting in the same design, having considered the situation of the Country on every side, resolved to pass a water that ran thorow a mooriſh plain, judging that the Catholicks would not dare to come over the same place in the view of all his Army; or if they did, he might by fighting with them hinder their passage, and have an admirable opportunity of winning the Battel, whilst they

1569. they were in ſo great diſorder: for which purpoſe he commanded *Muy* to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Catholick Van-guard, and in the mean time he with all the reſt of the Army paſſed the Moor, though with no ſmall difficulty and confuſion.

In this interim, the Duke of *Montpenſier* marching in very good order; to try all ways poſſible to provoke them to fight, commanded his light Horſe boldly to begin the skirmiſh, which at firſt was ſtoutly received, and couragiouſly oppoſed by Monſieur *de Muy*, one of the moſt valiant Souldiers in all *France*: but *Martigues* coming up, whoſe valour was always wont to lead the way in the moſt deſperate occaſions, the Hugonots were charged with ſuch fury, that not being able to reſiſt ſo much a greater number, *Muy* having loſt fifty Horſe, and above two hundred Foot, took flight as faſt as he could, and paſſing haſtily over the water, joined himſelf orderly with the reſt of their Forces. But the Duke of *Montpenſier* who had purſued him even to the water, when he ſaw all their Army drawn into Battalia on the other ſide, made a ſtop, and conſidering that he could not paſs his men over in a full body, but only twenty in Front, which would have cauſed a great diſorder amongſt them, he took time (coldly skirmiſhing) to ſend word to the Duke of *Anjou*, and to expect his Orders for what he ſhould do in that occaſion.

The Admiral ſeeing the coolneſs of the Catholicks, and how they delayed to paſs the water, believed for certain that the body of the Army was ſtill a great way behind, and that *Montpenſier* with only that ſmall party, had advanced unadviſedly further than he ſhould have done: whereupon not to loſe that opportunity, taking courage, and bravely animating his Souldiers, he repaſſed the water, with two gallant Squadrons of *Gens d' Arms*, and charged the Cavalry of *Martiques* ſo reſolutely, that they retreated above two hundred paces, but the body of the Army coming up on every ſide, he was forced to return in diſorder, and to recover the ſhelter of two ſtrong Squadrons of Infantry that were upon the bank; in which place the valour of Monſieur *de Clairmont* of *Ambois* was very remarkable, who ſick, and unarmed with only twenty Horſe, oppoſed the fury of the Catholicks, till the Admiral was gotten under the protection of his Squadrons.

But the Duke of *Anjou* knowing it was too difficult and dangerous to paſs over in the face of the Enemy, reſolved, (the ground favouring his purpoſe) to try if he could drive them away with his Cannon, and make them quit the other ſide of the water, and that place of ſo much advantage whereof they were poſſeſſed. Wherefore Monſieur *de Byron* Field-Mareſhal, having cauſed the Artillery to be drawn thither, with great expedition and much judgment planted all the Cannon and Culverins, which were 22 in number, partly on the right hand, partly on the left of the bottoms of thoſe hills that were within ſhot of the Hugonot Army; and began to let flie very terribly at their flank, doing infinite execution upon thoſe Squadrons which ſtood in Battalia at the entry of the Moor, that was on the other ſide the water. Yet the French and German Infantry being in a low place, and commanded by their Officers to lie flat on the ground, could not ſo eaſily be annoyed: but the Cavalry lying open to the ſhot, could hardly be kept in order, ſending many Meſſengers to deſire they might be drawn from thence, where they periſhed miſerably without being able to give any teſtimony of their courage and valour. But the Admiral would not conſent that they ſhould remove, for fear of leaving the paſſage free to the Catholicks, which would after force them, their Army being weary and half diſheartened, to fight in the plain champagne; therefore, whilſt the ſervice continued thus hot at the paſs, the Catholicks Artillery ſtill playing without intermiſſion, the German Horſe, who ſtood more open to the ſhot than any of the reſt, (*Charles* Count of *Manſfield*, Brother to the General, being killed there, with many others) were about to retire, and quitting the poſt they held upon the right hand, began to leave the paſſage open to the Enemies: but the Prince of *Navarre* ſpurring his horſe up to them, and putting himſelf in the ſame danger of the Cannon, prevailed ſo far by his preſence and perſwaſions, that he made them ſtay for a while, and conſtantly to expect the beginning of the Battel; wherein appeared the powerful Genius of this young Prince, the reſpect of whom was able to bridle fear, which hath no Law, and to ſtop the flight of the precipitate Germans, that are ſo obſtinate in their reſolutions. But no remedy in the world could have done much good, for the Enemies Cannon would at laſt have routed and broken all their Army, if the coming of the night had not opportunely relieved the Hugonots in ſo great an extremity.

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The darkneſs ended the skirmiſh that had been in the plain, and the Catholicks not being able to level their Artillery aright, plaid not ſo faſt, finding they ſhot but in vain, and wounded the Air to no purpoſe; which the Admiral wiſely making uſe of, began about nine of the Clock at night to retire without Drum or Trumpet; and before it was day had paſſed the River with his whole Army, and drawn it up in the plain of *Moncontour*; his purpoſe was, continuing in the ſame determination, to retreat with all ſpeed, and marching on to get as far as poſſibly he could from the Catholick Camp, and from the danger of the day. But this reſolution was not only oppoſed by the Commanders and Gentlemen of his own Nation, but far more mutinouſly by Count *Volrade* with his Germans, who breaking forth into ſeditious ſpeeches threatned, That if there were not an end made of ſo many miſeries, they would leave the Princes and go over to the Kings party, being ſure to be received with very good conditions: by which mutiny, the French Infantry being alſo ſtirred up, (as men are more ready to follow ill examples, than to be kept within the limits of reaſon) exclaiming and threatning cried out to give Battel: nor did many of the Officers diſſent from the general deſire of the Army, thinking it impoſſible to go forward, and not be cut off; the Enemy at their backs following with all ſpeed reſolved to fall upon them; and their own Souldiers tired, wearied out, and frighted with the terrour of a retreat, which reſembleth a flight uſeth to diſhearten an Army, and to abate the courage and boldneſs of raw men, believed it was much better to make uſe of the readineſs of their Souldiers, and give Battel in the field with hope of Victory, than fighting diſorderly in their retreat, expect to be miſerably defeated and ſcattered. Wherefore the Admiral, and the Princes, not being able to withſtand the general opinion, reſolved to ſtay for the Catholick Camp on the bank of the River, and there with the beſt advantage they could to remit the ſucceſs to fortune. 1569.

The Admiral divided his Army into three Battalions, and he (according to his cuſtom) commanded the Van-guard, the Princes with Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau* the Battel, Count *Volrade* and *Muy* the Rear; the Cannon were planted in the Front of the Army, and before all was the Forelorn-hope, which when the Enemies drew near, were to begin the Battel.

In the mean while the Duke of *Anjou* having paſſed the water which the Hugonots had left, on the firſt day of *October* in the morning, advanced with a greater deſire than ever to fight with them; but finding the hinderance of the River, (on the further ſide whereof the Enemy ſtood in Battalia) he was fain to make a halt, becauſe the night was drawing on, and quartered that night in the ſame place where the Hugonots were encamped the day before. The next day deſirous to free himſelf from the danger of paſſing the River (though but a little one) in the face of the Enemy, having made very diligent diſcovery of all the Country, he took a large compaſs upon the right hand, and paſſed the night before the third of *October* at a place called *la Grimaudiere*, where the River not being yet joined with another Brook that fell into it, was not at all troubleſom either to Horſe or Foot; there being neither water enough to wet one to the mid-leg, nor banks that could hinder the marching, or order of his diviſions. As ſoon as they were paſſed over without any let or impediment, Monſieur *de Byron*, and the Count *de Tavanes*, Mareſhals of the Field, divided the whole Army into two Battalions, whereof one was led by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Count *di Sancta Fiore*; the other by the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf, with whom were the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Longueville*, the Mareſhal *de Coſſe*, the Marqueſs *de Villers*, (by the King made Admiral in the place of *Coligny*) *Peter Erneſt* of *Mansfield* ſent with the ſupplies by King *Philip*, the Marqueſs of *Baden*, Monſieur *de Carnavalet*, *Guilliaume de Momorancy* Lord of *Tore*, and many other Lords and Gentlemen. In each Battalion were Squadrons of Swiſſes, flanked with the French and Italian Infantry, and in the front of each wing was placed the Artillery. In this order having before them a large ſpacious champagne, without trees, banks or ditches to hinder them, the Catholick Army marched toward the Hugonots with a great noiſe of Drums and Trumpets.

The Marqueſs *de Villars* made Admiral in the place of *Coligny*.

But the Admiral, who in vain had tried again if he could perſwade his Souldiers to retreat to *Hernant*, a place hard by and proper to receive them; and ſeeing himſelf neceſſitated to fight; to confirm the courage of his men, moved ſoftly toward the Enemy, and put himſelf in order to encounter them, without advantage of ground in the midſt of the open field.

1569. The Princes having ſeen their Army drawn up by the Field-Mareſhals, and with fitting ſpeeches recommended the Religion and Liberty of them all to both Nations; when they ſaw every one ready to do his part, retired with their guard to a place ſomething more remote behind the Camp, not to expoſe themſelves in ſo tender an age, to the hazardous perils of War, leaving the weight of the Battel unto the wiſdom and valour of their Commanders. The Sun was already two hours high when the two Armies facing one another, the Admirals Artillery began to play; which being preſently anſwered from the Catholick Camp, they filled the whole field with terrour and ſlaughter: after which impetuous fury of ſo many Cannon, the men fell on with ſo much courage on both ſides, that it was many hours uncertain which would remain victorious: for after the volleys of Muskets, and the ſhocks of their Lances, not only the Horſe and Foot were mingled pell-mell in the heat of the Battel, but even the very Boys, Suttlers and Pioneers, and the rabble of other ſuch-like people that uſe to follow the Camp, fought ſtoutly and deſperately each for their party; and in this univerſal fury, the number was ſo equal, that almoſt every one had a particular Enemy to deal withal. Nor were the Commanders in leſs danger than common Troopers and Souldiers; for the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf ruſhing into the thickeſt Squadron of the Enemy, (where the Marqueſs of *Baden* was killed by his ſide, and many other of thoſe Gentlemen that fought under the Royal Standard) he was many times in danger to loſe his life, the ſafety whereof he ought no leſs to attribute to his own valour, than to the courage and fidelity of his Souldiers; and on the other ſide, the Admiral (not ſparing himſelf, but acting the part of a Souldier, as well as of a General) furiouſly encountered the *Rhinegrave*, (who in the Head of his Cavalry came up to charge him) and having from him received a Piſtol-ſhot in the cheek which broke four of his teeth; he diſcharged his own in the very face of the *Rhinegrave*, and laid him dead upon the ground, nor ceaſed after to fight moſt gallantly, though the blood ran ſo faſt from his wound, that it filled his Helmet and Gorget of Mail. But though the number, boldneſs and conſtancy of both parties were almoſt equal, yet their ſtrength and valour were not; for the Squadrons of the Kings Swiſſes, famous by many and almoſt numberleſs proofs, and tried in ſo many other Battels; fighting with Enemies of leſs experience, that were waſted and tired out with their paſt wants and ſufferings, did at laſt break into the Battalion of the Germans, whom they charged in the beginning of the day; and having routed and diſordered their Ranks, made ſo great a ſlaughter of them, that of four thouſand not above two hundred eſcaped alive; and the Kings Cavalry entire in ſtrength, and full of courage, did in the end overthrow and ſcatter the Cavalry of the Hugonots, no leſs conquered by the wearineſs and weakneſs of their Horſes, harraſſed with long toil and duty, than by the force and valour of their Enemies.

The Armies join Battel.

The Admiral wounded, flees with the Princes. The Admiral ſeeing his Army defeated, his voice quite ſpent, his jaw wounded, and all imbrued in blood, took with him the Princes, (who had withdrawn themſelves with the Sieurs *de Muy*, *Teligny* and *Loue*) and with three hundred Horſe retired to *Partenay*, after whom many other ſtragglers followed in diſorder. Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, and Count *Volrade* rallied about 2000 of their Reiters; and though they were purſued by the Duke of *Aumale* and Monſieur *de Byron*, they made their retreat without any diſorder, and defending themſelves bravely at every Paſs of advantage, got that night to the ſame place. All the reſt that fled from the fury of the Conquerours, diſperſed ſeveral ways as their fortune guided them: ſome got to *Angouleſme*, ſome to *Rochelle*, and ſome followed the track of the Commanders. The Duke of *Anjou* after he had routed and put to flight the Enemies Cavalry, being come to the place where the Swiſſes had obtained ſo bloody a Victory of the Germans, commanded quarter to be given to three thouſand of the French Infantry, who being incompaſſed on every ſide, had thrown down their Arms, and begged their lives of the Conquerors: then finding no more reſiſtance any where, he took the Colours, Baggage and Cannon of the Enemy, and drawing his Army together, marched victoriouſly to Saint *Genez*.

The number of the ſlain on the Princes ſide, reckoning alſo the Boys and Suttlers, and ſuch like hangers on, who all died fighting, were computed by the Catholicks to 17000: but thoſe that more moderately counted only the Souldiers, gheſſed them to be about 10000, whereof few were perſons of quality, eſpecially of the French, becauſe the chief Heads fled betimes for their own ſafety; the greateſt ſlaughter falling

upon

upon the Gaſcogne Foot and the Germans. Yet there were killed *Puygreſſier*, *Antricourt*, *Tannaquille*, *Byron* the Brother of *Armand* who was in the Catholick Army; St. *Bonnet* and St. *Cyre*, who in the eightieth year of his age fighting valiantly till the very laſt, had given wonderful proofs of his courage in the retreat. There was ſlain alſo 27 German Captains of Foot, of but 28 that were in the whole Army, beſides two Colonels of the ſame Nation, above 70 French Captains of Foot, and two Colonels of Reiters, the other two ſaving themſelves with the Count of *Naſſau* in the Body that made the retreat. Monſieur *de la Noue* one of the Heads of the Faction, (whoſe ill fortune almoſt always left him in the Enemies hands) was there taken priſoner, beſides Monſieur *d' Acier* General of the French Infantry, and Monſieur *de Blacon* Colonel of Fire-locks. 1569.

On the Kings ſide were killed few above four hundred; but among thoſe, many principal Officers of the Army, eſpecially ſtrangers; *Philibert* Marqueſs of *Baden*, the Elder *Rhinegrave*, Monſieur *de Clairmont* one of the chief Gentlemen in *Daulphine*, Count *Franciſco de Saſſatello*, *Scipio Piccolomini* Lieutenant to *Otti de Montalto*, and many Foot-Captains. The Duke of *Guiſe*, *Peter Erneſt* of *Mansfield*, the other *Rhinegrave*, and the Lords of *Schombergh* and *Baſſompier* Germans, were wounded, but all cured in a ſhort time after. They took about nine hundred load of victual, all the baggage of the Germans, eleven pieces of Cannon, and above two hundred Colours, whereof twenty ſix (taken by the Italians) were ſent to *Rome* by the Count *di Sanctа Fiore*, and in manner of a Trophy dedicated to the Church of St. *John de Lateran*. The News of this Victory was carried to the King and Queen-Mother by *Alberto Gondi* Count of *Retz* a Florentine, much favoured by them; whereat there was very great rejoycing: and the fame thereof ſpreading into the Neighbour Countries, particularly into *Italy*, filled the Duke of *Anjou*'s Name with Glory and Renown; to whoſe Valour and Conduct, the chief honour of the day was attributed, having over-reached the ſo cried-up wiſdom, and ſo feared policy of the Admiral.

In the Battel of *Moncontour*, the Catholicks took all the Baggage, Cannon and Ammunition of the Hugonots, and 200 colours.

The Count St. *Fiore* ſends to *Rome* 26 Enſigns taken by his Souldiers.

The greateſt part of the Commanders that eſcaped the defeat, got the ſame night to *Partenay*, whither the Princes and the Admiral were come before, who preſently began to adviſe what was beſt to be done, in the difficulty and misfortune of their preſent affairs. The moſt part of them were quite diſheartened by ſo many unhappy ſucceſſes, and the terrour of this laſt overthrow, ſeeing their Army cut off, themſelves ſhut up in a corner of the Kingdom, without money, forſaken by their friends, with very little hopes, and leſs reputation, and among their publick conſultations, calling to mind their private intereſts, the diſtance of their own houſes, the vaſt expences, dangers and diſquiets wherein they were perpetually involved; many of them ſeemed to ſink under the miſery of their preſent condition, and were inclined to yield themſelves to the Kings mercy, and by the beſt means they could procure pardon for what was paſt, which by the mild and gentle nature of the Queen, and the Duke of *Anjou*, whoſe advice bore the chief ſway in the Government, and by the deſire of peace, they thought might eaſily be obtained, if with humble ſubmiſſion they ſhould caſt themſelves altogether upon his Royal Clemency. But the Admiral not at all loſing courage, though ſo wounded in the mouth that he could hardly ſpeak, but rather exaſperated by the ſevere ſentence pronounced againſt him in Parliament, and hardened by the adverſity of his preſent fortune, began to ſhew that things were not yet brought to ſo great extremity, that they ſhould let fear tranſport them to ſo much deſpair; that they had loſt other Battels before this, and always roſe again to be more powerful, and more terrible to their Enemies; that he had learned by experience, that a War is not utterly loſt for the miſcarriage of a Battel, ſo that the courage fail not, in the conſtancy and vigour whereof conſiſteth the happy iſſue of all enterprizes; that though they had loſt many of their men, yet the baſis and foundation whereupon they built all the hopes of their party, was ſtill firm and unſhaken; that *Germany*, the unexhauſted mine of men and arms, ſtill perſevered in unity and friendſhip with them; that *England* continued in the ſame confederacy, which would increaſe their ſupplies in meaſure as their need now required; that he held intelligence for the revolt and ſurpriſal of many Cities in divers parts of the Kingdom, the loſs of which would divide the forces, and much diſtract the deſigns of the Conquerors; that the Count of *Montgomery* in *Bearn* was grown great both in number and courage, with whom they might join in a few days; and that with his forces freſh and intire, it was eaſie to begin the foundation of a gallant and powerful Army: That therefore they ſhould revive the undaunted courage

1569. which they had ſhown in ſo many other occaſions; and that they ſhould believe his counſels; for in a few days he would re-eſtabliſh their affairs in their former condition; that he promiſed no ſuch new things, as for their ſtrange improbability ſhould hardly gain credit among them; but that he had an inward aſſurance he ſhould be able to do the ſame for the preſent, which every one of them might remember they had ſo often ſeen him do in times paſt; and though they ſhould gain nothing elſe by perſeverance, and ſetting an Army again on foot, at leaſt they might by that means facilitate the way to an agreement, and obtain the better conditions; which if they ſhould raſhly demand during the heat of this Victory, they would of neceſſity be forced to ſubmit themſelves to the inſolent will of the Conquerours; whereas by deferring it, and bringing it opportunely to paſs, they might (having a little patience) treat and conclude with advantage.

Theſe words were hearkned to with great attention by the Prince of *Navarre*, who being already accuſtomed to command, could hardly bend his mind to ſtoop to the obedience of others. Nor did the Prince of *Conde* hear them with a leſs inclination, though of more tender years, yet no way inferiour in either vigour or courage; Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, and *Volrade* of *Mansfield*, concurred with the Admiral; for they being ſtrangers, had nothing there to loſe, and therefore deſired that the War ſhould continue: Theſe reaſons ſo well fitted, agreed with the humour of many, who could not yet willingly quit their former hopes, nor did they diſpleaſe the reſt that wiſhed for peace, hoping by ſtanding out, to procure more reaſonable conditions, and upon better terms to ſubmit themſelves to the Kings obedience: wherefore their drooping ſpirits being revived, and their firſt determination changed, all the Heads of the Faction with one accord reſolved to follow the Princes with an unſhaken conſtancy, and to let themſelves be governed by the prudence of the Admiral: After which agreement they diſpatched meſſengers the ſame night into *England* and *Germany*, to give an account of the Battel unto thoſe Princes, and to demand new ſupplies of them; they gave notice to their Confederates in the ſeveral Provinces of all that had happened in the Battel; but at the ſame time comforted them with the like reaſons, that they might not be diſheartened; promiſing, that within three months they ſhould have a greater and more powerful Army than the firſt: and then the Princes and the Admiral being withdrawn together, they determined to leave *Poictou*, (not having force enough to defend it againſt a victorious Enemy there preſent) and to hold themſelves to the defence of a few places, keeping *Rochel*, St. *Jean d' Angely*, and *Angouleſme*, Towns which by reaſon of their ſtrength they thought might eaſily be maintained, and they with the remainder of their Souldiers, reſolved to quit the plains of thoſe Provinces, and leaving their baggage behind them, retire into the Mountains of *Gaſcony*, *Auvergne*, and *Languedoc*, thereby to hinder the Conquerour from following them ſo eaſily. Their deſign was to unite themſelves with the Count of *Montgomery*, whom fortune ſeemed to have purpoſely made ready to piece up and recruit their broken forces; and being once joined with him, they hoped to ſhelter themſelves in thoſe Mountainous Countries, till the Queen of *England* and the Germans had time to ſend them aſſiſtance, wherewith being re-inforced, they were confident they ſhould be able to regain in a few days all that the Catholicks could take in many months in the depth of Winter, which makes the aſſaulting of Towns ſo much more difficult.

They had moreover ſome concealed hopes in the Mareſhal *d' Anville*, Governour of *Languedoc*, with whom they held ſecret intelligence, and found him very much inclined to their affairs. *Henry de Momerancy* Mareſhal *d' Anville*, whilſt the Conſtable his Father lived, was always one of the chief of the Catholick Party, and an open Enemy to the Hugonot Faction, which was occaſioned by his emulation of *Francis* Mareſhal of *Momorancy* his Brother, who was an intimate friend to the Prince of *Conde* and Monſieur *de Coligny* his Kinſmen; and that which confirmed him in it, was the favour and eſteem which he received from the *Guiſes*, who skilful in deep diſſimulation, according as opportunity required, were diligent in trying all poſſible arts to hold him faſt to their party, that by his means, as with the ſtricteſt bonds they might keep the Conſtable united to them, by whom, for his valour and greatneſs of mind, he was moſt tenderly beloved above his other children. The Queen-Mother feigned the ſame; for by the minority of her Son, finding her ſelf neceſſitated to make the great ones her friends, ſhe made uſe of the Mareſhal *d' Anville* to keep her in good correſpondence with the Conſtable; after whoſe death thoſe reaſons being taken away,

away; neither did the Queen care to imploy *d' Anville*, nor did the *Guiſes* make ſuch account of him, as they had done formerly; but rather as a branch of that Family, with which they had ſo long a continued enmity and emulation, they endeavoured to pull down and abaſe him; the arts and perſwaſions of the Cardinal of *Lorain* being ſufficiently powerful with the King to that effect. For which cauſe *d' Anville* having obſerved in what manner they dealt with him, and likewiſe the emulation between him and his Brother *Momorancy* ceaſing after his Fathers death, angry that the dignity of Conſtable ſo long enjoyed by his Father was not conferred upon one of them, they having ſued and made means divers times to procure it; he began in heart to draw near to the friends and kindred of his own Family, and privately by ſecret, but doubtful hopes, to keep the Admiral in a good opinion of him. This was the reaſon that he relieved not Monſieur *de Terride* in *Bearn*, when he might have done it, and the ſame motive induced him to ſlacken his proceedings againſt thoſe places of the Hugonots in *Gaſcony* and *Languedoc*; and this inclination was greatly increaſed in him by ſeeing that the Admiral was old, and continually expoſed to manifeſt dangers; wherefore if he ſhould chance to die before the Princes were out of their minority, he hoped to ſucceed him in the Government, finding in himſelf neither want of judgment nor courage to undergo the weight of that Imployment. To all theſe conſiderations were added the jealouſies which not without reaſon he had conceived long before, leſt if the King and the *Guiſes* ſhould come to extinguiſh the Princes, the Admiral, and all the Hugonot party, he ſhould in the end turn to ſuppreſs the Houſe of *Momorancy*, which would only be remaining of all the ancient emulous and ſuſpected Families. All theſe things were well known to the wiſdom of the Admiral, who moved by this hope and the other reaſons formerly alledged, perſwaded the Princes to follow his advice; ſo the reſolution was ſetled to leave the plain, and retire among the Mountains bordering upon *Languedoc*, till ſuch time as the ſupplies of their Confederates might give them a capacity of riſing to a more proſperous condition. 1569.

But leſt the Conquerours meeting with no oppoſition, ſhould have opportunity to follow and overtake them in the march they were to make, with tired horſes, and men wearied and diſcouraged, they agreed to leave Monſieur *de Muy* at *Niort*, who by delaying the fury of the Conquerours for a day or two, might give them leiſure without any impediment to arrive at the places they had appointed; with this reſolution, not truſting themſelves to ſtay any longer at *Partenay*, they marched the ſame night very ſilently towards *Niort*, where leaving *Muy* with the ſmall remainder of the Foot that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, and only an hundred Horſe, they continued with the ſame ſpeed their intended Voyage. But the conſtancy of the Princes and their Commanders, was greater than the patience of the Souldiers and French Gentlemen; who being got to ſuch a diſtance from the Catholick Camp, that they were freed from fear of being overtaken, began ſecretly to disband; part, becauſe pillage and plunder ceaſing, they had no longer wherewithal to maintain themſelves; part, becauſe their horſes were ſo tired and ſpoiled with a whole years tedious ſervice, that they were not able to march ſo faſt as the Princes; and part, becauſe much dejected by their many loſſes and miſhaps, they were utterly out of hope ever to buoy up their ſhipwrackt fortunes, or to reſtore the oppreſſed power of their party; and therefore to eſcape future dangers, ſome hid themſelves in the Cities of *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, others avoiding the great high-ways, in diſguiſed habits, and under many pretences, endeavoured to return to their own homes; ſo that before the Princes were come to *Rochel*, they were reduced to few more than nine hundred French Horſe, beſides two thouſand Reiters, who wanting opportunity to return unto their own Country, followed them then, rather out of conſtraint, than affection. This disbanding of the French doubled their neceſſity of retiring to the Mountains, as well to ſhun the fury of the Conquerours, as to gain more time to recruit their broken Army: for which end leaving at *Rochel* the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault*, and Monſieur *de la Noue*, who through the careleſneſs of thoſe that kept him priſoner, had eſcaped the next day after the Battel; Monſieur *de Piles* at St. *Jean d' Angely*, with all the Foot that could be drawn from their ſeveral Gariſons; and at *Angouleſme* Monſieur *de Pontivy*, a Kinſman of the Queen of *Navarre's*, and bred up by her, they made long marches towards *Montauban*.

The Duke of *Anjou* recovers many places from the Hugonots.

In the mean time the Duke of *Anjou* (to whom ſince the Victory, *Porteuay*, *Luſignan*, *Fontenay*, *Chaſtel-rault*, and St. *Maixent*, had yielded themſelves, beſides all the other

1569. other Towns and Caſtles in thoſe parts) was drawn with his Army to *Niort*, which made ſhew of ſome reſiſtance, and encamping there, began to plant his Artillery. Monſieur *de Muy* knowing that in his preſent condition it was more requiſite to ſhew valour than ſtrength, to amuſe and delay the proceedings of the Enemy, with his Horſe (though but a few) and a certain number of Foot ſallied out boldly, and fell upon the Army as they were about to make their Quarters; which skirmiſh having laſted very hot and bloody till the evening, whilſt he full of courage and good hopes was making his retreat into the Town, he was ſhot in the back by one of his own Souldiers, whereof he died a few days after, and *Niort*, whoſe defence conſiſted chiefly in his valour and experience, without further delay was yielded up; which example was followed by *Xaintes*, *Cognac*, *Luſſon*, and all the other Cities, except only thoſe three into which the Princes had put their Gariſons.

The King and the Queen-Mother came about that time to the Army, and entering victorious into *Niort*, held a Council of War there concerning the proſecution of their good ſucceſs: many preſſed earneſtly that the Duke of *Anjou* with the Army, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it, not loſing the fruits of their Victory by delays, might follow the Princes and the Admiral, and purſue them without intermiſſion, till he had either utterly ſuppreſſed them, or driven them quite out of the Kingdom; being certain that the Root once cut up, the Branches would wither; and the Faction of the Hugonots, which ſo often had been pulled down, and built up again, the foundation being once deſtroyed, would ſuffer a total and final ruine. But many conſiderations oppoſed this advice; the ſeaſon of the year, drawing towards the end of *October*, began to bring ſuch Snow and Froſts, as were hardly to be endured in the plains, much leſs in the ſharpneſs of the Mountains; the barrenneſs of the Country where the Princes were retired, not yielding proviſions for ſo great an Army; the narrowneſs of many paſſages where a few men might make head againſt any how great a number ſoever; the diſeaſes which grew very frequent and mortal in the Camp; but above all, the want of Money neceſſary to maintain ſo great and ſo continued an expence; for, the Provinces every where being very much troubled and diſquieted, the people up in Arms, the Cities ſackt, the fields laid waſte and deſolate, the Kings Revenue in many places was ſhrunk almoſt to nothing; and the War being in ſo many ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, conſumed that in a few days, which with much pains was gathered together in many months. For all theſe reaſons (fomented perhaps by ſome particular intereſts) it was concluded that the care of proſecuting the Princes and the Admiral, ſhould be committed to the Mareſhal *d' Anville* Governour of *Languedoc*, whoſe deſigns were yet undiſcovered, and to Monſieur *de Monluc* Lieutenant General in *Gaſcogny*, who with the Forces of thoſe Provinces were to endeavour their final ruine and deſtruction; judging that in thoſe barren, narrow, and mountainous places, what could not be done by the Forces of the Country, which were many, could neither be effected by a greater number, which being an hinderance to themſelves, in the ſtreightneſs and ſcarcity of thoſe parts, would rather be troubleſom than advantageous. And at the ſame time they reſolved, that the Duke of *Anjou* with the Army, ſhould be employed about the recovery of thoſe places which were held by the Hugonots in *Poictou* and *Xaintonge*, to deprive them utterly of that neſt, wherein they had ſetled the hopes and laid the foundation of their Faction, which being deſtroyed, they would have neither place remaining which were proper to aſſemble themſelves, nor means or power to gather Forces that could be conſiderable to renew the War.

Monſieur *de Piles* defends *S. Jean d'Angely* 46 days, and after yields it upon honourable conditions.

According to this reſolution, the King in perſon, with the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Anjou*, laid ſiege to St. *Jean d' Angely*, a place of ſmall circuit, but excellently fortified, and furniſhed with all neceſſary proviſions; wherein was *Armand Sieur de Piles*, with all the remainder of the Hugonot Infantry: and though the Duke of *Anjou* (who governed the Army, albeit the King was preſent) ſpared neither pains nor danger, making terrible Batteries, and frequent, though bloody, Aſſaults, *Piles* made good the Town for the ſpace of ſix and forty days: after which, not having the leaſt hopes of relief, he gave it up with honourable conditions, and had a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his men to *Angouleſme*, having given his word not to ſerve the Princes in that War, during the time of four months; which promiſe, under many pretences, was not ſo really obſerved by him.

After the taking of St. *Jean d' Angely*, according to the firſt reſolution, the Army ſhould have proceeded to the ſiege of *Rochelle*, which beſides being in a manner blocked up

up by Land, by the loſs of all the places about it, was alſo beſieged by Sea, by the Kings Navy, which under the command of the Baron *de la Garde* Vice-Admiral, was come from *Provence* into the Ocean Sea. But the end of *December* drew near; the Army in the ſiege of St. *Jean* was very much decreaſed both in ſtrength and number, there having been killed above four thouſand Souldiers, beſides Monſieur *de Martigues* a Commander of great valour and reputation: The Pope and the King of *Spain* had recalled their ſupplies, as if the buſineſs had been perfectly finiſhed, and the War abſolutely ended by the Victory at *Moncontour*; and, which imported moſt of all, the Duke of *Anjou* by continual pains and watchings, which were far above the endurance of either his age or conſtitution, being fallen into an indiſpoſition of ſtomach which threatned worſe, ſought rather for cure and reſt, than any new important occaſion that required toil and ſufferance; for which reaſons the Council being of opinion, that *Rochelle*, ſo ſtreightned almoſt on all ſides, and deprived of all hope of relief, would in the end render it ſelf; *Francis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Daulphine*, Son to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, was left to command the Army, which was exceedingly diminiſhed, in *Xaintonge*, and the King with the Queen, and the Duke of *Anjou*, at the very beginning of the year 1570. retired to *Angiers*, disbanding a great part of their Army, which for the want of money, and in the depth of Winter, could not have been maintained without much difficulty. Some have been of opinion, that this reſolution, which by the event appeared to have been moſt pernicious, was propounded and determined by the Duke of *Anjou*, partly through a deſire of reſt, and a mind to enjoy the pleaſures of the Court, to which he was above meaſure inclined; and partly becauſe he thought it not advantageous to his affairs, that by the total ruine of the Princes, the War ſhould be put to a final end; during which, all the Kings forces, and the principal Command over them, were in his power; which there would no longer be occaſion for him to exerciſe, when by the extirpation of the Hugonots the Kingdom was once reduced to a firm and ſetled peace; which if it were true, it concerned him more nearly than any body elſe, in the proceſs of time to repent ſo great an errour.

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1570. In the beginning of the year, the King disbands part of his Army; which advice in the end proves very hurtful.

In the mean time the Princes and the Admiral, (who if they had been cloſe followed from the firſt, would very probably have been deſtroyed) after that according to their firſt wiſh, they ſaw the Army buſied before St. *Jean d' Angely*, went into the confines of *Montauban*, where the Prince of *Navarre* at the age of ſixteen years, ſurpaſſing himſelf and the expectation that was conceived of him, with his Authority, Induſtry and Intreaties, ſollicited and armed the Nobility and people of thoſe parts, among whom the Kings of *Navarre* his Anceſtors had very great dependencies, by the neighbourhood and near alliances which in ſome years paſt they had contracted in thoſe Provinces; to which authority and diligence of the Prince, the Admiral joining his wiſdom and experience, they had got within a few weeks above three thouſand Foot to follow their colours, with which, plundering all the Country, and giving up all things both ſacred and profane to the free pillage of the Souldiers, they continued daily increaſing and recruiting their Forces: There buſineſs being in this condition, the Count of *Montgomery* came with two thouſand Foot and eight hundred Horſe, all brave and valiant Souldiers, and quartered at *Condom*, whilſt the Princes and the Admiral having paſſed the *Dordogne* at St. *Marie*, went to try *Agen*, and the other Cities of *Gaſcony*; and though Monſieur *de Monluc*, by breaking a Mill on the upper part of the River, and letting it drive down the ſtream, had beaten to pieces the Bridge which they had made, and divided the Armies from one another; yet not having ſtrength to fight with either, the Count *Montgomery* his Forces paſſed over nevertheleſs in Boats, and joined with the Princes, whereby their Army grown powerful and conſiderable, they were abſolute Maſters of the Field, and over-ran all thoſe Countries without oppoſition. At the ſame time they had by the means of their adherents (beſides many other places) ſurpriſed *Niſmes*, a principal City of *Languedoc*, which afforded them an exceeding great conveniency of refreſhing themſelves; for though the King had given ſtrict Commiſſions, and had alſo ſent thither Monſieur *de la Valette*, a man of eminent valour and fidelity, with a good ſtrength of Horſe; yet did not his Officers oppoſe their progreſs and incurſions, becauſe the Mareſhal *d' Anville*, though he thought it not wiſdom to lay open his intentions unſeaſonably, the Hugonots being in ſuch an ebb of fortune, yet he deſired they ſhould riſe again and recover new Forces; for which cauſe he cunningly gave them many opportunities to arm and ſtrengthen them-

The Hugonots not being oppoſed, do great outrages and riſe with conſiderable forces.

1570. themſelves, and keeping cloſe in the City of *Tholouſe* upon pretended doubts of the Citizens fidelity, he permitted them to make Inſurrections, and to pillage all the Country round about; and Monſieur *de Monluc*, and Monſieur *de la Valette*, bitter Enemies of the Princes Faction, who for their own honours deſired to ſuppreſs thoſe reliques of the Hugonots, without the help of *d' Andille*, were too weak to execute their deſigns. But for all theſe advantages, the Princes and the Admiral were in very great perplexity of mind, becauſe they had received news from *England*, That by reaſon of the diſcovery of ſome intended conſpiracy againſt the Queens Perſon, that Kingdom was in ſuch diſtraction, that they could not expect much help from thence; beſides, they found not that readineſs which they had imagined in the Princes of *Germany*, and they knew that Nation could not move, to come into the Kingdom without a good ſum of money, to raiſe and furniſh their Army: They ſaw likewiſe that the Prince of *Orange*, who was ſent to ſolllicite the Proteſtants, was a great deal more careful of the Low-Country affairs (wherein he had a very great intereſt) than of the buſineſs of *France*, wherein he was not ſo much concerned: whereby finding themſelves deſtitute of moneys, and unprovided of all other things, without other means of living than what they got by rapine, which already was grown very ſcarce, every one having conveyed their goods into the ſtrong Cities; their horſes tired and lamed, not having ſo much as means to ſhooe them; for which cauſe they had loſt above four hundred of them by the way: they foreſaw that at laſt they muſt neceſſarily be ruined and deſtroyed by the Kings Forces, againſt whom in the end they could not poſſibly make reſiſtance, though for a few months they might be able to defend themſelves. For theſe reaſons the Princes with a deſire to conclude, but the Admiral only to gain time, by the means of the Queen of *Navarre*, began to introduce a Treaty of Peace, and to that end with great humility and ſubmiſſion, ſent Monſieur *de Beauvais*, and Monſieur *de Teligny* to Court, with a ſafe conduct, who nevertheleſs propounded conditions very far different from what the King intended to grant; (who holding himſelf as Conquerour, pretended they ſhould ſubmit themſelves wholly to his mercy) ſo they were ſent away without any hope of agreement; but they obtained, That Monſieur *de Byron* ſhould go back with them to the Princes Army, to know their final determination; who returned to the Court, with nothing but general terms; matters not being yet ripe, nor the Princes reſolution ſetled for any concluſion.

By reaſon of a conſpiracy diſcovered againſt the Queen of *England*; the Hugonots deſpair of help from from thence; whereupon a Treaty is begun, but not concluded.

But in the beginning of Spring-time, Fortune varying (as the chance of War uſeth to be uncertain) the ſtate of affairs varied alſo: for the Princes having paſt the ſharpneſs of the Winter in *Languedoc* with five or ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe, (for toil and hard duty had brought the Reiters to the number of but one thouſand two hundred) were come down from the Mountains to the banks of the *Rhoſne*, to enlarge themſelves in a more fertile the Country: the greateſt difficulty they had there, was to paſs the River; for Monſieur *des Gordes* the Kings Licutenant in *Daulphine*, had placed himſelf there with a conſiderable ſtrength, to hinder them: yet Monſieur *de Mombrun* knowing the Country very well, found means to paſs over his Regiment in boats, unknown to the Catholicks, and defeated them who advanced in diſorder to fight with him; in the heat of which Victory having made a Sconce cloſe by the River, Count *Lodowick* under favour of it, paſſed over firſt, and at laſt the Princes with all the Army; and the Admiral, who ſick of a malignant Feaver, made himſelf be carried, almoſt half dead, in an open Litter. Being paſt the *Rhoſne*, and come into the Country of *Foreſts*, thence into *Beurbonis* and the Dutchy of *Nevers*, ſacking and ſpoiling all they could, they endeavoured to draw near to *la Charite*, and the places adjoining, which yet held of their party, not only to re-inforce themſelves by the addition of thoſe Germans, but alſo to ſupply their want of Powder, and other Ammunition, whereof their ſtore was totally exhauſted, and without which their Arms ſeemed to no purpoſe. Their deſign was, when they were recruited, and provided with thoſe neceſſaries which they wanted, to over-run and pillage the Countries about *Paris*, to open to themſelves, by that laſt attempt, ſome way to a better and more tolerable ſtate of fortune, remembring that the Hugonots had never obtained advantageous conditions of agreement, but when they had made the ſeat of the War in the heart of the Catholick party, and brought both fear and damage unto the City of *Paris* it ſelf, whoſe danger and jealouſie had always extorted an aſſent to peace from thoſe that bore the ſway in the Government: But if they could not grow

The Admiral being ſick, is carried along with the Army in a Litter.

to

to a ſtrength ſufficient for the execution of that deſign, they reſolved to repaſs the *Loire*, and return into their old neſt *Xaintonge*; where ſince the departure of the Duke of *Anjou*, they heard the ſtate of their affairs was not a little amended; for Monſieur *de la Noue* with admirable conduct, and no leſs valour, ſallying out of *Rochelle*, had recovered many places near unto it, given a great defeat to *Pugalliard* one of the Kings Commanders, taken one of the Gallies of the Fleet, and over-running all the Country, ceaſed not ſometimes by cunning ſurprizes, ſometimes by open force to improve the condition of his party; and though (giving a ſudden aſſault to *Fountenay*) he had received a ſhot in the arm, for which it was neceſſarily to be cut off, yet being cured, and returned to the exerciſe of Arms fiercer than before, he kept the whole Country in fear and trouble. 1570.

The King by this means ſeeing the War renewed contrary to his expectation, and and the Duke of *Anjou*'s ſickneſs ſtill continuing, (for which cauſe he was gone to St. *Germains* a place of pleaſure few miles diſtant from *Paris*) was conſtrained to put his Army again in poſture to oppoſe the Princes, and as ſoon as it was in order, he unadviſedly reſolved to give the Command thereof to the Mareſhal *de Coſſe*; for (not daring to put it in the hands thoſe Subjects, who for greatneſs, power, adherents, or animoſity, were very much ſuſpected by him) he truſted it to a perſon, who not at all digreſſing from his wonted inclinations, gave greater opportunities to the Enemy; for inclining to *Calvin*'s Doctrine in his heart, he was nothing forward in proſecuting the Princes of the Blood; and being a man of a ſlow heavy nature, his intention was only to hinder the Hugonots from getting foot in thoſe Provinces which they aimed at, but not at all to venture the hazard of a Battel, and much leſs totally to ſuppreſs that party, as he eaſily might have done, finding the Princes far inferiour to him in ſtrength, without Cannon, without Victual, without Money, and their Souldiers with long marches quite wearied and diſheartned, having gone above three hundred leagues in the ſpace of a few months. This counſel was attributed by many to the Duke of *Anjou*, who by reaſon of his indiſpoſition not being able, or for ſome private ends not willing to make a perfect end of the War, would have been diſpleaſed that another ſhould enjoy the glory, and reap the fruits of his labours; wherefore rendring all the other Princes and Souldiers ſuſpected to the King, he cauſed the enterpriſe to be committed to one, who he was confident would make no great progreſs in it.

The Duke of *Anjou* being ſick, the Army is commanded by the Mareſhal *de Coſſe*, who inclining to *Calvin*'s Doctrine, makes no progreſs againſt the Hugonots.

The Princes were come to *Rene-le-Duc* a weak Town in *Burgundy*, with a purpoſe to take and ſack it, as they were neceſſitated to do, to relieve and feed their Souldiers, when the Mareſhal *de Coſſe* arrived with his Army, wherein were ſix thouſand Swiſſes, and as many French Foot, twelve pieces of Cannon, and little leſs than four thouſand Horſe; there was no doubt to men of underſtanding, but that fighting upon equal terms, the Princes would have the worſt, ſo great was the difference both in the number and vigour of their Forces; but the Mareſhal proceeding ſlowly according to his reſolution, carried himſelf with ſo much caution in the buſineſs, as gave them time and opportunity to poſſeſs themſelves of a place, ſtrong and advantageous enough to ſupply the defect of their weakneſs; for putting themſelves in order, they fronted towards a ſmall River, having a great Wood behind them, and lining the Hedges and Vineyards with their Foot, their Horſes were divided into many Squadrons, and ſet in the fitteſt places to defend themſelves, and receive their Enemies; where they ſuſtained the skirmiſh (though hot and furious) all the day without much loſs, after which trial of the Hugonots valour and conſtancy, the Kings Army proceeding ſo much the more warily, the Mareſhal either through the ſlowneſs of his own nature, or through his ſecret determination letting the Enemy ſtill gain the advantage of ground, went prolonging the event of things, perchance out of a belief, that the benefit of time would without danger force the Enemy to take ſome new deliberation; or elſe out of deſire that neceſſity ſhould force the King to hearken and conſent unto a peace. Now were the Princes ſlack in making uſe of theſe advantages, which his connivence offered them; for the Prince of *Navarre* commanding the Army in ſtead of the Admiral, (who being recovered of his dangerous ſickneſs, was now gathering ſtrength) laid hold of theſe opportunities with ſo much quickneſs and circumſpection, that fighting and skirmiſhing often, he ſtill retired into places of advantage, and maintaing his reputation with exceeding art, he made as if he would give their whole Army Battel, but yet avoided the Encounter, ſupplying his want of force by wary cunning reſolutions. But as ſoon as the Queen-Mother by many probable conjectures, found that

1570. Through ſuſpition of the Mareſhal *de Coſſe* and *d' Anville*, the Treaty is renewed.

the Mareſhal *de Coſſe* of the one ſide, and the Mareſhal *d' Anville* on the other, concealed ſome ſecret purpoſe in their minds, which was not hard for a Woman of ſo great wiſdom to diſcover, having made her Sons acquainted with it, ſhe began to perſwade them to lend their Ear to an Accommodation; knowing, that through the perfidiouſneſs of Men, and through the interreſſed dependencies of great Ones, the War was managed with great danger. This advice was much forwarded by the news out of *Germany*, where they began already to raiſe Forces under Prince *Caſimir* in favour of the Hugonots; beſides the ſcarcity, or rather neceſſity of money, whereof there was ſo great want, that they knew not how to find any means to clear the arrears of the Swiſſes and Italians, who were many pays behind; the ruines of the Countries and people, the ſmalneſs of the Kings Revenue waſted almoſt to nothing, the perpetual and general diſquietneſs of mind, the abundance of blood which was ſhed daily, were all no ſmall inducements to the ſame, having made the War ſo odious to every one, and the name of Peace ſo lovely and deſirable. Wherefore the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* being privately met together, reſolved to follow the old and ſo often interrupted counſels, and grant a Peace unto the Hugonots, to free the Kingdom of ſtrangers, and then by opportunity and artifices, to ſuppreſs the Heads of the Faction, who once removed out of the way, there was no doubt but the common people, who were only moved by their inſtigation, would yield of themſelves, and be reduced to perfect obedience. By theſe proceedings, they hoped to attain thoſe ends, which the falſeneſs of the great Ones would not ſuffer to be accompliſhed by force: a counſel often propounded, often received, but which (through the difficulty of execution, or infidelity of thoſe employed) had always failed of the happy deſired ſucceſs.

Nor were the minds of the Princes averſe from Peace, provided it were joined with their liberty and ſecurity; for they ſaw themſelves in all things reduced to extremity; Count *Volrade* with his Reiters, who while they were in thoſe remoter Provinces had been quiet and obedient, now that they were upon the confines of *Germany*, began to talk of leaving them: only the Admiral, conſtant to his own intentions, diſſwaded and avoided Peace as much as poſſibly he could; but now being brought to neceſſity, he was fain to yield perforce to thoſe counſels, which were moſt oppoſite to his nature and reſolution. Both parties therefore conſenting to embrace an Agreement, and the ſame *Beauvais* and *Teligny* being ſent again to Court, and with them Monſieur *de la Chaſſetiere* the Prince of *Navarre*'s Secretary, upon the eleventh day of *Auguſt* the Peace was concluded, wherein beſides Liberty of Conſcience, the publick profeſſion of the Reformed Religion, and pardon of all things paſt, with the accuſtomed clauſes inſerted in the former Treaties with the Hugonots, the King gave leave to the Princes and the Admiral to ſtay, for their ſecurity, either at *Rochelle*, *Cognac*, *la Charite*, or *Montauban*, which places they promiſed within the ſpace of two years to give up to his Majeſties Obedience, provided the Articles of Peace were obſerved, which were after publiſhed, and regiſtred in the Parliaments. The Princes and the Admiral, when at the confines of *Burgundy* they had diſmiſſed Count *Volrade* of *Mansfield* and the Reiters (whereof few remained of ſo great a number) without ever going to the Court, or ſo much as appearing in the Kings preſence, went ſtreight to *Rochelle*, not only to conſult with the Queen of *Navarre*, concerning matters that appertained to their common intereſts, but alſo for their better ſecurity to dwell there, and fortifie themſelves.

The Peace is concluded and publiſhed, but full of jealouſies.

But the Peace being concluded and eſtabliſhed, (though full of fears and jealouſies from the very firſt, as appeared plainly by the determination of the Princes and the Admiral not to go to the Court) the engines framed in the mind of the King and Queen, to bring the principal Hugonots into the net, began to move, and to work that by policy, which ſo often attempted by the means of War, had always proved fruitleſs and dangerous. And though theſe very ſtratagems had been formerly put in practice, and ſtill produced very little or no benefit, either becauſe treacherous Miniſters had revealed them, or becauſe the Queen had carried her ſelf with too much caution and reſpect, or becauſe the Hugonot Princes had always miſtruſted her nature and deſigns; yet now they hoped a more full and proſperous iſſue, becauſe theſe ſecret practices were not managed by any but ſuch as were deeply engaged, and the King himſelf alſo lent a hand to the work, who being now come to the age of two and twenty, of a reſolute nature, a ſpirit full of reſentment, and above all, an abſolute diſſembler,

dissembler, did of himself, though by the advice of his Mother, manage the business of the Government; whereby matters proceeded not only with more efficacy and security, but also with more wary and powerful counsels. The principal difficulty was, to beget a confidence in the Hugonot Lords, and from those jealousies which possest them, to bring them to such an assurance as might make them venture to come unarmed to the Court; for which cause (it being necessary to begin at the end) the King and Queen-Mother imparting their private thoughts only to the Duke of *Anjou*, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, the Duke of *Guise*, and *Alberto Gondi* Count of *Retz*, (who because greatly favoured, and from a small fortune exalted to a considerable estate, was very much trusted, and very faithful to them) they dispatched strict Commissions to all Magistrates and Governours of Provinces, for the executing and observing the Articles of Peace, in favour of the Hugonots, to whom they sent as far as *Rochelle*, the Mareshal *de Cosse*, who was now discovered to incline to their party, giving him not only authority to interpret, and to make the Edict to be fulfilled, in those places where it was doubtful and obscure, but also most ample command to assure the Princes and the Admiral of the Kings favour, and sincere intentions to observe his promises totally and inviolably: Nor were his actions different from his words; for the King being minded to grant the Hugonots all possible satisfaction, with severe Orders punished the Insurrections of the Catholicks, (which in *Provence*, *Daulphine* and *Normandy*, were many against the Hugonot Ministers) and in things doubtful, inclined always to interpret the Edict graciously to their advantage: on the other side, shewing himself toward the Catholick party, either too sharply severe, or of a disposition very little favourable. By which demonstrations he not only setled the minds of the common people, but even the Admiral himself, who was most obstinate in not believing, and firmly resolved not to trust them, began to conceive some hope, that the King, weary of the distractions and dangers of a Civil War, beginning now to govern of himself, and not by the counsels of his Mother, might at last desire sincerely to preserve and establish the Accommodation. 1570.

But to make the greater proof, and penetrate more deeply into the Kings intentions, the Princes and the Admiral having conferred of many things with the Mareshal *de Cosse*, dispatched to Court *Teligny*, *Briquemaut*, and *Arnauld Cavagnes* a Senator of the Parliament of *Tholouse*, and a principal Counsellor of the Admirals, to represent their many grievances to the King, and chiefly to insist, That the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and the *Guises* might be put from the management of affairs of State; shewing, that while matters of the Government were swayed and administred by them, they could not believe the agreement of peace would long continue; nor did right require, that coming to the Court, where those Lords remained with so great authority, they should put their safety into the hands of their bitter enemies. With these they joined many other demands; That the High Chancellor *de l' Hospital* should be recalled to the execution of his place: That the Marques *de Villars* (whose election to be Admiral was void by vertue of the Agreement) might not be Lieutenant to the Prince of *Navarre* in the Government of *Guienne*; but that the Prince might have leave to chuse such a one as he liked, *Villars* being no way acceptable to him, and most to be suspected by the Admiral of *Chastillon:* That the Prince of *Conde* might have the Castle of *Vallery* restored to him, then in possession of the Lords of *Achon*, who pretended a right unto it: That the Bastard of *Navarre* might have the Bishoprick of *Cominges*, already destined to one of the sons of Monsieur *de Lansac:* That the Queen of *Navarre* might have free dominion in her Country of *Armagnac*, where she might exercise her Jurisdiction without controul: Which things (especially the abasement of the House of *Lorain*) were propounded not so much for any hope they had to obtain them, (being neither included nor named in the Accommodation) as out of a desire, by the effects thereof, to find out more clearly the intentions of the King, and the designs of the Queen-Mother.

*Charles* the IX. marrieth *Isabella* the daughter of *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Anno* 1570.

These Lords arrived in a time when the Court was wholly taken up with the Celebration of the Kings Nuptials; who desirous of issue, had taken to Wife the Lady *Isabella*, second daughter of the Emperour *Maximilian* of *Austria:* and amongst those Feasts and Triumphs, these complaints, rather than pretensions of the Hugonot Lords, were treated of; which were favoured with much efficacy by the Ambassadors of the German Princes, who being come to congratulate the Kings Marriage, exhorted him earnestly to observe and maintain peace, which their Princes had learned by experience could not be kept, but by full Liberty of Conscience, and by a sincere and confi-

1570. dent Union between the Prince and all his Subjects. The King and Queen-Mother knew very well that theſe complaints and Propoſitions had no other ground nor end than to diſcover their intentions, and to ſearch into the bottom of their deſigns; and therefore purpoſing to amuſe the Hugonots by the ſame arts wherewith they themſelves were ſounded, after ſome weak denial, not to give them greater ſuſpicion by a too eaſie willingneſs, they conſented to many of the demands, and artificially gave probable hopes of yielding to the reſt. To the Queen of *Navarre* they granted liberty of diſpoſing all things in the County of *Armagnac*, by Laws and Ordinances after her own mind. They for a while ſuſpended the Commiſſion, and delayed the ſending of the Marqueſs *de Villars* into *Guienna*, reſerving themſelves to treat thereof more particularly with the Prince of *Navarre*. They granted many profits and Eccleſiaſtical revenues unto the Baſtard; promiſed the reſtitution of *Vallery* to the Prince of *Conde*; but excuſed themſelves by the age of the Chancellour *de l' Hoſpital*, not thinking his many years, and weak conſtitution, able to undergo ſuch a weight and multiplicity of buſineſs; and as concerning the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*, which was the higheſt and moſt difficult propoſition, they ſhewed a ſeeming deſire of conſenting to the Hugonots, but with the opportunity of occaſions which time ſhould offer, it not being juſt or reaſonable, nor peradventure ſafe, to deprive them all at once (without any cauſe) of thoſe Honours and Offices which they ſo long had poſſeſſed and executed. Notwithſtanding the King with effectual diſcourſes, alledged to the Commiſſioners, that the Government now conſiſted chiefly in himſelf: and though the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain* enjoyed ſome Offices in the Court, yet he would order them according to his own mind, nor did he ſuffer himſelf to be guided by any other perſon whatſoever; wherefore the Princes of *Bourbon*, the Admiral, and the reſt of their party, needed not fear to ſuffer any prejudice by the authority of their Adverſaries, who though they continued at Court, did now live there as Subjects, not as Maſters, having no power to do any thing more than duty and reaſon permitted, not daring to meddle with thoſe matters to which they were not called.

1571. With theſe Treaties on every ſide full of deep diſſimulation, began the year 1571: in the beginning whereof the Commiſſioners returning to *Rochelle*, carried back the Conditions they had obtained, and many interpretations of the Edict touching the exerciſe of Religion, all favourable to their party; wherewith the Princes being ſatisfied, and in part alſo the Queen of *Navarre*, only the Admiral remained doubtful and incredulous till he ſaw more real demonſtrations. But the King and the Queen deſirous once to accompliſh their determinations, reſolved to make uſe of more powerful Engines, and to try more ſecure efficacious means to induce the Hugonot Lords to come to Court: wherefore having ſent to *Rochelle* Monſieur *de Byron*, (who from Field-Mareſhal, was for his great valour made General of the Artillery) they propounded to the Queen of *Navarre* (for the better eſtabliſhment and confirmation of the ancient Conſanguinity and preſent Peace concluded with her) that the Lady *Marguerite* the Kings Siſter, ſhould be given in Marriage to her Son the Prince of *Navarre*, after which conjunction, there would be no more cauſe to doubt of the love and concord between them, nor of thoſe prerogatives and honours which as firſt Prince of the Blood did juſtly belong unto him, nor would any body be ſo bold as dare to interpoſe, or ſowe diſſention between two ſo near Allies: They propounded to the Admiral and the Count of *Naſſau*, (who for his ſecurity remained with the reſt at *Rochelle*) that the King, deſirous at laſt to make an end of Civil Broils, ſeeing that by reaſon of the warlike nature of his people, he could not ſo eaſily do it, without beginning at foreign War, to buſie the minds and employ the forces of his Souldiers, had reſolved in revenge of thoſe many injuries received, to make War with the King of *Spain* againſt the Low-Countries, which were full of Commotions, and ready to receive the Government of any other Prince, and therefore not knowing any more faithful Counſellors, or more proper inſtruments for that buſineſs, than the Admiral and the Count of *Naſſau*, (ſo principal a man baniſhed out of thoſe Countries) he deſired both of them to come to Court, that he might communicate his deſigns with them, and take that reſolution which by common conſent ſhould appear beſt grounded and moſt profitable. The King and the Queen believed (as it was true) that the hope of this War would work ſenſibly upon the Admiral, and therefore gave order to treat more effectually upon that than any other particular. Theſe things were propounded very diſcreetly by Monſieur *de Byron*, who though in the War by his great valour and induſtry,

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he had done much harm to the Hugonot Faction; yet by his counſels in the Treaties of Peace, he had ſhewed himſelf very favourable to their intereſts, perhaps through a ſecret envy which many at that time bore to the greatneſs of the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, who in that very conjuncture of time, having agreed ſecretly with the King, ſeemed to be very ill ſatisfied with the concluſion of the Peace, and the favours done to the Hugonots; but much more becauſe the Duke of *Guiſe*, having from his childhood conceived hopes to obtain in marriage the Lady *Marguerite* the Kings Siſter, and to that end had long courted and ſerved her, now ſaw her deſtined to the Prince of *Navarre* his Enemy: and it was true, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had been many years very much in love with the Lady *Marguerite*, and no leſs beloved by her again; whereupon it was commonly believed, that there was not only a particular friendſhip between them, but that already they had with reciprocal promiſes contracted themſelves together ſecretly: but whether the ardour of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s affection were in part abated, (as it often happens that men who are eaſily enamoured, as eaſily forget their paſſion, and prove unconſtant) or that governed by the counſel of his Uncle, he preferred his own greatneſs, and the Admirals ruine, before all other conſiderations; yielding at that time to the Kings deſires, he conſented privately that the Lady *Marguerite* ſhould marry the Prince of *Navarre*, but in outward appearance ſhewing himſelf infinitely offended and troubled at it, he increaſed the ſatisfaction and confidence of the Hugonot Lords: and the King with the like diſſimulation (a quality wherein he much excelled) ſeemed many times unſatisfied even with the Government of the Queen his Mother, of whom he knew the Hugonots were not a little miſtruſtful, and much more did he ſeem diſpleaſed with the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother; and to ſhew an open deſire by ſome occaſion to get him from the Court, he had moved the Admiral that by the means of Monſieur *de Beauvais* his Brother (who had been Cardinal, and lived then in *England*) there might be a treaty of marrriage begun, between the Duke of *Anjou* and Queen *Elizabeth*, with certain Conditions belonging to the matter, and exerciſe of Religion; which they did not ſo much with hope to conclude it, (for the Queens diſpoſition was ſufficiently known to encline but little to the yoke of Matrimony, and to the Government of a ſtranger Husband) as partly to beget more aſſurance in the minds of the Hugonots; partly to ſhew a deſire of putting the Duke of *Anjou* as far as poſſibly could be from the Government of the Kingdom; partly alſo out of a ſuſpicion that the Queen of *England* (the minds of women being variable) might perchance agree to marry with the Prince of *Navarre*, who was of her own Religion, and upon whom ſhe might impoſe ſuch Laws and Conditions as ſhe pleaſed, which would ſtrengthen the Hugonot party with new intereſts, and more powerful aſſiſtance; for which cauſe the Duke of *Anjou* was propounded, that in caſe ſhe reſolved to marry, ſhe might have occaſion to make choice of him, not only becauſe he was a greater Prince, but alſo of greater reputation, and riper years, and which beſt might ſuit with the Queens inclinations of a perſon moſt exactly handſom. And becauſe the Lady *Marguerite* not conſidering the intereſts of State, but led wholly by her own affection, refuſed any other Husband but the Duke of *Guiſe*, it happened that one night when there was a Ball, he coming into the great Hall gallantly attired, and adorned with exceeding rich Jewels, (the grace of all which received an addition from his affable behaviour and noble carriage) the King, who ſtood at the door, (without ſhewing any of his accuſtomed favours) asked him, Whither he went? to which he anſwering, That he came to ſerve his Majeſty; the King replyed, That he had no need of his ſervice; which, whether it was ſpoken in jeſt or earneſt, touched him ſo to the quick, that the next day he reſolved to take to Wife *Katherine de Cleves*, Siſter to the Dutcheſs of *Nevers*, and Widow to the Prince of *Porcien*, who, though of very noble Blood, and enriched with a plentiful Dowry, was in every reſpect, but eſpecially in beauty, much inferiour to the Kings Siſter: but his ambition of governing, and deſire to revenge his Fathers death, the perſwaſions of his Uncle, and chiefly fear to offend the King, were more powerful with him than any other conſiderations whatſoever. 1571.

The Kings anſwer to the Duke of *Guiſe*. The Duke of *Guiſe* reſolves to marry *Katherine de Cleves*.

Theſe practices were carried with ſo much efficacy and diſſimulation, that not only moſt part of the Hugonot Lords were perſwaded of their reality, but the Pope himſelf began to grow jealous of them; for the King and the Queen his Mother, for fear they ſhould be diſcovered, had not imparted to any body thoſe their ſo ſecret counſels: whereupon the Pope, doubtful of their proceedings, did not only deny to give a Diſpenſation for the Marriage between the Prince of *Navarre* and the Kings Siſter, but alſo

1571. alſo ſent Commiſſion to his Nephew Cardinal *Aleſſandrino*, then his Legat in *Spain*, to go with all poſſible ſpeed to the Court of *France*, to break the Treaty of that Match, and to perſwade the King to renew the War with the Hugonots. Nor was King *Philip* without ſuſpicion of the French deſigns; for he ſaw that many ſhips rigg'd and mann'd in the port of *Rochel*, the King allowing, or not oppoſing it, made incurſions into the *Indies*, and the coaſts of *Spain*; he perceived alſo a gathering together of Souldiers about the confines of *Picardy*; who under Hugonot Captains, gave out that they were to go into the Low-Countries to aſſiſt the Prince of *Orange*, with the other Lords and people there up in Arms; for which cauſes, beſides having made complaint at the Court of *France*, whereto he only got ambiguous general anſwers; he exhorted the Legat *Aleſſandrino* to be exceeding careful to ſound and diſcover the intentions of the King of *France*. But the Duke of *Savoy* was in greater trouble: for beſides the ſame jealouſies which gave ſuſpicion to the others, it fell out about that time, that the Admiral being left a Widower by the death of *Charlotte de la Val* his firſt Wife, married Madam *d' Antramont*, a very rich Lady of his Country, who contrary to the Dukes will and command, was gone to *Rochel* to conſummate the Marriage, deſirous (as ſhe ſaid) to be ſecond *Martia* of that ſecond *Cato:* for which reaſon the Duke greatly fear-ed, leſt the Admiral, ſo great and politick a Contriver, ſhould by help of the near-neſs of *Geneva*, kindle the ſame fire in *Savoy* that he had done in the Kingdom of *France*.

The Duke of *Savoy* grows ſuſpicious of the Admiral for having againſt his will married Madam *d'Antramont*, a Savoyard.

But theſe reſpects ſlackened not the proceedings, nor interrupted the counſels of the King and Queen-Mother, being aſſured that the concluſion would at laſt ſatisfie all the world of their intentions: Wherefore, perſevering in their reſolution they had taken, they purpoſed to go to *Blois*, that being in a place ſo much nearer, they might more conveniently treat with the Princes that were at *Rochel*, amongſt whom were various opinions; for Count *Lodowick* (as baniſhed men are commonly inclined to hope, and as one who had leſs offended, and was leſs engaged to the King than any of the reſt) was willing to go to Court, to ſollicite and reſolve upon the War which the King made ſhew to deſire againſt the Spaniards: but the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Admiral, who by their conſciouſneſs of things paſt, meaſured their prognoſticks of the future, were ſtill averſe and doubtful; neither willingly conſenting to the Princes Marriage, nor to the journey to Court. Wherefore Count *Lodowick* called, and encouraged by the King, took a reſolution to go thither alone, but very privately, to negotiate his own buſineſs by himſelf, to ſettle a ſafe coming for the reſt, and to ripen thoſe deſigns which with ſo much approbation he nouriſhed in his mind, of the Hugonots deſired enterpriſe againſt *Flanders*. Wherefore departing from *Rochel* with only two in his company, giving out that he went to his Brother the Prince of *Orange*, when he was a few miles diſtant from the Town, he took poſt, and arrived by night ſecretly at the Court: where being received with many demonſtrations of favour and affection, he treated confidently with the King himſelf, not aſſiſted by any of his Council, concerning the propoſitions of his party; for *Charles*, the better to increaſe a confidence in them, continuing to make ſhew of governing his Kingdom by counſels very different from thoſe which his Mother had followed during his minority. The concluſions of which meeting were, That the Prince of *Navarre* ſhould have the Lady *Marguerite* in Marriage, with 400000 Duckets; whereof 300000 ſhould be paid by the King, and ſufficient ſecurity given for them; the reſt to be paid by the Queen his Mother, and the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Alencon* his Brothers; That the Low-Country deſign againſt the Spaniards, ſhould be put in practice with all ſpeed; in which War Count *Lodowick* ſhould go before, and order matters with thoſe that were baniſhed out of *Flanders*, and the Admiral ſhould be Captain-General of the enterprize; concerning which conſultations, he was preſently to come to Court, having liberty for the guard of his Perſon to keep about him fifty Gentlemen, that might wear all kinds of arms, even in the City of *Paris*, or whereſoever elſe the Court ſhould be; and that to gratifie Count *Lodowick*, the Kings Gariſon and Government ſhould be drawn out of the City of *Orange*, and left free to the Prince his Brother, who might abſolutely diſpoſe of it and his Subjects as he pleaſed, the King not medling in the Government or Superiority to which he had pretended; which things, with many other of leſs moment, being granted and eſtabliſhed, Count *Lodowick* returned to *Rochel* to perſwade the Queen of *Navarre* and the Admiral to come to Court; and the King departing from *Blois*, went into the Countries about *Paris*, where feigning only to intend hunt-

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ing, and other youthful pleaſures, he gave time leave to ripen the counſels which had been taken to procure that meeting; for the facilitating whereof, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brothers, ſeeming angry and troubled for the honours and favours which the King ſo liberally granted to all thoſe of the Hugonot Faction, left the Court; and the King, either ſhewing himſelf unſatisfied with them, or little to regard them and their merits; received nearer to his perſon, and into a more eminent degree of managing the affairs of State, the Mareſhals of *Momorancy* and *Coſſe*; both partial to, and by nearneſs of blood and friendſhip intereſſed with the Princes and the Admiral: wherefore the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who had newly married one of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Siſters, ſhewing the ſame diſlike with the reſt of the kindred, was alſo gone from Court, as likewiſe the Prince of *Daulphine* his Son. 1571.

But about that time the Kings deſigns which with ſo much care and diligence had been kept ſecret, were like unexpectedly to have been diſcovered. The Duke of *Anjou* did much favour, and was very familiar with Monſieur *de Ligneroles*, a young Gentleman of very acute wit, and high ſpirit, who often diſcourſing intimately with the Duke of the preſent ſtate of affairs, induced him at laſt to impart the Kings moſt ſecret deſigns to him; partly, becauſe he was moſt confident of his fidelity; partly, to hear his opinion upon ſo important a buſineſs, and to receive his advice and counſel in that, as he was wont in many other things: *Ligneroles* by means of his favour being grown into ſuch eſteem, that the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and even the King himſelf made great account of his wit and courage. He being one day in the Chamber with the King, who much diſpleaſed at the high inſolent demands of ſome of the Hugonot Lords after he had diſmiſſed them with ſhew of favour, letting looſe his anger, and laying aſide diſſimulation, ſhewed ſome tokens of being extreamly offended; either moved with ambition to appear not ignorant of the neareſt ſecrets, or with the lightneſs incident to youth, which often over-ſhoots diſcretion, told the King in his ear, that his Majeſty ought to quiet his mind with patience, and laugh at their inſolence and temerity; for within a few days, by that meeting which was almoſt ripe, he would have brought them all into the net, and puniſhed them at his own pleaſure: with which words the Kings mind being ſtruck in the moſt tender ſenſible part, he made ſhew not to underſtand his meaning, and retired into his private lodgings; where, full of anger, grief and trouble, he ſent to call the Count *de Retz*, thinking that he, who was likewiſe familiar with *Ligneroles*, had revealed this ſecret to him; and with ſharp injurious words reproached him with the honours and benefits he had conferred upon him, threatning to take vengeance on that perfidiouſneſs, wherewith forgetful of ſo great favours, he had betrayed him, and diſcovered his moſt ſecret intentions; but the Count conſtantly denying it, and offering to be ſhut up in priſon till the truth were known, he called the Queen-Mother, and complained grievouſly to her, that ſhe had made known thoſe thoughts which he with ſuch patience, and conſtraint of his own mind, forcing his nature, had ſo long diſſembled: to which words the Queen ſmiling anſwered, That ſhe needed not to learn the art of ſecreſie from him, and that he ſhould look whether by his own impatience he had not diſcovered ſomething of that, which he thought to be revealed by others: the King (as he was exceeding cholerick) fretting and ſtorming very impatiently, ſent at laſt for the Duke of *Anjou*; who, without further urging, confeſſed freely, that he had imparted the buſineſs to *Ligneroles*, but withal aſſured them they needed not fear, that he would ever open his lips to diſcover ſo weighty a ſecret. No more he ſhall not, anſwered the King, for I will take order that he ſhall be diſpatched before he have time to publiſh it. The Duke of *Anjou* either not daring to oppoſe that ſo ſudden, reſolute determination, or elſe angry at the lightneſs of *Ligneroles*, and for fear of the worſt not caring to divert it; the King ſent to call *George de Villequier* Viſcount of *Guerchy*, who (as Maſters are ſeldom ignorant how their Servants ſtand affected) he knew bear a ſecret emulous hatred to *Ligneroles*, and commanded him by all means to endeavour the taking away of his life that very day; with which reſolution the King preſently taking horſe, with the Duke of *Anjou*, as he often uſed to do without ſtaying for any attendants, went to hunt in the fields and woods not far off; which the Courtiers no ſooner heard, but as faſt as their horſes could be brought, they followed ſeverally ſtragling after the cry of the Hounds, and *Ligneroles* by their example inſtantly did the ſame; but the Viſcount *de la Guerchy* and Count *Charles* of *Mansfield*, who was privy to his purpoſe, mounted upon fiery unquiet horſes, hunted in the ſame company with *Ligneroles*,

*Ligneroles* killed by the Kings command for ſhewing that he knew that which the King deſired keep ſecret.

1571. *Ligneroles*, and drew near under colour of talking and diſcourſing with him; which while he endeavoured to avoid, not being able to keep his horſe in order among theirs that was ſo quarrelſom and unruly; and while they perſiſted ſtill following him as it were in ſport, they preſently came to high language, and then to challenges; whereupon the Viſcount ſuddenly drawing his ſword, and Count *Charles* at the ſame inſtant, they fell ſo furiouſly upon him, that before he could be reſcued by thoſe that came to help him, they left him dead upon the place; which being come to the Kings knowledge, with great ſhew of anger and trouble, he cauſed them both to be taken and impriſoned in the Palace: from whence in proceſs of time, by the interceſſion of Monſieur *d' Angouleſme*, the Kings Baſtard-brother, and by particular grace and favour they were after ſet at liberty.

This buſineſs being paſſed over, which for a while had troubled the whole Court, the next was to overcome the obſtinacy of the Lady *Marguerite*, who more fix'd than ever to her former thoughts, denyed now abſolutely to marry at all, ſince ſhe was forbidden to take the Duke of *Guiſe*; to which the Popes continued denyal of a diſpenſation being added, the concluſion of that marriage remained ſtill uncertain. The Queen-Mother, by the means of the Biſhop of *Salviati* the Popes Nuncio, to whom ſhe was near allied, endeavoured to perſwade them at *Rome*, that the effecting of that match would conclude to the good of the Catholick Religion; for, to draw the Prince of *Navarre* into ſo near a relation and confidence with the King, would be an occaſion that not only he being young, and eaſie to be won to better opinions, would come into the boſom of the Church; but alſo infinite others; part moved by his example; and part out of fear to loſe ſo conſiderable a prop as the firſt Prince of the Blood, would do the like; that they often had tryed in vain to overcome the Hugonots with ſharpneſs and violence; therefore it was now fit to try ſome gentle remedies. But when they ſaw the Popes mind could not be changed by perſwaſions, they began to try if they could alter it by neglect; the King and the Queen ſaying openly, That being neceſſitated to make a match with one of another Religion, they would do it howſoever, without caring for any diſpenſation; nor would they ſuffer the peace and quietneſs of their Kingdom to be diſturbed, and by the Popes obſtinacy involved in the former wars, dangers and inconveniencies: Which things confirming the aſſurance and boldneſs of the Hugonots, the Admiral in the end perſwaded by Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, and the counſels of *Teligny* his Son-in-law, and of *Cavagnes*, a man great in his eſteem; but much more by the fear of being prevented by the Queen of *Navarre* and the Princes, who already were ſetting things in order to go to Court, took his journey with a great train of his Dependants, and came unto the King, before whom humbly bowing himſelf, and kneeling down in token of greater humility, he was received with as great demonſtrations of love and affection. It was very remarkable, that the Admiral, who was grown old in ambitious thoughts, and high pretenſions, now conſcious of the errours he had committed, ſhould in the Theater of all *France*, and in the very preſence of his own principal adherents, bring himſelf to ſo publick a pennance as to be ſeen with tears in his eyes, kneeling at the feet of that King which in times paſt he had ſo heinouſly offended and deſpiſed. But it was much more remarkable, that a King ſo young, and of ſo haſty cholerick a nature, ſeeing the man before him who ſo often had brought the power of his Crown and Kingdom to ſuch doubtful hazards, ſhould know ſo perfectly how to diſſemble, that calling him Father, and lifting him up with his own hand, he made all the World believe he was heartily and ſincerely reconciled to him.

The Admiral after ſo many wars with the King, proſtrates himſelf at his feet, and is graciouſly received

After theſe great demonſtrations of favour, followed effects correſpondent to them; for the King commanded 100000 Franks, which amount to ten thouſand pounds *ſterling*, to be paid him preſently out of the Treaſury, to make up thoſe particular loſſes which he had ſuffered during the late Wars; and aſſigned him an Annuity of thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Revenues which belonged to the Cardinal his Brother, who died in *England* a little before that time; and gave him all his rich and coſtly houſhold-ſtuff, which, as the goods of a Criminal, had lately been confiſcate: And though all other Admirals in Council and publick Ceremonies had ever given place to the Mareſhals of *France*; yet, for his greater honour, it was the Kings pleaſure that he ſhould ſit next Monſieur *de Momorancy*, who was the firſt Mareſhal, and above all the reſt. To *Teligny*, *Cavagnes*, and to all his dependants and followers, the King voluntarily did many favours; and at Councils, in his own lodgings, and abroad in publick he was

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ſtill encompaſſed by many of them. All graces and favours were granted by their interceſſion, nor was there any thing ſo difficult, which the Admiral with a word might not bring to a ſpeedy and happy iſſue; which was proved in the perſon of *Villandry*, a young Gentleman, who playing with the King, had ſo exceedingly offended him, that he was therefore condemned to die; for having denyed his pardon to the Queen-Mother, the Queen his Wife, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, at the firſt word of the Admiral he was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his former degree of familiarity in the Court. With this aſſurance, and to increaſe it the more, the enterprize of *Flanders* was preſently ſet on foot; for the effecting whereof, the Mareſhal of *Momorancy* was ſent into *England*, to treat of a reciprocal confederacy with the Queen; and the Count of *Schombergh* into *Germany* to exhort the Proteſtant Princes to accept penſions, and to unite themſelves with the Crown of *France* againſt the Spaniards. Theſe things reſolved on, which all were managed by the Admirals advice and direction, he with the Kings leave went to *Chaſtillon* to order his private affairs, and ſo return to Court to perfect matters already agreed upon. 1571.

About this time, being the beginning of the Year 1572. arrived the Legat *Aleſſandrino*, to hinder the progreſs of theſe reſolutions, which tended manifeſtly not only to the ruine of the Spaniards, then imployed for the defence of Chriſtendom, in War by Sea againſt the Turk; but much more to the deſtruction of the Catholick Religion, and the eſtabliſhment of the Hugonots. Great were the conteſtations that paſſed in this interview; for on the one ſide, the Legats reaſons were home and evident; and on the other ſide, the Kings anſwers were ſo obſcure and ambiguous, that the buſineſs ſeemed not poſſible to be determined, without alienating his mind utterly from the Pope; to whom it appeared moſt intolerable, that the moſt Chriſtian King, who he hoped (mindful of ſo great aſſiſtance received from him) would have favoured the Chriſtian League now by making an unſeaſonable War againſt the King of *Spain*, ſhould be an occaſion of breaking it, and a means of giving ſo great opportunities to the common Enemy, of doing miſchief to all Chriſtendom: But it ſeemed no leſs ſtrange unto him, that ſo much money having been ſpent, and ſo much blood ſhed of late years to ſuppreſs the Calviniſt party, the King now perverting all his old determinations, ſhould put all good Catholicks away from him, and of a ſudden give himſelf a prey to the Hugonots, treating Leagues and Confederacies with foreign Princes excommunicated by the Apoſtolick Sea, to the damage and prejudice of thoſe that were moſt firm and affectionate to the Romiſh Religion. Nor was he at all ſatisfied by the Kings anſwers; who ſometimes urging the weak and troubleſom eſtate of his Kingdom, excuſed the peace concluded with the Hugonots; ſometimes with obſcure words that might receive a double interpretation, affirmatively promiſed, that at laſt all ſhould end to the ſatisfaction of the Pope, and the benefit of the Catholick Religion; which nothing abated the doubtfulneſs of the Legats mind, ſeeing his words and actions ſo different. Yet ceaſed not the King with moſt effectual demonſtrations to try all means poſſible to content him, honouring him in publick, making much of him in private, uſing all manner of art and induſtry, even to the preſenting him a wonderful rich Jewel with his own hands; which the Cardinal refuſed to accept, ſaying, That by his Majeſties unexpected falling from the Zeal of the Catholick Religion, all his moſt valued and precious Jewels were no more than dirt in the eſtimation of all good Catholicks: the ſharpneſs of which words, and many other open ſigns of diſtaſte, were not a little reſented by the King, knowing the bottom of his own intentions. Nor could this ſo hard a knot have been unlooſed without a manifeſt breach, eſpecially becauſe the diſpenſation was abſolutely denyed, had it not been for the news of the Popes deſperate ſickneſs, for which cauſe the Legat departing ſuddenly, buſineſſes remained ſtill uncertain, and undetermined. 1572.

The King diſſembles ſo with the Hugonots, that he is ſuſpected by ſtranger Princes.

Cardinal *Aleſſandrino* Legat to *Pius Quintus*, refuſeth a rich jewel preſented to him by the Kings own hand.

*Pius Quintus* being dead, about the latter end of *April*, *Gregory* the Thirteenth, of a more mild eaſie nature, ſucceeded in the Chair; who in the beginning of his Papacy, perſwaded by the Cardinal of *Lorain*, (who partly to ſeem diſcontented at the Court of *France*; partly, to manage the preſent affairs with more ſecrecy, was gone to *Rome*) granted the Bull of diſpenſation; but in ſuch form as did not then ſatisfie the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and after brought in queſtion the validity of the Contract: but the King and Queen not looking ſo narrowly to the Diſpenſation, having the Popes conſent in what manner ſoever it were, ſollicited now to bring it to a concluſion; for the Lady *Marguerite*, partly by her Mothers perſwaſions, partly by her Brothers threat-

*Gregory* the 13 ſucceeding *Pius Quintus*, granteth a Diſpenſation for the marriage between the Prince of *Navarre* and the Kings Siſter.

1572. nings, partly not to bring her honour in queſtion, which already was ſomething doubtfully ſpoken of; though ſhe gave no abſolute conſent yet denied no more ſo openly to marry the Prince of *Navarre*.

But all theſe practices being ripe, in the beginning of *June* the Queen of *Navarre* comes to *Paris*, received with ſo much joy of the whole Court, that *France* had not ſeen a day of greater rejoycing in many years. Two days after arrived the Prince of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, accompanied with Count *Lodowick*, the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault*, and all the Trains of the Princes, being the chief Commanders, Cavaliers and Gentlemen that had held the Hugonot party: among which, *Piles*, *Briquemaut*, and *Pluvialt*, Colonels, who in the courſe of that War had by their Valour acquired ſo much glory and renown; the Sieur *de Guerchy*, he that defended *Sanſerre*, the Marqueſs *de Renel*, the Sieurs *de Noue*, *de Colombiere*, and *Lavardin*, famous Commanders of Horſe, and a great many other men of quality and reputation.

The League Offenſive and Defenſive was already concluded with the Queen of *England*; Prince *Caſimir* and *William* his Brother, both Sons of the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, were already perſwaded to receive penſions from the King, when the Admiral, forgetting all his former jealouſies, full of incredible pride and intolerable pretenſions, returned to Court with a great train of his adherents; and to put the King upon a neceſſity of making War with the Spaniard, even againſt his will, he ſo ordered the matter, that Count *Lodowick*, and the Sieurs *de Genlis*, and *de la Noue*, who were gotten to the confines of *Picardy*, where a great many Hugonot Gentlemen and Souldiers were privately drawn together, ſuddenly ſurprized the City of *Mons* in the County of *Heinault*, a principal place, and of very great importance to the Provinces of *Flanders*; which raſhneſs, though it inwardly much troubled the Kings mind, yet with admirable patience ſeeming very well pleaſed with, he thereby took occaſion preſently to diſpatch *Philippo Strozzi* with a great many old Companies into places near about *Rochel*, under pretence of imbarking them in Ships, that were made ready in that Port, to paſs them over to thoſe coaſts of the Low-Countries which were held by the Confederates of *Flanders*; but indeed they were to be ready upon all occaſions to ſurprize and poſſeſs themſelves of that City, as ſoon as the preſent deſigns were brought to maturity: Thus with cunning policies they went deluding the ſubtilties of the Admiral, who held in the higheſt eſteem, as Arbitrator of the Court and Government, ſeemed alone to rule the *Genius*, and direct the will of the King of *France*.

The Admiral cauſeth the Hugonots to ſurpriſe the City of *Mons* in *Heinault* in *Flanders*, to force the King to a War with *Spain*: he is diſpleaſed, but diſſembles it.

And becauſe to begin a War of ſo great moment, it appeared neceſſary to take away the obſtacle of civil diſcords, the King earneſtly intreated the Admiral, that the enmities between him and the Houſe of *Lorain*, might by ſome means or other be accommodated; which was propounded for no other end, but becauſe the help of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Aumale*, and the forces of the Catholick party were neceſſary for the execution of the deſigns that were in agitation; they ſought that colour to bring them to the Court without ſuſpicion of the Hugonots. Under this pretence the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain* being come to *Paris* with all the train of their Faction; they promiſed, as alſo did the Admiral, in the preſence of the King, that they would no more offend one another, referring all their differences either to his Majeſties arbitrement, or to the opportunity of other times, when the King and his Council ſhould think fit: by which ambiguous promiſes, the inveterate hatred and enmity which had ſo many years continued between them, and which was the original cauſe of all the preſent miſeries and troubles, ſeemed rather ſmothered for a time, than utterly extinguiſhed.

The Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain* and the Admiral are ſeemingly made friends before the King.

But now matters were not only brought to the point intended, but the execution of them could no longer be deferred; for on the one ſide the Ambaſſador of the Catholick King after the taking of *Mons*, had not only left the Court, but was alſo gone out of the Kingdom: and on the other ſide, the Hugonots without expecting further order or Commiſſion, tumultuouſly ran to the aid of their adherents, with too great boldneſs, and too dangerous commotions; whereby, contrary to the Kings intentions, the War with the Spaniards was kindled in the Confine of his Kingdom.

The War againſt the Spaniards breaks out againſt the Kings will

The firſt thunderbolt of ſo great a tempeſt fell upon the Queen of *Navarre*; who being a Woman and a Queen, they thought fitteſt to take her away by poiſon; adminiſtred as was reported in the perfume or trimming of a pair of Gloves; but in ſuch ſe-

The Queen of *Navarre* is poiſoned with a pair of gloves.

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cret manner, and in ſuch juſt proportion, that having worn them a while, a violent Feaver ſeiſed upon her, which ended her life within four days. She was a Lady of a moſt high ſpirit and invincible courage, much above the condition of the female ſex; by which vertues ſhe not only bore up the degree and eſtimation of a Queen, though ſhe had no Kingdom; but aſſaulted by the perſecutions of ſo many, and ſo powerful Enemies, ſhe ſuſtained the War moſt undauntedly; and finally, in the greateſt dangers, and moſt adverſe fortune of her party, ſhe built up that greatneſs of her Son, from whence, as from the firſt root, in after years ſprung forth the exaltation of his State, and the renowned glory and immortality of his Name; qualities (beſides her chaſtity and magnificence) worthy eternal praiſe, if (thinking it lawful for her, without the help of learning to ſearch into, and expound the deepeſt myſteries in Divinity) ſhe had not obſtinately perſiſted in the opinions of Calviniſm. Queen *Jane* being dead, becauſe the Hugonots began to ſuſpect ſomething by that ſo unexpected accident, the King knowing that the poyſon had only wrought upon her brain, cauſed the body to be cut up in open view, the parts whereof being all very ſound, the head, under colour of reſpect, was left untouched, and the teſtimony of skilful Phyſicians divulged, that through the malignity of her Feaver ſhe died of a Natural Death. 1572.

The Prince of *Navarre* aſſumes the title of King.

After her Funeral, her Son aſſumed the Arms and Title of King of *Navarre*; but his Marriage with the Kings Siſter was deferred for a few days, not to mingle joy unſeaſonably with that grief for which the King himſelf and the whole Court had put on mourning; about which time the Citizens of *Rochel* (conſtant in not truſting any body, not willing to return unto the Kings obedience, but fortifying continually, and even in the midſt of Peace providing all things neceſſary for War) perſwaded the Prince and the Admiral to retire from the Court: which exhortations, as well of the Rochellers, as thoſe of *Geneva*, and others of that party, were more earneſtly reiterated after the Queen of *Navarre*'s death; every one thinking that ſo ſudden an accident was the unhappy omen of an unfortunate concluſion. But the Admiral in his preſent felicity having utterly forgot his ancient Maxims, and wholly laid aſide his former diffidence; either believing that by his wiſdom he had really gotten the Kings favour, and eclipſed the credit of all others; or deluded by the cunning diſſimulations of the Court; or elſe drawn by the hidden power of Fate, preſumed ſo much upon himſelf and his own authority, and was ſo infinitely pleaſed with the thoughts of the enterprize of *Flanders*, that he was far from doubting any ſiniſter event; but deſpiſing all others, and even the King alſo, he eſteemed himſelf the Oracle of *France*, and believed himſelf with ſmall pains able to overturn all the attempts and practices of his enemies; and if any of his friends put him in mind of the *Guiſes* being at Court with ſo great a train, and the number of Ships of War and Souldiers which were made ready by *Strozzi*, and the Baron *de la Garde* about *Rochel*; he anſwered, Thoſe preparations were made by his advice, to make incurſions upon the coaſts of *Flanders*; and the preſence of the *Guiſes* at the Marriage, was only to give them ſome little ſatisfaction, being at one inſtant deprived of the Kings favour, and the management of affairs of State; that they ſhould neither fear nor doubt, for his wiſdom and counſel had at laſt overcome all the malice of his Enemies; and now that he had once ſet foot in the counſels, he was ſure his decrees ſhould be the guide and rule of the whole Government for the time to come: with which conceit he was ſo puffed up, that growing to an unmeaſurable height of pride, he ſpake ſo boaſtingly of himſelf, that he became almoſt intolerable to his neareſt and moſt partial friends; and was often heard to ſay, that neither *Alexander* the Great, nor *Julius Cæſar* could be compared to him; for both of them had always had favourable and proſperous ſucceſs; but he having loſt four Battels, had in ſpite and to the ſhame of ill fortune, by his valour and policy, always riſen again more dreadful and terrible to his Enemies: and laſtly, when all men thought he had no way left to ſave his life, but to flee, and wander about the world, he had managed his affairs ſo well, as brought his Enemies to a neceſſity, not only of making peace with him, but alſo of granting him conditions more proper for a Conquerour, than one that was overcome. Theſe diſcourſes were not approved by ſome, and amongſt others, *Langoiran*, who reſolved to be gone; and when he took his leave, being asked by the Admiral why he went; *I go* (ſaid he) *becauſe I ſee you too much made on, and I had rather ſave my ſelf with fools, than periſh with thoſe that are too wiſe.*

The Admiral prefers himſelf before *Julius Cæſar* and *Alexander* the Great.

1572. In the interim, the time appointed for the marriage being come, it was celebrated the eighteenth day of *Auguſt* in this manner: The King of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Marguerite* led by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and accompanied by the King and the whole Court, went to *Noſtre-Dame*, the Cathedral Church of *Paris*; where having left the Lady *Marguerite* kneeling at the Altar, (the Cloth of ſtate being there ſet up) the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and the other Hugonot Lords went out of the Church, that they might not be preſent at Maſs; which being ended, and they recalled by the Mareſhal *d' Anville*, the Marriage was celebrated by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*; in which many obſerved, that the Lady *Marguerite* being asked if ſhe would take the King of *Navarre* to be her Husband, anſwered not one word; but the King her Brother having with his hand made her yield and bow down her head, it was reported that ſhe ſhewed her conſent by that action; though ſhe both before and after, when ſhe could ſpeak freely, declared always, that not only to be deprived of the Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom ſhe had formerly engaged her promiſe, but alſo to make his capital Enemy her Husband, were things wherewith ſhe could not poſſibly bring her mind to be contented. But the King of *Navarre*, either through the goodneſs of his diſpoſition, much liker to his Fathers candour, than the hardened pertinacy of his Mother; or elſe the condition of the times counſelling him to diſſemble, not only carried himſelf with infinite reverence and reſpect towards the Queen his Wives Mother, and the King his Brother-in-Law; but with a great deal of nobleneſs and diſcretion bore alſo with the humours and frowardneſs of his Wife, ſhewing himſelf ſo liberal and courteous to every one, and ſo full of thoughts of honour worthy the greatneſs of his birth, that ſtopping the mouth of Envy, which had ſo long been open againſt the Princes of the Blood, his Name formerly ſo deteſted at the Court, was now at laſt become popular: which noble demeanour ſpreading far abroad, and winning the minds of the King and the Queen-Mother, who beſides the powerful tie of Blood, conceived dayly greater hopes of his goodneſs and moderation, was likewiſe the cauſe that wrought them to a reſolution of ſparing his life and the Prince of *Conde*'s; as well not to imbrue their hands in the ſhedding of the Blood Royal, (ſo venerable to the French Nation) as alſo for the aſſured hopes, that being taken out of the company, and ſeparated from the converſation of factious men, they might prove as great pillars to uphold the Royal Family for the future, as in times paſt they had been hinderances to the peace and quiet of the Kingdom: Thus, either becauſe of their ingenuity, or becauſe the hidden will of Heaven had ſo decreed, a reſolution was taken to ſpare the lives of the Princes of the Blood; and to deliver them from the counſels and government of the Admiral, the King commanded the Duke of *Guiſe* that the intended deſigns ſhould be put in execution.

The Lady *Marguerite* being asked if ſhe would have the King of *Navarre* for her Husband, anſwered not; but being urged by the King, bowed her head.

The King takes order with the Duke of *Guiſe* to have the deſigns put in execution.

The Duke of *Guiſe* was come to Court, with the Duke of *Aumale* his Uncle, the Duke of *Nemours* his Father-in-Law, the Duke *d' Elbeuf* his Couſen, and the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpenſier* his Brothers-in-Law, and a great company of Barons and Knights that held of the Catholick party, whereof by the conſent of all he had the title of Prince, by long ſucceſſion derived from his Father, and confirmed by the eminent authority of the Cardinal of *Lorain*. In the number of his followers, were many Commanders and Gentlemen of divers Nations, who living upon his penſions liberally beſtowed upon them, were ready upon all occaſions, though with the danger of their lives, to execute whatſoever he commanded. Wherefore having in order to the ſecret deſigns, received liberty by the Kings Commiſſion to take away the life of the Admiral, he put thoſe arts in practice which the other was ſuſpected to have uſed before, in cauſing the death of his Father, and committed the buſineſs to one *Maurevell*, (the ſame who had ſlain Monſieur *de Muy* at the ſiege of *Niort*) giving him charge to take away his life as he came from Court, not at all ſuſpecting any ſuch matter. *Maurevell* having received this order, and being of a nature and inclination ready enough to put it in execution, found out a little houſe near the *Louure*, which with ſome others thereabouts was appointed for the Dukes Family, and wherein no body elſe lodged; and having locked himſelf up in a lower room, and covered the Iron-bars of the Window with an old Cloak, he lay there with great ſecreſie and patience, watching his time to perform what he had undertaken; nor had he waited above three days, when the Admiral coming out of the Court in the morning, on the 20 day of *Auguſt*, to return to his own houſe, whilſt, followed by his ſervants, he walked ſoftly on foot to read a certain paper, he had opportunity to ſhoot him with a brace of Bullets, one of which took



1572. That night and the next day were ſpent in conſultations on both ſides; for the Hugonots coming all about the Admirals Bed, debated not only about the means of ſecuring themſelves from the preſent danger; but being ſtirred up with anger, and exaſperated with the injury, plotted how to renew the War without delay: in which deliberations, though ſome exhorted their Confederates to relie upon the Kings promiſes, yet the Viſdame of *Chartres* ſpake ſo earneſtly againſt it, that they determined whatſoever came of it, to remove the Admiral out of *Paris*, and retire together to *Chaſtillon*. *Teligny* being confident he ſhould get the Kings leave; and the reſt offering, in caſe it were denied, to carry him out of the City by force; reſolving afterwards unanimouſly to take up Arms, and never to lay them down till the Catholick party were utterly deſtroyed, and the Houſe of *Lorain* quite rooted out; every one ſpeaking ſo fiercely in thoſe tumultuous conſultations, that they neither ſpared the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, nor the King of *Navarre* himſelf, whom already they reputed for their Enemy; which being diſcovered by means of the accuſtomed intelligence, was a ſpur to haſten the intended deſigns, and gave a more ſpecious colour to thoſe excuſes that were after framed for the juſtification of them.

But when the Kings Council ſaw that the Hugonots venting their fury only in words, proceeded not to any action that could give occaſion to the Inſurrection; they reſolved to loſe no longer time, but preſently to bring the ſuppreſſion of them to a period; yet were there very great controverſies about the execution; for the Duke of *Guiſe* was urgent to have the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* ſlain with the reſt of the Hugonots; but the Queen-Mother, and all the reſt abhorred to imbrue their hands in the Blood-Royal, it ſeeming (to them) a thing too cruel, too abominable, and to be deteſted in all Ages, that two young Princes of the Royal Family, in the flower of their age, in the imbraces of their deareſt Wives, and under the protection of ſo near and ſo late a conjunction, ſhould be ſo miſerably murthered: beſides, they hoped confidently, that the Princes, united now by ſo ſtreight a bond of conſanguinity, would be ſincerely reduced to the Kings obedience, and to the profeſſion of the Catholick Faith, as ſoon as they ſhould be freed from the Government of the Admiral, and deprived of the company of their factious fomenters, to which opinion the King inclining, who was more then indifferently affectionate to the vertue of the King of *Navarre*, in the next place was debated whether amongſt the other Hugonots they ſhould comprehend the Mareſhal *d' Anville* and his Brothers, who profeſſing the Catholick Religion, were both by blood and intereſt nearly united to the Admirals Faction. In this alſo the reſult inclined to mercy; as well to ſpare the effuſion of more blood, which was the endeavour of many; as alſo becauſe the Mareſhal *de Momorancy* their eldeſt Brother, and he that was moſt ſtrictly united to the Hugonots, being newly returned from his Embaſſie into *England*, was abſent at that time; wherefore they thought it would rather kindle than extinguiſh the flame of Civil War, if taking away the younger Brothers, the eldeſt ſhould be left in a condition to revenge their death: beſides, they thought many things might be deferred till another occaſion, when they might be effected with leſs noiſe, and more dexterity, (nor was that ſo urgent as the buſineſs of the Admiral, who (if one may ſay) mad with wrath and fury, did already contrive new wars and practices, by ſtirring up new commotions.) A counſel truly which in the like caſes hath often proved fatal; men in the midſt of bloody deſigns unadviſedly ſeeking to be praiſed for mercy and clemency; and not remembring, that in caſes of extremity, it is neither laudable nor ſafe to uſe a mean; for the relicks of the diſeaſe by dangerous relapſes, do fruſtrate the vigour of the moſt approved remedies.

But all things being reſolved on, the Eve of the 24 of *Auguſt* approaching, which was the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, being *Sunday*, about twilight the Duke of *Guiſe* went from Court, with order from the King to find Preſident *Charron*, *Prevoſt des Merchans*, the chief Head of the people of *Paris*, giving him direction to provide two thouſand armed men, who ſhould wear every one a Shirt-ſleeve upon their left arm, and white croſſes in their hats, which upon notice given were inſtantly to execute the Kings commands: That he ſhould cauſe to be in readineſs the Sheriffs (*Echevins* as they call them) of the ſeveral Wards, and that upon ringing the Bell of the Palace-clock, lights ſhould be put in every window through the Town; which things, by the inclination of the people, and the great authority of the Duke of *Guiſe*, beſides Commiſſion from the King, were preſently performed. The Dukes of *Montpenſier* and *Nevers*, with many

took off the fore-finger of his right hand, and the other wounded him grievously near the left elbow. The Admiral feeling himself shot, knew the Window whence it came, and shewing it to his followers, the door was presently broken open, and the house searched, wherein they could find no body but a little Boy; for *Maurevell* escaping out at a back-door, took an horse which he had appointed to be there ready for him, and was already fled out at the Port St. *Antoine*; so that the Boy neither knowing the Name of him that had done the deed, nor the way he took, it was not possible to have any certainty concerning him at that time. The news of this accident was brought to the King while he was playing with the Duke of *Guise* at Tennis in the Court of the *Louvre*, and feigning himself exceedingly troubled at it, he presently left play, and departed, threatning and protesting aloud, that he would inflict most severe punishment upon those disturbers of his quiet, who durst presume to commit so hainous a crime even at the gates of his Royal Palace. He commanded all the City-gates to be shut, except two only for the bringing in of provisions, at which very careful guards were placed; and gave order that they should be kept with the greatest strictness that might be, pretending lest the murtherer should make escape; but the truth was, lest any of that party should get out and save themselves by flight. The apprehension they had of the fierceness, wisdom and power of the Admiral, was peradventure the cause that they began with him; the Council doubting, that if he were alive, and in health, he would find some means for the safety of himself and of the rest of his Faction: but the principal motive that induced them to do so, was the opinion of *Alberto Gondi* Count of *Retz*, who at the consultation about that business, said, he was really of opinion, that to kill all the Hugonots together was both very easie, and very just; but he desired also that the execution might appear to carry some handsom colour; that causing the Admiral to be killed alone, every one would believe it was done only by the Lords of *Lorain*; whereat the Hugonots, according to their custom, would certainly be enraged, and break out into some uproar against the *Guises*, to whose assistance the Parisians, and all the Catholick party running together, the Hugonots would be shut up in the net, and utterly suppressed; and so meer chance should effect their designs, and the matter be imputed to private enmities, and not to the publick determinations of the State. But however it were, the King, who still seemed very much afflicted, having dined in great haste, went with the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Anjou* to visit the Admiral; to whose lodgings were already come the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Mareshal *d' Anville*, and all the chief of the Hugonot Faction: There the Admiral, finding that he was brought into a very ill condition by his wound, which had broken the bone, and torn all his elbow; as also because he knew he was in the power of his Enemies, asked the King leave that he might retire to *Chastillon*; where, free from the tumults and dangers of *Paris*, a City ill-affected to him, and depending upon his Enemies, he might be more safely and speedily cured: but the King complaining, and taking it unkindly, that he should not think himself safe in his protection, incouraged him, and (the Physicians joining in the same advice) perswaded him not to take such a journey, for fear the motion should cause some more dangerous accident, and intreated him to take his rest quietly without suspicion. To which words the Admiral replying, That he doubted not of his Majesties love and favour, but his fear for himself and his friends was of the insurrections of the Parisians: the King seeming careful and desirous to secure him, commanded that all his chief dependants should be lodged near the house where he lay, to the end they might be more safe, and more united to defend themselves from the tumults of the people; and gave order to the Duke of *Anjou*, that drawing the Regiment of his guards into the City, he should appoint a Company for the safety of the Admiral and those of his party: who presently obeying the Kings Command, drew in all the guards armed; and to watch that house and quarter where the Hugonots were lodged together, he chose Monsieur *de Cossens* with his Company, a man who, besides his fidelity to the King, depended nearly on the *Guises* Faction. The Admiral seeing he could not possibly get away, recommended his affairs to the trust and protection of the King, and with his accustomed Spirit (all his followers raging on every side) demanded justice of the insolence committed against him; to which both the King and Queen having answered with great signs of reality, and extream resentment for the accident that had befallen him, they returned to the *Louvre*, committing the care and custody of the City of *Paris* to the Duke of *Anjou*.

1572. *Maurevell* shoots the Admiral in the left elbow, and saves himself by flight.

That



many other Lords of the Court took Arms, and accompanied by their friends, guarded the Kings person, all the guards being in Arms at the gate, and in the Court of the *Louvre*. At the prefixed hour, the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Aumale*, and Monsieur *d' Angoulesme*, Grand Prior of *France*, the Kings Bastard-Brother, with other Commanders and Souldiers to the number of three hundred, went to the Admirals house, and finding it (by the Duke of *Anjou*'s order) all in Arms, and *Cossein*'s Company with their lighted matches placed for a guard before it, they forcibly entred the gate of the Court, kept by a few of the King of *Navarre*'s Halbardiers, and the servants of the house, which were all killed without mercy. Being come into the Court, the Lords staid there below, and one *Besme* a *Lorainer*, a Creature of the Duke of *Guise*'s and *Acchille Petrucci*, a Gentleman of *Siena*, one of those strangers which he maintained, with Colonel *Sarlabous*, and the other Souldiers went up to the Admirals Chamber. He hearing the noise, got up, and kneeling down, leaned against his Bed, when seeing *Cornason*, one of his servants, come frighted in, he asked him what noise it was: who answered, *My Lord, God calls us to him*, and ran out hastily at another door. They presently entred, and knowing the Admiral, made towards him; at which he turning towards *Besme*, who already had drawn his Sword against him, said, *Young Man, thou oughtest to reverence these my gray hairs; but do what thou wilt, for thou canst shorten my life but a very little*; after which words *Besme* ran him into the brest, and the rest, when they had made an end of killing him with their daggers, threw his body out of the window into the Court, and it was presently dragged into a stable: In the same Palace were slain *Teligny* the Admirals Son-in-law, and *Guerchy* his Lieutenant, who wrapping his cloak about his arm, fought for his life very manfully, Colonel *Montaumar*, and *Roura* Son to the Baron *des Adrets*, with all the rest that had relation to him.

1572. The Duke of *Guise* besets the Admirals house. The Admiral is slain, thrown out at the window, and dragged into a stable.

The King being come into the Chamber of the Queen his Mother, and having heard what had passed, sent for the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, who went thither in great perplexity, seeing that none of their Gentlemen nor attendants were suffered to go in with them: and at the same time Monsieur *d'O*, Colonel of the Kings guards, began to call the principal Hugonots that were in the *Louvre* one by one; who being come in to the Court, were all killed by the Souldiers, that stood in two long ranks with their arms ready for that purpose: there died the Count *de la Rochfou-cault*, the Marques *de Renel*, *Piles* who had very gallantly defended St. *Jean d' Angely*, *Pont-breton*, *Pulviault*, *Bandine*, *Francourt* Chancellor to the King of *Navarre*, *Pardillan*, *Lavardin*, and others to the number of 200.

All the chief Hugonots in the *Louvre* are killed.

At the same time the Bell of the Palace-clock gave sign to the Provost *des Merchands*; and those that were prepared for the deed, having received order what they were to do from *Marcel*, who a while before had had the same Office, and was of great authority among the people, they fell a killing the Hugonots throughout all the lodgings and houses where they were dispersed, and made an infinite slaughter of them, without any distinction of age, sex or condition. All the people were up in arms under the Masters of the Parishes, and candles were lighted in every window, so that without confusion they might go from house to house, executing the directions they had received; but though those that commanded were very diligent about it, yet could they not take so good order, but that many of the Catholicks, either through publick hatred or private spleen were slain amongst the rest, as *Denis Lambin*, and *Peter Ramus*, men very famous for learning, and divers others.

At the ringing of the Bell the Hugonots are massacred, and amongst them *Denis Lambin*.

The *Louvre* was kept shut all the day following, and in the mean time the King and Queen comforted the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, alledging that they were constrained to do that, which the Admiral had so often endeavoured, and had still a purpose to do to them; but they whose errours were excused by their youth, and pardoned for their nearness of alliance, were reserved alive, and should for the future be loved and cherished, so they would but profess the Catholick Religion, acknowledging, and yielding obedience to the King: to which words the King of *Navarre*, serving the time, and dissembling that which could not be helped, being resolved to preserve himself for a better fortune, answered with very great complyance, That he was ready to obey the Kings will and commandment: wherewith *Charles* being very well pleased, to gratifie him, saved the lives of the Count *de Granmont*, and Monsieur *Duras*, who as they promised, served him faithfully ever after. But the Prince of *Conde*, either through the inconsiderateness of his age, or a natural

The King and the Queen-Mother visit the Admiral, and under pretence of defending him, set strict guards upon his house.

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* are kept in the Kings chamber during the massacre, and after are kept prisoners.

fierce-

1572. fierceneſs derived from his Anceſtors, in his anſwer made ſhew of oppoſing the Kings commands, ſaying, He deſired only that no violence might be uſed againſt his Conſcience; whereat the King exceedingly diſpleaſed, reproved him bitterly, often calling him inſolent, mad, ſtubborn Traitor, Rebel, and Son of a Rebel, and threatned to take away his life, if he did not within three days turn Catholick, and give evident ſigns of his repentance; ſo guards were placed both upon him and the King of *Navarre*, all their chief Servants being taken from them, and preſently cut in pieces; in whoſe places new ones were provided by the King according to his own mind. Thoſe Hugonots that were lodged in the Fauxburg St. *Germain* beyond the *Seine*, among which were the Count *de Montgomery* and the Viſdame of *Chartres*, (who preſaging ſome miſchief, would not remove to the Admirals quarter) when they heard the noiſe, the Pariſians not making haſte enough to hinder their paſſage, inſtantly fled; but were followed by the Duke of *Guiſe*, (who at break of day paſſed the water with a great many Horſe and Foot) and being overtaken, ſome without ſhooes, ſome without arms, ſome without ſaddles, ſome without bridles, but all equally unable to make reſiſtance, were ſcattered and cut off, except the Count of *Montgomery* and the Viſdame of *Chartres*, who with about ten in company ſaved themſelves, and after many difficulties, getting unknown unto the Sea ſide, eſcaped over into *England*.

Ten thouſand Hugonots killed in *Paris*, whereof five hundred were Barons, and men of quality.

Cruelties uſed to the Admirals body

There were killed in the City that day and the next above 10000, whereof above 500 were Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, who had held the chiefeſt imployments in the War, and were now purpoſely met together from all parts to honour the King of *Navarre*'s Marriage; Monſieur *de Briquemaut*, and *Arnauld Cavagnes* were taken priſoners, and by ſentence of the Parliament were afterwards quartered as Rebels. The Admirals body was pulled out of the ſtable, and cruelly abuſed by the fury of the common people, who deteſting his very name, tore his head from his ſhoulders, cut off his hands, and dragging him thorow the ſtreets to *Montfaucon* the place of execution, left him hanging by one of his feet upon the Gallows; and a few days after, (all the people rejoycing at it) they ſet fire on the ſame Gallows, half burning it, their barbarous cruelty finding no end, till two Servants of the Mareſhal *de Momorancy* ſtole away the relicks of his miſerable carcaſe, and buried them ſecretly at *Chantilly*. Thus died *Gaſper de Coligny* the Admiral, whoſe name for the ſpace of twelve years had with no leſs fame than terrour filled the Kingdom of *France*; an evident example to the whole world, how ruinous and ſudden the end uſeth to be of thoſe, who not conſidering any thing but their own intereſts, think by ſubtile cunning practices to eſtabliſh a laſting greatneſs upon the ſole foundation of humane wiſdom: for it is not to be doubted, but that he, bred up from his youth in the chief Commands of War, and brought by his valour and conduct to the higheſt pitch of honour, would have equalled, if not exceeded all other Souldiers of his time, and have attained to the degree of Conſtable, and all the greateſt Offices in that Kingdom, if againſt the authority of his Prince, he had not choſen to exalt himſelf by factions and civil diſſentions; ſince that the clear lights of his induſtry, valour, conſtancy, and above all, a marvellous ability in managing the greateſt deſigns, ſhined forth even in the deepeſt obſcurity of diſcords and inſurrections.

The day after the Admirals death, the Duke of *Anjou* going from the *Louvre*, accompanied by the Regiment of the guards, went thorow all the City and Suburbs, cauſing thoſe houſes to be broken open that made any reſiſtance; but all the Hugonots were either already dead, or elſe being terrified, had put white croſſes in their hats, which was the general mark of the Catholicks; endeavouring by that means, and by hiding themſelves, to ſave their lives; but being pointed at in the ſtreets by any one, or diſcovered any other way, they were without mercy torn in pieces by the people, and caſt into the River.

The like Commiſſions againſt the Hugonots ſent through the whole Kingdom. Where executed, and where not.

The day before this terrible execution, the King diſpatched poſts into divers parts of the Kingdom, commanding the Governours of Cities and Provinces to do the like; but this Commiſſion was performed with more or leſs ſeverity, according to their ſeveral inclinations; for the ſame night at *Meaux*, and the days enſuing at *Orleans*, *Rouen*, *Bourges*, *Angiers*, *Tholouze*, and many other places, but above all at *Lyons*, there was a moſt bloody ſlaughter of the Hugonots, without any reſpect of age, ſex, or quality of perſons: on the other ſide, in thoſe places where the Governours were either dependents on the Princes, or followers of the Family of *Momorancy*, the order

was

was but ſlowly and remiſly executed; and in *Provence* the Count of *Tende* refuſed openly to obey it; for which cauſe, being within a while after at the City of *Avignon*, he was ſecretly made away, and as it was believed, by the Kings Commiſſion. Moſt ſad and lamentable ſtories might be here related; for this cruelty was proſecuted in ſo many ſeveral places, with ſuch variety of accidents, againſt people of all conditions, as it was credibly reported that there were ſlain above forty thouſand Hugonots in a few days: but the rule I have hitherto obſerved of following preciſely the order of this Hiſtory, will not not ſuffer me to digreſs in making the tragical Narration of thoſe paſſages. 1572.

It is reported that 40000 Hugonots were killed in the Maſſacre.

The third day after the death of the Admiral, the perſecution of the Hugonots not being yet ended, the King, accompanied by all the Princes and Lords of his Court, went unto the Parliament, and though at firſt he had both by words and letters attributed the whole buſineſs to a popular tumult, yet there unmasking his deſigns, with a long relation he laid open the reaſons for which he had commanded all thoſe Rebels againſt his Perſon and Kingdom to be deſtroyed, who, notwithſtanding his gracious Pardons ſo often granted to their former offences, returned ſtill with perfidious obſtinacy to plot new treaſons and inſurrections; that at laſt he was neceſſitated to prevent them, for fear of being prevented, having miraculouſly diſcovered their conſpiracy to take away his life; and not his alone, but the lives of the Queen his Mother, and the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Alancon* his Brothers, and even the King of *Navarre*'s alſo, who becauſe he was alienated from their party, was eſteemed no leſs their Enemy than all the reſt: Wherefore he thought good to make thoſe his Magiſtrates acquainted therewith, to the end they might proceed with the ſame ſharpneſs againſt ſo wicked a conſpiracy, and make known to all the world the juſt and neceſſary cauſes that had forced him to uſe ſuch rigour and ſeverity. After theſe words wherewith he earneſtly endeavoured to perſwade them, that the buſineſs had been ſudden, and not premeditate, happening in a manner by chance, and urged by neceſſity, not ripened by long plotted contrivance, he gave order it ſhould be recorded among the ordinary Acts of that Court, that whatſoever had befallen the Admiral and the reſt of his Faction, either in *Paris*, or any other part of the Kingdom, was done by his will, order, and expreſs commiſſion. Then he commanded them to proceed to the examination of the priſoners, to defame the memory of the dead by laying open their rebellions, and by inflicting ſuch puniſhments upon them as the ſtrictneſs of the Law enjoined; and laſtly, he cauſed to be publiſhed, not only in the Parliament, but likewiſe in all the ſtreets of *Paris*, That they ſhould deſiſt from further effuſion of Blood, that which was already ſpilt having abundantly ſatisfied his juſt ſeverity; which availed ſomething in *Paris*, where the number of the Hugonots was already almoſt extinct and brought to nothing; but in other Cities whither the order came too late, it was more or leſs obeyed according to the diſtance of places. The Parliament readily imbraced the Commiſſion of proceeding againſt the Hugonots, and with the examination of the priſoners, legally making their proceſs, they condemned *Briquemaut* and *Cavagnes*, who were impriſoned in the Palace, to be publickly torn with Pincers, and their bodies quartered; commanding alſo a Statue of the Admirals to be broken in pieces and burned, declaring him a Rebel, a Diſturber of the Kingdom, a Heretick, and an Enemy to all good men; not having any bounds to their cruelty againſt his memory, the Magiſtrates ſentenced the Hoſtel *de Chaſtillon* to be razed to the very ground, and all his poſterity to be deprived of Nobility, and made incapable of bearing any Office, or poſſeſſing any goods in the Kingdom of *France*; and that their deeds might be anſwerable to their words, the King diſpatched his Grand Provoſt, with all diligence to ſeize upon his Wife and Children; but his eldeſt Son, with the Widow Lady his Mother-in-law, the Wife of *Teligny*, and Monſieur *de la Vall* the Son of *Andelot* deceaſed, were already fled ſecretly to *Geneva*, and the better to avoid their danger, went to live among the Swiſſes in the Canton of *Bearn*; the younger Children, both male and female, were condemned to death in their tender years, coming to that end, which in the variety of worldly affairs accompanies the ruine of great Families.

The Admirals Statue burned, and his Palace razed.

At the ſame time this execution was done at *Paris*, *la Charite*, which was ſtill held by the Hugonots, was ſurprized by the *Gens d' Arms* of the Duke of *Nevers*, who going into the Town under pretence of being muſtered and receiving their pay, poſſeſſed themſelves of the gates, and principal places of the City ſo ſuddenly and

1572. diſcreetly, that the Townſ-men durſt not ſtir to make oppoſition; and ſo the City remained in the power of the Kings Officers. The ſame was attempted by the Viſcount *de Joyeuſe* at *Montaubon*, and by *Philippo Strozzi* at *Rochel*, which if they had ſucceeded, there might have been ſome hopes that *France* would have been quieted; but the inhabitants looking warily to themſelves, and keeping very ſtrong guards, both the enterprizes failed of the expected event, all thoſe proviſions being to no purpoſe, which had been made under colour of the War of *Flanders*. But the Viſcount *de Joyeuſe* having with him only ſome Gentlemen of that Country, his deſign being diſcovered, diſſolved his party, and retired to the places under his Government: On the other ſide, *Strozzi* having ſufficient ſtrength both of Foot and Horſe, began to beſiege and ſtreighten *Rochel*, ſtill exhorting and perſwading the Citizens to avoid the tryal of ſtrict juſtice, and the hazards of a deſperate War, by returning willingly to the Kings obedience; to which they anſwered ambiguouſly to gain time, were reſolved not to hearken, not only becauſe they preſumed upon the ſtrength and ſituation of the Town, but alſo becauſe, by the great number of Hugonot Miniſters and Preachers who were fled thither, they were daily ſtirred up and encouraged to preſerve the liberty they enjoyed, and not to truſt the promiſes of the Catholicks, whoſe Doctrine allowed them to break their Faith with any, who being of different Religion were by them accounted Hereticks; againſt which *Strozzi* oppoſing other reaſons, and ſhewing the neceſſity of obedience to the King, and the ruine which by their ſtubbornneſs they would bring upon themſelves, the time was more ſpent in treaties and meſſages, than in any action or enterprize of War; yet both Horſe and Foot lay near on all ſides of the Town, and the Fleet ſcoured all thoſe coaſts, to keep them from ſupplies of men or victual.

In this interim the Converſion of the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* was laboured at the Court, the Queen and all the Council being of opinion, that the Princes now taken from the Hugonot party, and the male-contents deprived of the pretence and countenance of the Blood Royal, the State would remain quite purged from thoſe humours which for ſo many years had with obſtinate violence diſturbed the quiet of it; finding the ſevereneſs of the late executions produce ſuch hopeful effects, that an abundance of Hugonots already profeſſed the Catholick Religion, and many leaving their Country, were gone to live out of the Kingdom. The effecting of this Converſion was moſt diligently endeavoured by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Uncle to both the Princes, a man of great integrity and extraordinary vertue, omitting no means which he thought might help to bring their tender minds to the Catholick Religion, and every day with Father *Maldonat* a Jeſuite, and other Doctors, ſpending many hours to inſtruct them. It happened very opportunely that Monſieur *des Roſiers*, who had been a Hugonot Miniſter, and about that time was converted, either becauſe he clearly ſaw his former errours, or to avoid the imminent danger, and to get the favour of thoſe in power, diſputed with great eloquence and learning againſt the Doctrine and opinions of *Calvin*; which gave the Princes a reaſonable colour, and ſpecious pretence of coming fairly into the boſom of the Church, following the Converſion of him that had been a principal Teacher and Maintainer of their former Faith. The King of *Navarre* was the firſt, who yielding to the time, and having reſolved to conform himſelf to his preſent condition, with leſs difficulty, and greater expreſſions of approbation reconciled himſelf to the Church, the greateſt part of his Servants that were left alive, following his example: But the Prince of *Conde*, who though of a younger age, perhaps for want of experience, was of a more wilful obſtinate ſpirit, notwithſtanding he was aſſaulted by continual threats and perſwaſions, refuſed ſtill to turn Catholick, till the King, exaſperated by his ſtubbornneſs, cauſing him to be brought unto him for his laſt trial, with an angry voice and terrible aſpect ſpake only theſe three words unto him, *MASSE*, *DEATH*, or *BASTILE*, not ſuffering him to reply one word to the contrary; which terrour joined to ſo many other motives that were made uſe of to overcome him, bent his mind at laſt to follow the example of all the reſt; and being inſtructed by the Cardinal his Uncle, he came publickly to Maſſe, together with the Princeſs his Wife, Siſter to the Dutcheſs of *Nevers* and *Guiſe*; and the ſame did *Lewis* Prince of *Conty*, and *Charles* Count of *Soiſſons* his younger Brothers, who perſevered afterwards ſincerely in the Catholick Religion. From the Converſion of all theſe Princes the King and Queen conceived infinite hope of more peaceable times; and for the better confirmation of it, the King

The King of *Navarre* turns Catholick.

Words of the King to the Prince of *Conde*.

The Prince and his Brothers turns Catholicks.

of

of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* ſent Ambaſſadors to render publick obedience to the Pope; who rejoycing at their converſion, which happened in the beginning of his Papacy, anſwered their Embaſſie with many demonſtrations of affection; the whole Court of *France* being in the mean time very much ſatisfied, that by thoſe deſigns the Kingdom was brought into a moſt probable hope of a ſetled Peace and tranquillity: for the perfecting whereof they endeavoured all poſſible means to reduce the City of *Rochel*. 1572.

But as bloody violent counſels are ſeldom ſeen to produce proſperous effects, the wilfulneſs of men, or the providence of God had already diſpoſed otherwiſe: for all thoſe that by divers chances had eſcaped the ſlaughter of the Hugonots, and did not comply with the Catholick profeſſion, according to the ſeveral qualities of places, took different courſes and reſolutions. Thoſe of *Britagne*, *Normandy*, and *Picardy*, Provinces along the coaſt of the Ocean Sea, juſt over againſt *England*, fled in great numbers into that Iſland, not only to live there according to the Doctrine of their Faith, but alſo uniting themſelves under the command of the Count *de Montgomery*, by the favour and protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, to repaſs the Sea, and ſome where or other to diſturb the tranquillity of *France*. Thoſe of *Daulphine*, *Provence*, and *Lionois*, retired into *Swiſſerland*, where writing and enveighing continually againſt that cruel Maſſacre of all thoſe of the ſame Religion, they laboured to raiſe the Proteſtant Cantons, and to make them break that ancient Confederacy whereby they were united to the Crown of *France*: among theſe, as we have ſaid, were the Sons of *Andelot* and the Admiral, who by the fame of their Fathers authority, and the tenderneſs of their years, and the miſery of their preſent condition, ſtirred up the minds of every one to great pity and compaſſion. Thoſe of *Champagne* and *Burgundy* were gotten into the Cities of *Germany*, and there endeavoured to make the actions of the King of *France* to be ſuſpected and ill-interpreted by the Hans-towns, and Proteſtant Princes. But thoſe near the Mediterranean, and the inner parts of the Kingdom, having no other way to ſave themſelves, took refuge into four ſtrong Towns which were held by thoſe of that party, and there with all their might prepared for their own defence. Thoſe of the Iſle of *France*, *Beauſſe*, and *Nivernois*, had poſſeſſed *Sanſerre*: the inhabitants of *Gaſcony* and *Languedoc* fortified themſelves in *Niſmes* and *Montauban*: and thoſe of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, and part of *Guienne*, were fled to *Rochel*, as into a ſecure harbour. There under the command of *Jaques Henry* Mayor of the City, (whoſe authority is chief in the Civil Government) all the inhabitants had armed and divided themſelves into four Companies, each of two hundred, and were daily exerciſed to learn the uſe of their arms: beſides which, the Common Council, to the number of an hundred and fifty, were liſted under Colours apart, as the Colonels Company, and commanded by *Arandel* the Mayors Lieutenant, a man of great valour and experience: beſides theſe Trained Bands which ſerved without pay for their own defence, one thouſand five hundred other Souldiers were gathered together from the neighbouring Provinces, who under ſeveral Captains were paid by the contributions of the Cities and Towns near adjacent, being all men of a reſolute courage, and who for the moſt part had been exerciſed in the late Wars. To theſe were added about ſixty Gentlemen fled thither from places thereabout, and fifty ſeven Miniſters, who amidſt the noiſe of Arms, and toils of their Fortifications, ceaſed not to ſtir up and encourage the people to defend themſelves to the laſt man. The preparations of Ammunition, Cannon, and other Warlike Inſtruments were not inferiour to the ſtoutneſs and readineſs of the people; for beſides the abundance of Powder, which they made continually, having ſet up Mills for that purpoſe, there were in the City-Magazine great ſtore of Pikes and Muskets, nine very great Culverins, eight Cannon, twelve Sacres, thirty eight Field-pieces, and above ſeventy Faulconets, and Harquebuzes a Croc; the managing whereof the Citizens daily practiſed with great diligence: Nor was their care leſs in providing victual, for neither ſparing pains nor coſt they had filled their Store-houſes with Corn and Wine, whereof the Iſles near to them bore great abundance, as of all other things needful for the ſuſtenance of men in the longeſt Sieges.

Againſt all theſe preparations for War, the King and Queen oppoſed not the gathering together of Arms, but treaties and inducements to Peace; for deſiring to enjoy the fruits of their deſigns without new dangers and troubles, they ſought to reduce the Rochellers, if not to a real, at leaſt to a ſeeming obedience, and to extin-

1572. guiſh the remainder of that fire which might kindle and break forth in new commotions. For this cauſe they appointed Monſieur *de Byron* Governour of *Rochel*, a man generally held to be a favourer of the Hugonot Faction, and by many thought to have a tincture of *Calvins* opinions; but indeed the courſe of his life ſhewed him afterwards to be a true Catholick, though envy made him an enemy to the houſe of *Guiſe*, and his own intereſts a deſirer of War. But though the King and Queen were once minded to have taken away his life among the reſt in the late Maſſacre, yet by reaſon of their many favours formerly conferred upon him, they were unadviſedly confident of his fidelity in this employment, and were perſwaded that the Rochellers would truſt him alſo, and admit him at leaſt into a ſeeming, if not an abſolute Government; by which means they might ſave the Kings reputation, ſecure their own lives, and the liberty of the City. But the event ſhewed how little faith there is to be given to thoſe men, who graving the injuries they receive in marble, while the doers write them but in ſand, forget not thoſe dangers, but inwardly conceal thoughts and deſigns very different from the outward appearance; for Monſieur *de Byron* being come to *Rochel*, either deſiring the continuance of the War, wherein he had placed the hopes of his advancement; or through a natural pride angry that his ſervices were not ſufficiently acknowledged; or becauſe already ſuſpecting the Catholick party, he was loth it ſhould prevail abſolutely; or fearing they had given him that imaginary Government, thereby to take away his command of the Artillery; or doubting that all that were ſuſpected in the preſent Government, ſhould be deſtroyed one by one; and for his own particular miſtruſting the Houſe of *Guiſe*, or for what other cauſe ſoever it were, he perſwaded the Rochellers under hand neither to receive him nor any body elſe into their City, for that the admiſſion of a Governour would bring them to a neceſſity of ſubmitting abſolutely to the Kings obedience, whoſe intention he knew was not only to deſtroy the Hugonot party, but alſo to take away the immunities and priviledges of the City it ſelf, and to bring it to a ſlaviſh ſubjection, to the end it might never more be a receptacle or a foundation for the diſturbers of the Kingdom: by which ſecret intimations the Rochellers were confirmed in their obſtinacy; and though Monſieur *de Byron* ſeemed outwardly very deſirous, and made ſhew of taking great pains to procure his admittance, they ſtill refuſed, alledging that it was directly contrary to the liberties and priviledges which the King had always proteſted he would allow them.

Many days were ſpent in theſe treaties, and in the mean time the arts of *Byron* being ſuſpected by the Queen, ſhe began to think of ſome more fitting inſtrument to perſwade and mollifie the hardneſs of the Rochellers; nor did fortune delay to preſent a man that ſeemed very proper for that purpoſe; for the Hugonots in the Admirals life time, having (to aſſiſt their Confederates) paſſed under Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau* into *Flanders*, taken the City of *Mons*, and begot great jealouſies in the Spaniards, who not underſtanding the artifices of the French King, were inclined to believe that action was done by his conſent, to give a beginning to the enterprize that was divulged againſt the Low-Countries; all the Forces of the Catholick King drew that way, to quench ſo dangerous a fire in its beginning, and to interrupt the courſe of that War which they moſt confidently accounted real: but the Maſſacre of the Hugonots following preſently after, and the Kings intentions being laid open to all the world, the Surprizers of *Mons* were not only deprived of their credit and reputation, but alſo of all hope of relief; and being put to great ſtraits and neceſſities in the ſiege, were forced to yield, diſperſing themſelves into *Picardy*, and the Countries thereabout, where they were ſharply perſecuted by the Governours; and Monſieur *de Genlis* their chief Commander, after his forces were defeated and cut off by Monſieur *de Villers*, Governour of *Chauſue*, loſt his life, with a great many of his Souldiers and Officers. Only Monſieur *de la Noue*, he who in the late Wars had been Governour of *Rochel*, and had with ſo much honour defended *Xaintonge* for the Princes, was ſecretly ſaved by the Duke of *Longueville*, Governour of that Province, who having obtained a ſafe conduct for him, brought him to the King, by whom he was graciouſly received, as one worthy of high eſteem, both for his wiſdom, valour, and experience in Arms.

This was a perſonage thought proper to be made uſe of to deal with the Rochellers, judging that by reaſon of the brave exploits he had formerly done in their ſervice, he was likely to have great power in perſwading them, and by his policy and eloquence

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to overcome the ſtubborn wilfulneſs of the people; for which end the King and Queen acquainting him with their intentions, and that their aim was not to reduce the liberties and priviledges of the Rochellers to a ſtrict ſervitude; nor to force their Conſciences to forſake the Faith they profeſſed, nor the Doctrine they believed; but only to ſecure themſelves that the City might be no more a receptacle of the Enemies and Diſturbers of the State, and with their wonted priviledges, and full Liberty of Conſcience, to make them acknowledge and obey their natural King; he undertook the employment, though ſome ſay, againſt his will, and departed from Court in the company of the Abbot *Guiovanni Baptiſta Guadagni* a Florentine, to make trial of the laſt reſolution of the Citizens. But the minds of that people, partly by the ſecret advice of *Byron*, partly by the continual exhortations of their Preachers, were already ſo hardened, that it was utterly vain to uſe any further means of bringing them to ſubmit unto the Kings obedience; and Monſieur *de la Noue* being received (though but coldly, and with little ſhew of honour) into the City, whether it were his firſt intention, or whether the doubt of his own ſafety moved him to it, in ſtead of perſwading them to yield to the Kings mercy, reſolved not only to ſtay there with them, but alſo to accept the Office of their Captain-General; which they, wanting a man of valour and authority to command their Forces, had offered to him. Wherefore the Abbot *Guadagni* that came with him, returning to Court, the excuſes he ſent the King for having accepted that charge, were, the hopes he gave to reduce the people in time to his Majeſties obedience, and the fear that (he refuſing it) their neceſſity might caſt them into the hands of ſome other perſon, who by giving way to the ſeditious and to foreigners, might endanger the peace and ſafety of the Kingdom; with which pretences endeavouring to ſave his credit, he cunningly held the King in doubt till the ſucceeding accidents did in part give proof of his preſent aſſertions. 1572.

Monſieur *de la Noue* ſent Governour by the King to *Rochel*, turns General to the Hugonots.

This was the ſecond errour committed at Court, in procuring the reducement of *Rochel*; for in ſtead of uſing force at firſt, whilſt the Citizens were doubtful and uncertain, and the City then not ſo well fortified and provided of Ammunition, they fearing to renew the War, and perchance ſlighting that buſineſs as a thing of no difficulty, tryed to effect it by a Treaty; and firſt by ſending Monſieur *de Byron* they increaſed the courage and obſtinacy of the inhabitants; and then by imploying Monſieur *de la Noue*, they furniſhed them with a Commander, which was their greateſt want. Now becauſe they knew at laſt that policies and perſwaſions failing, it was neceſſary to uſe force, and found that their example encouraged *Niſmes*, *Sanſerre*, *Montauban*, and ſome other leſſer places ſurprized by the Hugonots, to make the like reſiſtance, the King being reſolved (though too late) by one means or other to end the buſineſs, gave order that Monſieur *de la Chaſtre* Governour of *Berry*, without further delay ſhould beſiege *Sanſerre*; that the Marqueſs *de Villars* being at laſt declared the King of *Navarre*'s Lieutenant, ſhould go into *Guienne*; that Monſieur *de Joyeuſe*, in whom the King and Queen confided very much, ſhould undertake *Niſmes* and other places adjacent; and that *Philippo Strozzi* and Monſieur *de Byron* (whoſe arts they either knew not, or nevertheleſs would not deprive themſelves of his valour) ſhould lay cloſe ſiege to *Rochel*, whither alſo the Duke of *Anjou* was preſently to march with all the Forces of the Kingdom.

Of theſe, Monſieur *de la Chaſtre*, a man very well affected to the Catholick Religion, and a dependant of the *Guiſes*, encamped preſently before *Sanſerre*, a City within the Government of *Berry* near the *Loyre*, and by help of that River eaſily to be relieved from many places; but when he ſaw the fierce aſſaults he made againſt it were all fruitleſs, though bloody, reſolving to take it by famine, he encompaſſed it ſo cloſely on every ſide, that after the patient endurance of a great deal of miſery in a tedious ſiege of eight months, it was forced to yield at laſt, having felt all the neceſſities which can poſſibly be born by humane nature.

*Sanſerre* taken after eight months ſiege.

The Marqueſs *de Villars* (again confirmed Admiral in the place of *Gaſper Coligny*) went into *Guienne* with the ſame reſolution, where chaſing the Hugonots from every place, and recovering the Towns which they had taken, he drove them all into *Montauban*, where he ſhut them up ſo cloſe, that they were reduced to great extremity, and held out more through wilfulneſs, than power to defend themſelves.

On

1573. On the other ſide, the Mareſhal *d' Anville* (without whom *Joyeuſe* could do nothing, becauſe having left the Court, he reſided perſonally in his Government) being averſe from the total ruine of the Hugonots, both becauſe he knew himſelf not much favoured by the King, and to have been in great danger of being made one in the Maſſacre at *Paris*, nouriſhed other thoughts in his mind, and ſeeking to ſpin out the buſineſs by artificial delays, contrary to the opinion of Monſieur *de Joyeuſe* and many other Commanders, he let alone *Niſmes*, the ſeat and foundation of the Hugonots, and beſieged *Sommier* a little inconſiderable Town in that Country; and though he took it at laſt to ſave his own reputation, yet he loſt ſo much time, and ſo many men before it, that he was fain afterwards to be only an idle Spectator of the event of things.

The Duke of *Anjou* with mighty preparations goes to the ſiege of *Rochel*.

But the chief expectation was of the ſiege of *Rochel*, every one knowing that the taking of it would be the utter deſtruction of the Hugonots: wherefore it having been already ſtreightly beſieged many weeks by *Strozzi* and *Byron*, at length the Duke of *Anjou* came thither alſo in the beginning of *February* 1573. and with him all the Cavalry, all the Infantry both French and Swiſſe, and the greateſt part of the Catholick Nobility, with wonderful preparation of all things neceſſary for the taking in of a place of ſtrength. There was in the Army the Duke of *Alancon* the Kings third Brother, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, to take all hopes from the Rochellers of the protection of the Princes of the Blood: there were alſo the Dukes of *Montpenſier*, *Aumale*, *Guiſe*, *Mayenne* his Brother, of *Nevers*, *Bouillon*, *d' Uzes*, and *Longueville*, the Prince *Daulphine*, the Count *de Maulevrier*, the Mareſhal *de Coſſe*, the Baſtard *d' Angouleſme*, the Count *de Retz*, Monſieur *de Monluc*, and all the Commanders and Gentlemen that had any reputation in War; ſo that it plainly appeared, they all believed the ſafety of the Kingdom, and the ſum of all buſineſſes to conſiſt in the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe. The Rochellers having had time to fortifie the City exactly well, and to provide themſelves at leiſure of all things neceſſary againſt ſo great preparations, were reſolved to hold it out to the laſt man; and had given the charge of the Government to *Jaques Henry* the Mayor, with a Council of Citizens, and the care of their defence to Monſieur *de la Noue*.

The ſtrong ſituation of *Rochel*.

The ſeat of *Rochel* is wonderful ſtrong by nature, environed with Fenns for the ſpace of many miles towards the Land, having only one way to it on the North-ſide that led to a gate of the City, which was fortified after the modern way, with moats, walls, bulwarks and ramparts, exceedingly favoured by the ſituation, and drawn in an excellent form to guard and flank one another; Art and Nature concurring equally to make it impregnable. Toward the Sea it hath a very fair Haven, but ſo ordered by Nature, that the way to it is by many Bays, and Points commanded by ſeveral winds; ſo that which way ſoever it blow, Ships may come in from one place or other; nor can a great and powerful Navy hinder the entrance of them, for the ſhore being very flat and ſhelvy on every ſide, and without other ports, they cannot lie there with any ſafety, nor ride at anchor to block up the Haven, by reaſon of the long and frequent tempeſts of that Sea; ſo that it is in a manner impoſſible to keep the City from relief that way; and as it was very eaſie to beſige it by Land, ſo it was moſt difficult to ſtorm or aſſault it; for on that ſide which is dry and firm, though the ſituation without is ſo high, that it almoſt commands the Town; yet the fortifications were ſo near, ſo high, ſo many, and ſo firmly wrought together, that to force an entrance was almoſt impoſſible; beſides, juſt within the works there was an open large place, ſo convenient, that the defendants might there draw up in bodies, and march in order to receive the aſſault.

Such was the ſituation and ſtrength of that place, and ſuch the preparations that were made againſt it; nor did the iſſue of the ſiege differ from what was expected of it; for the onſets and aſſaults made againſt the City in the ſpace of five months were almoſt innumerable, the Duke of *Anjou* ſparing neither coſt, pains nor danger, but uſing all military force and induſtry to ſtorm it: yet the Citizens and Souldiers, and even the very women as well as men defended it with admirable valour and conſtancy, ſuſtaining for a long time the force and power of a whole Kingdom, and holding out againſt hunger and famine no leſs than againſt the aſſaults and batteries of the Enemy. Amongſt the various events of this Siege Monſieur *de la Noue* had opportunity to regain the Kings favour, and get leave to live privately at his own houſe; for while the Council of the Citizens treated of yielding to that force which they ſaw

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they could not much longer reſiſt, he being fallen into a conteſtation with ſome of the Miniſters, whoſe authority was infinite over the minds of the common people, and who without any regard to reaſon, exhorted them ſtill to conſtancy, one of them named *la Place* was ſo bold and inconſiderate, that after having baſely abuſed him, and many times called him Traitor, he inſolently offered with his hand to ſtrike him in the face; which injury though he ſeemed to paſs by for quietneſs ſake, and though the Miniſter was kept in priſon many days for a mad man, yet inwardly it troubled him very much: and moreover, foreſeeing that at the arrival of the Count *Montgomery*, who was expected with ſupplies from *England*, the chief command would be taken from him, and conferred upon the Count, with whom, by reaſon of an ancient emulation, he had no very good correſpondence, he reſolved within himſelf to leave the Town, and the next day ſallying out of the works, as he often uſed, to skirmiſh with the Enemy, he went over with ſome few in his company to the Duke of *Anjou*'s camp, making that paſs for the fulfilling of his promiſe to the King, which upon new conſiderations he reſolved to do, either for revenge of the affront he had received, or for the ſecuring of his own ſafety, which he ſaw expoſed to the calumnies, and practices of the Miniſters. But whatſoever the motive was, his example was followed by a great many Gentlemen and Officers: yet all that ſhaked not the perſeverance of the Citizens, nor abated the courage of the Souldiers, ſupporting with gallant reſolution the furious bloody aſſaults which night and day were made againſt them on every ſide, and enduring with conſtancy of mind the great ſcarcity of victual, and the perpetual duty which they were forced to undergo without intermiſſion. For towards the Sea were raiſed two Forts, one at the point called *de Coreille*, the other over againſt it in the place which they call *Port-neuf*, which being mann'd with a thouſand Souldiers, were kept by Captain *Coſſein*, and Captain *Gas*, each with fifteen pieces of Cannon; and between them a great Carack was faſtened at anchor, which furniſhed with Culverins, ſhot into the mouth of the Haven, and hindred the entrance into it; ſo that by continual induſtry it was blocked up on that ſide; and on the other toward the Land all the Princes and Lords of the Army had divided the work among them in ſuch manner, that the Trenches and Redoubts touched one another every where, nor did they ceaſe to redouble their aſſaults every hour; and yet the reſiſtance of thoſe within equalled the courage and induſtry of thoſe that were without. The valour and conſtancy of the Defendants was much increaſed by the intelligence which they ſecretly received from their friends which were in the Camp; for not only among the private Souldiers, but alſo among thoſe that commanded, there were ſome that did not deſire the deſtruction of *Rochel*, nor the extirpation of the Hugonot Faction; and *Byron*, who commanded the Artillery, following his former intentions, did with great dexterity (as many were of opinion) delay the progreſs of the Batteries, and ſtrengthened the reſolution of the beſieged. But for all theſe arts, their moſt conſtant Citizens, and moſt valiant Souldiers were already conſumed: the hopes of relief from *England* and *Germany* were vaniſhed of themſelves; for the Proteſtant Princes perſwaded by *Gaſpar* Count of *Schombergh*, who was ſent to them by the King, had reſolved not to interpoſe in the commotions of *France*; there being now no Prince of the Blood, who with his authority and ſupplies of money might maintain the War: and the Queen of *England*, to whom the King had ſent *Alberto Gondi* for the ſame cauſe, had refuſed to ſend them either men or ſhipping; and the Count *de Montgomery* being departed to relieve the beſieged with a good number of ſhips, but ill mann'd and armed, though with much ado he got a ſhip of Ammunition to enter the Haven; yet being chaſed by the Kings Fleet, and deſpairing to do any more good in the buſineſs, he made out to Sea, laid aſide all thoughts of raiſing the ſiege, or relieving the City now brought to extremity, and only as a Pyrate annoyed the coaſts of *Britagne* and *Normandy*. Their victuals were likewiſe quite ſpent, and their ammunition almoſt all waſted; and on the other ſide, though the Duke of *Anjou* in a ſiege of ſo many months had loſt the Duke of *Aumale* killed in the Trenches with a Cannon-ſhot, an infinite number of Gentlemen and Officers, and above twenty thouſand Souldiers killed and dead of the ſickneſs, and the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf, whilſt he was viewing the works, wounded, though but lightly, in the neck, in the ſide, and in the left hand by a Harquebuze a croc charged with tarling, had more need of reſt than continual action; yet neither the fierceneſs nor frequency of the aſſaults were at all allayed, but there arriving daily new forces at the Camp, among which ſix thouſand Swiſſes 1573.

1573. Swiſſes newly entered into pay, the ſiege grew rather ſtreighter, and the ſervice hotter than at firſt, ſo that the City was reduced to an impoſſibility of holding out longer, and would at laſt have been taken by force, and utterly ruined by the King, if a new far-fetcht occaſion had not ſaved it, and prevented its ſo imminent deſtruction.

The Duke of *Anjou*, not to prejudice his election to be King of *Poland*, moves ſlowly in the enterpriſe of *Rochel*.

There had been a treaty many months before, of electing the Duke of *Anjou* to be King of *Poland*, the hope whereof being begun in the life of *Sigiſmund Auguſtus* King of that Kingdom, with this propoſition, That the Duke taking *Anne* the Kings Siſter to Wife, ſhould by the States of thoſe Provinces be declared Succeſſour to the Crown; after his death it was much increaſed, for though *Erneſt* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria* Son to the Emperour, and *Sigiſmond* King of *Sweden* were both Competitors in the ſame deſign, yet neither of them ſeemed comparable for valour and glory to the Duke of *Anjou*, whoſe name, by reaſon of his many victories, flew through all parts of *Europe* with a moſt clear fame of ſingular vertue and renown. The King of *France* applyed his mind wholly to that end, and much more the Queen-Mother, for the infinite love ſhe bore to that Son; and therefore they neither ſpared money, promiſes, pains nor induſtry neceſſary to effect that buſineſs, which being brought very forward by the Sieur *de Balagny*, who under colour of travelling to ſee the World, ſtayed there, and had gotten the acquaintance of many principal men of that Kingdom; it was afterwards managed with more life by *Joan de Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence*, and *Guy* Sieur *de Lanſac*, and other perſons of leſs quality, but not of leſs eſteem, appointed to treat with the States of that Kingdom. The greateſt impediment which the Kings Agents found, was the oppoſition of the *Evangeliques* of that Kingdom, (in *Poland* they ſo call the followers of the new opinions in matter of Faith) who had but ſmall inclination to the Duke of *Anjou*, partly, becauſe the Victories he atchieved had been againſt thoſe of the ſame belief; partly, becauſe the Maſſacre of *Paris*, variouſly ſpoken of by the Proteſtants in thoſe places ſo far remote, made them fear, that being choſen King, he would moleſt and diſquiet thoſe that were averſe from the Apoſtolick See, and not of the Catholick Religion, whereof they knew he was ſo ſincere a Profeſſour. The fears of the *Evangeliques* were fomented by the Letters and Embaſſies of many Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, much diſpleaſed at the ſlaughter of the Hugonots in *France*, and ill-affected to the Duke of *Anjou*'s greatneſs. For which cauſe the King endeavoured by divers writings, and by means of his Embaſſadors, to remove the opinion which was commonly held, that the Maſſacre of *Paris* was contrived long before-hand, attributing the buſineſs (as ſudden and accidental) unto the temerity of the Admiral, who ſeeing himſelf wounded by his Enemies, began raſhly to plot a new conſpiracy againſt all the Royal Family; and declared, that he would tolerate a Liberty of Conſcience, though not the free profeſſion of *Calvin*'s Doctrine: nor did this ſeem ſufficient, but fearing more to exaſperate the minds of the Proteſtants and Evangeliques, he began to proceed more coldly in the enterprize of *Rochel*, leſt the Duke of *Anjou* taking it by force, ſhould ſtir up more hatred againſt him, and by the deſolation of the City ſhould increaſe the difficulties of his Election, which ſeemed to be in a fair way of coming to a happy iſſue. Nor was the King alone of this opinion, but his Embaſſadors in *Poland*, and particularly the Biſhop of *Valence*, very much preſſed the King, that to facilitate that buſineſs, he would proceed more gently againſt the Hugonots in *France*. For theſe reſpects new treaties of agreement were begun with the Rochellers; yet ſtill continuing their aſſaults and batteries, till news came, that upon the ninth day of *May*, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou* was with a general conſent elected King of *Poland*: Wherefore he ſeeking to come off from that ſiege with ſuch moderation, that his reputation might be ſafe, and the minds of his new Subjects not unſatisfied, from whom he endeavoured to remove all ſuſpicion of his taking away their Liberty of Conſcience, he proceeded not ſo violently againſt the Hugonots; who quite tired out, and in deſpair of defending themſelves any longer, forgot their wonted conſtancy, and were deſirous to obtain their peace. This was favoured by the natural inclination of the Duke, who was weary of the toils of War, and deſirous not only to return to the pleaſures of the Court, but alſo ſhortly to go take poſſeſſion of his new Kingdom. Wherefore the City having often ſent their Deputies into the Camp to treat, after many difficulties they agreed at laſt upon the Eleventh day of *July*, that the City ſhould yield it ſelf unto the Kings obedience with theſe conditions: That the King ſhould declare the inhabitants of *Rochel*,

*Rochel* yielded to the King.

The Conditions.

*chel*, *Niſmes*, and *Montauban*, to be his good and faithful Subjects, and ſhould approve of all that they had done from the month of *Auguſt* the year before, being 1572. until that preſent time, pardoning all faults and enormities whatſoever had been committed during the Civil War by the ſaid Inhabitants, their Souldiers or Adherents, declaring all to be done by his order. That in thoſe three Cities he ſhould allow the free and publick exerciſe of the Reformed Religion, they meeting together in ſmall numbers, and without Arms, the Officers appointed for that purpoſe being there amongſt them. That in all other outward matters, except Baptiſm and Matrimony, they ſhould obſerve the Rites and Holy days obſerved and commanded by the Roman Catholick Church: That the King ſhould confirm all the Liberties, Immunities and Priviledges of thoſe three Towns, not permitting them to be in any part diminiſhed, altered or violated. That the Rochellers ſhould receive a Governour of the Kings appointment (but without a Gariſon) who might freely ſtay there, inhabit, go, and return into the City at his pleaſure; and that they ſhould be governed by the Laws, Ordinances, and Cuſtoms with which they had been governed under the Kings of *France* ever ſince they were Subjects to that Crown: That they ſhould break all Leagues, Friendſhips, Intelligences, and Confederacies whatſoever within or without the Kingdom, not lending any relief or aſſiſtance to thoſe which ſhould continue up in Arms, though of the ſame Religion. That the uſe and exerciſe of the Catholick Religion ſhould be reſtored in thoſe Cities, and all other places whence it had been taken, leaving freely unto the Church-men, not only the Churches, Monaſteries and Hoſpitals, but likewiſe all the profits and revenues belonging to them. That all Lords of free Mannors through the Kingdom might in their own Houſes lawfully celebrate Baptiſm and Matrimony after the manner of the Hugonots, provided the aſſembly exceeded not the number of ten perſons. That there ſhould be no inquiſition upon mens Conſciences, and that thoſe who would not dwell in the Kingdom, might ſell their Eſtates, and go live where they pleaſed; provided it were not in places that were Enemies to the Crown: and that for the obſerving of theſe Articles, the ſaid three Cities ſhould give hoſtages, which ſhould be changed every three months, and always ſhould follow the Court. When theſe Conditions were eſtabliſhed, and the hoſtages given, which by the Duke were preſently ſent to Court, Monſieur *de Byron*, the Governour appointed by the King, entred *Rochel* with one of the Publick Heralds, took poſſeſſion of the Government, and cauſed the Peace to be proclaimed; after which the Duke of *Anjou* (now King of *Poland*) having diſmiſſed the Army, went with a noble Train of Princes, Lords and Gentlemen, unto the City of *Paris*; where aſſuming the Title of his new Kingdom, and having received the Poliſh Ambaſſadors, he prepared for his journey to go take poſſeſſion of the Crown. 1573.

The Peace is publiſhed, and the Army diſmiſſed.

In the mean time *Sanſerre*, which was not comprehended in the Capitulation of the Rochellers, becauſe it was not a free Town under the Kings abſolute Dominion as the reſt, but under the Seigniory of the Counts of *Sanſerre*; being reduced to extream miſery by famine, without all hope of relief, yielded it ſelf to Monſieur *de la Chaſtre*, who having by order from the King to gratifie the Poliſh Ambaſſadors, pardoned all their lives, fined the Town in a certain ſum of money to be diſtributed to the Army, and cauſing it to be diſmantled, and the Gates, Clock and Bells to be removed, to take away from it all form of a City, and bring it to the condition of an ordinary Village, he put a Gariſon into the Caſtle, cauſed the goods and revenues of the Clergy to be reſtored, and the Churches to the uſe of the Catholick Religion; and a while after (as it was reported) he commanded *Guilliaume Joſſineau* the Bailiff of the Town, who had been chief Head of the late ſedition, to be ſecretly thrown into a Well; though many ſay, that he being fallen mad with deſpair, caſt himſelf wilfully into it.

This was the end of the Inſurrection, which began after the Admirals death; wherein through want of care in thoſe that commanded, or want of fidelity in thoſe that were to execute the ſeverity of thoſe remedies not being uſed, which with ſmall trouble and leſs difficulty would abſolutely have plucked up the very roots of thoſe evils, the ſparks were only covered for a time, and not utterly extinguiſhed, from whence afterward brake out more violent flames, and more laſting dangerous miſchiefs. But no fear of that troubled the Court, which full of pomps and triumphs

1573. for the Coronation of the new King, thought it enjoyed a ſecure quiet in the midſt of ſo many delights; which having laſted for the ſpace of two months, the King of *Poland*, accompanied unto the confines of *Lorain* by his Mother and the King his Brother, about the beginning of *October* went to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. But the King was no ſooner returned unto his pleaſures, intent only upon hunting and other youthful ſports, when thoſe humours began to diſcover themſelves, which were more like than ever to diſturb his Kingdom with infinite troubles and commotions.

After the departure of *Henry* King of *Poland*, the firſt place of dignity and preeminence belonged to *Francis* Duke of *Alancon* the Kings next Brother, who was not only young, and therefore void of experience, but alſo by nature endowed with no great abilities of underſtanding, of ſo fickle a mind, and ſo puffed up, that he ſeemed more to incline to raſh precipitate advices, than to a diſcreet, moderate rule of living; and as he had inwardly been very much diſpleaſed at the Power which had been given to his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, and was deeply pricked with the ſecret ſting of envy at his valour and glorious actions, eſteeming the greatneſs and reputation of his Brother to be a diſhonour and leſſening to himſelf; ſo he bore a concealed hatred to all thoſe that had any relation to, or dependance upon *Henry*, loving and admiring the Admiral *de Coligny*, and his adherents; (as was often plainly obſerved) but as it were tacitely reprehending the Kings deliberations, and ſecretly deſiring to be the Head of that Faction; and though the Queen his Mother knowing his diſpoſition, endeavoured always to keep diſcreet experienced men about him, which might wiſely moderate his humours and reſolutions; yet was he utterly averſe from them, and through a conformity of nature, let himſelf be rather wholly guided by *Boniface*, Sieur *de la Mole*, a man of ordinary quality, but full of vaſt unmeaſurable thoughts, and by *Hanibal*, Count *de Coconas*, a baniſhed Peidmontois, who (as it is commonly the cuſtom of Exiles) not being able to enjoy quietneſs himſelf, laboured to moleſt and diſturb the repoſe of others.

The King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* were from the beginning united to the Duke of *Alancon*, becauſe they ſaw themſelves but lightly eſteemed by the Duke of *Anjou*, Head of the Catholick party, and becauſe they watched all occaſions that might give them opportunity to revive and raiſe again their oppreſſed perſecuted Faction; and not they alone, but alſo the Mareſhals of *Momorancy* and *d' Anville*, *William* Lord of *Tore*, and *Charles* Lord of *Meru*, all Brothers, who not being able of themſelves to attain to the dignity of their Father, nor to the credit aud authority he held in his life-time, but continuing (eſpecially after the death of the Admiral) meanly regarded, or rather hated and ſuſpected by the King, by reaſon of their near alliance to him; and jealous that their ruine was no leſs aimed at then that of others, ſought to unite themſelves unto that party, whoſe power might bear them up to a greater height of fortune. To theſe was alſo joined the Mareſhal *de Coſſe*, who was but little favoured by the Catholick party, and all thoſe that either ſecretly or openly had been inclined to the Admiral; and not they only, but likewiſe all who for particular intereſts, having taken diſtaſte at the preſent condition of affairs, were ſtill contriving new forms of Government; theſe being received, and filled with hopes and boldneſs, chiefly by the Lords of *Momorancy*, who carried themſelves very cunningly in the buſineſs, framed a third party, which making no ground nor difference of either Religion, but wholly applying themſelves to the reforming of the State, began to be called the Faction of *Politicks* or *Male-contents*.

A third party called *Politicks* and *Male-contents*, compoſed of Catholicks and Hugonots.

But theſe new practices and machinations, which while the Duke of *Anjou* was preſent, were managed more covertly, for fear of his valour and authority; the curb being now taken away, began to ſprout out more freely, not only becauſe the Duke of *Alancon*, who favoured them, remained in poſſeſſion of the chiefeſt place; but becauſe the power over the Catholick party was ſtill in the hands of the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Brothers, the ancient, emulous, inveterate Enemies of the Families of *Bourbon* and *Momorancy*; whereby their linking and knitting themſelves together to counterpoiſe the exceſſive greatneſs of their adverſaries, ſeemed more neceſſary, and was in appearance more excuſable.

The

The opportunities for the breaking forth of this miſchief were much increaſed by the Kings being ſick, who through too much exerciſe in hunting, running, wreſtling and riding, wherewith he was beyond meaſure delighted, falling into a long dangerous ſickneſs, could not with that vigour which was proper to his nature intend the rooting up of thoſe growing diſorders; but gave greater means to the Duke of *Alancon* to diſcover and foment his own pretenſions: wherefore the Duke of *Anjou* being gone away, he began apparently to pretend to, and procure the ſame Title and Authority which his Brother had ſo many years poſſeſſed, being ſet on to it by the counſels of the Mareſhals of *Coſſe* and *Momorancy*. But this was not only oppoſed by the King and Queen-Mother, who neither approved his humour nor his actions; but alſo by his own diſability, which rendred him much inferiour in wit and valour to the Duke of *Anjou*, and no ways able to undergo ſo great a charge; beſides that, the King being now of riper years, and of a wary ſuſpicious nature, was nothing willing to grant ſo great a power to any body again, having perhaps more ardently favoured the Election of the King of *Poland*, becauſe he thought he could neither ſo eaſily, nor ſo handſomly by any other means deprive him of that Authority and Power, which being voluntarily given him at the firſt, he afterwards confirmed upon himſelf by his own courage and renowned Victories. For all theſe reaſons the King refuſing him the Title and Power of his Lieutenant-General, his Mother began to entertain him with other hopes of procuring for him ſome free State, as they had done for his Brother, propounding to him a marriage with the Queen of *England*, or the command of the States of *Flanders*, which had ſhaken off their obedience to the Catholick King; the Treaties concerning both which were begun, more out of a deſign to feed him with hopes, and to keep him in good correſpondence united with his Brother, than out of any grounded reaſon or belief that either of them could be effected. 1573.

*Franc's* Duke of *Alancon* the Kings youngeſt Brother, makes himſelf Head of the Male-contents with hope to uſurp the Crown.

But his haſty impatient nature gave no leiſure to her politick delays: for as ſoon as the Hugonots and Male-contents knew that he was ſpitefully enraged at this repulſe, and that his mind was ready to attempt new deſigns; with a common conſent they offered him the command of all their party, telling him, that he might by that means create unto himſelf a more free and abſolute Power than that which his Brother had injuriouſly refuſed him. The King of *Navarre* conſented to this deliberation, having from the beginning ſought ſome opportunity to advance his own fortune, and to free himſelf from that impriſonment (rather than ſubjection) which he lived in under the King and Queen, his Brother and Mother-in-law: beſides, diſagreeing and diſpleaſed with his Wife, he hoped by thoſe tumults and changes to remedy all thoſe inconveniencies, and open ſome way to his own greatneſs, or at leaſt to his liberty, which by nature he was very much inclined to. The Prince of *Conde* conſented to it likewiſe, being well aſſured to have great Authority among the Hugonots, if they by any means could riſe again; whereas by reaſon of his Fathers memory he was much depreſſed among the Catholicks: but above all the reſt this deſign was approved by the three Mareſhals, *de Coſſe*, *Momorancy*, and *d' Anville*, the Heads of the Male-contents, knowing that they ſhould ſway and moderate the will of the Duke *d' Alancon*, who unable to govern of himſelf, would doubtleſs give them the ſame power the Admiral had in the minority of the Princes of *Bourbon*.

After many contrivances and conſultations, the web of the buſineſs was laid by them in this manner; That the Duke of *Alancon* ſhould ſuddenly and privately depart the Court; and that for his more ſecure retreat, ſome Troops of Hugonot Cavalry which were drawing together, ſhould ſecretly go to meet him: That the Mareſhals of *Momorancy* and *Coſſe* ſhould go along to adviſe and counſel him in his actions: That the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* ſhould get ſecretly away within two days after, and follow them the ſame way: That the Mareſhal *d' Anville* Governour of *Languedoc*, ſhould go into that Province a while before, and draw cunningly to himſelf the abſolute power of thoſe places, gather as many of the Nobility as he could, and endeavour the ſame in *Guienne*, and the parts adjacent, by means of his Nephew the Viſcount *de Turenne*, and of his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Vantadour*, to the end that the Princes departing from the Court, might have a ſecure place to retire unto, and alſo Forces to defend themſelves; to theſe grave ſolid reſolutions were joined alſo light youthful follies by ſome Servants of the Duke *d' Alancon*, propoſing

1573. by witchcrafts and inchantments to take away the Kings life, who already was in great danger by reaſon of his ſickneſs; and he being dead, and the King of *Poland* far off, to ſettle the Duke *d' Alancon* in the Crown: with theſe various deſigns, the taking up of Arms was again endeavoured.

The Mareſhal *d' Anville* went into *Languedoc* with the Kings conſent, under colour of viſiting his Government, and there began craftily to ſound the minds of the Gentry, and of the Governours of places; but as a man of great warineſs and diſcretion, doubting his plots might be diſcovered, he ſent *Chartier* his Secretary unto the King and Queen-Mother, ſhewing that he treated with the Hugonots of *Niſmes*, *Montpelier* and other places, to reduce them to his Majeſties obedience; and that if men of truſt might be ſent to treat, he hoped with honourable conditions to bring them unto an abſolute ſubjection: with which hopes the King being moved, preſently diſpatched Monſieur *de S. Sulpice*, and Secretary *Villeroy* to treat jointly with *d' Anville* about the reducing of the Hugonots: but he having by this artifice gotten a liberty of treating with the Hugonots without being ſuſpected at Court, when he heard the Kings Commiſſioners were arrived at *Avignon*, he ſent the ſame *Chartier* to let them know, that matters not being yet ripe, it would be beſt for them to ſtay there a while, and defer their coming to him till he had ſetled a ſurer foundation for that buſineſs. So holding the Commiſſioners in hand, and in the mean time treating in every place, he went by little and little opening his way to an abſolute Authority in *Languedoc*; and the ſame did the Viſcount *de Turenne*, and the Duke *de Vantadour* in other places.

But while the reſt, not managing their buſineſs ſo cunningly as *d' Anville*, ſpread theſe deſigns abroad by diſcovering them to the Hugonots thorow all the Provinces of the Kingdom, and that *Coconas* and *la Mole* paſſing yet further, conſpired the Kings death, and the uſurpation of the Kingdom; the Duke of *Alancon* inconſtant in his reſolutions, and of a mind very unfit for ſo great an enterpriſe, imprudently gave ſome ſuſpicion of it to his Mother; and while by her wonted arts ſhe ſounds the depths of thoſe ſecret treaties, and ſearcheth the bottom of thoſe deſigns, the Hugonots impatient of delay, perfected the diſcovery of the plot; for the Duke having given them notice that he with the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* intended to leave the Court, and retire into the places of their party, there to declare himſelf Protector of the Reformed Religion, and of the Male-contents of the Kingdom; they not ſtaying for a more mature advice, nor a more fitting opportunity, appeared unexpectedly upon *Shrove-tueſday*, to the number of about two hundred Horſe, running up and down armed under the command of the Sieur *de Guitry*, near unto *St. Germains*, where the Court then was, to ſecure the paſſage of the Princes, who were ſecretly to leave the Court; at the news whereof the Duke of *Alancon* and his Counſellors frighted and diſmayed, becauſe their deſigns were not yet ripe, and not thinking that ſmall number of Hugonots ſufficient to execute their deliberations, were ſo different and unreſolved in their opinions, that they ſtirred not at all; and the King and Queen now certain of what they before ſuſpected, retiring with all ſpeed to *Paris*, impriſoned the Duke *d' Alancon*, the King of *Navarre*, and all his Counſellors and dependents, as alſo the Mareſhals of *Coſſe* and *Momorancy*, with many others whom they thought privy to their deſigns. Only the Prince of *Conde* and Monſieur *de Tore* eſcaped, fleeing firſt to thoſe places which belonged to the Prince in *Picardy*, and from thence without delay unto the Hans Towns of *Germany* which adhered to the Proteſtant party.

The Hugonots begin again to take Arms.

The Duke of *Alancon* and the King of *Navarre* impriſoned.

The Duke of *Alancon* and the King of *Navarre* either truſted to their nearneſs of Blood, or to ſhift off the fault of this conſpiracy from themſelves, and lay it (as the cuſtom is) upon the weakeſt, confeſſed freely that they had been ſollicited to depart from Court, and become Heads of the Hugonots and Male-contents, and that ſometimes they had lent an ear to thoſe motions, rather to diſcover the intents of thoſe Seducers, than out of any deſire to adhere unto them; and that they waited an opportunity to diſcover the whole plot unto the King, as ſoon as they were fully informed of it; and that in the mean time the Duke had given ſome hint of it, though but obſcurely, to his Mother, which might ſerve to prove the ſincerity of their intentions: upon the ground of theſe confeſſions, which contained many particulars, the accomplices of meaner quality being kept cloſe, and ſtrictly examined, *la Mole*, about whom were found certain Images of the King in Wax, encompaſſed with

with inchantments, charms and other fooleries, the Count *de Coconas* convicted of many crimes, and divers others were condemned to die: the Mareſhals of *Momorancy* and *Coſſe*, to the great ſatisfaction of the Pariſians, were put into the Baſtile; and for the Princes, it ſufficed only by a Declaration to manifeſt unto the World, that it was never their intention to alienate themſelves from the Kings obedience, nor to offend his Perſon in any manner whatſoever, much leſs to make themſelves Heads and Protectors of the factious and ſeditious party of the Kingdom: but that it had been falſly and cunningly divulged by men of turbulent malicious Spirits, to ſtir up and ſeduce the people under that pretence; a thing utterly diſallowed and deteſted by them, who deſired that ſuch rebellious and ſeditious perſons might be brought to condign puniſhment, that by their ſufferings the fuel might be taken from that fire, with which they had endeavoured to inflame the Kingdom. After which Declaration they were nevertheleſs not reſtored unto their former condition; but on the one ſide were uſed as Kinſmen, and on the other with diligent guards were kept as Priſoners. 1573.

Thoſe that make a ſiniſter interpretation of all the actions of Princes, ſay, That the Duke of *Alancon* had no other end but to make himſelf King after the death of his Brother, which he ſaw drew near, and that the counſels of the Mareſhals and his other adherents aimed at that very mark; but that the Queen-Mother, who loved the King of *Poland* much better, and under his Reign promiſed her ſelf the abſolute Government, made the buſineſs ſeem different from the truth, and cauſed the King to impriſon the Princes and the Mareſhals, to ſecure the Kingdom to the true Succeſſour, which was the King of *Poland*, whoſe Reign was abhorred by all thoſe that were Enemies to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, or had any dependance upon the Hugonots.

Theſe matters, whatſoever they were, or from what cauſe ſoever derived, happened in the beginning of the Year 1574. a Year deſtined to renew the old wounds of *France*: for toward the latter end of *March*, and all the month of *April* following, the Hugonots already up in Arms by reaſon of the late deſigns, and ſuſpecting themſelves to be diſcovered the fomenters of that Conſpiracy, breaking again the bridle of all reſpect, attempted every where to ſurpriſe Forts, Caſtles and Cities; and as if the buſineſs at *St. Germains* had ſucceeded juſt according to their own deſires, they ran haſtily without ſtop to the taking up of Arms in all Provinces; and that with ſo much the greater boldneſs and ſecurity, becauſe they were freed from the general fear they were wont to have of the valour and celerity of the King of *Poland*, whom they had to their exceeding loſs found to be ſo reſolute and powerful an Enemy. 1574.

A new Inſurrection of Hugonots, ſtirred up by Monſieur *de la Noue*.

The firſt commotion was begun by Monſieur *de la Noue*, who ſtaying in *Poictou*, gathered Forces ſuddenly and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Luſignan*, *Fontenay*, and *Meſle*, and with the help of the Rochellers, raiſed and diſordered the whole Country, ſhewing manifeſtly by that action, that neither his deſire of peace, nor his promiſe made to the King, had cauſed him to leave *Rochel* when it was beſieged, but trouble for the affront he had received from the Miniſters, and fear leſt the Citizens ſhould confer the chief Command upon the Count *Montgomery*. The ſignal of War being as it were given by this Inſurrection, it was followed by many others in *Daulphine*, *Province*, *Gaſcogne* and *Languedoc*, every private Captain, and every Gentleman among the Hugonots endeavouring with his own Forces to ſeiſe upon ſome ſtrong place, from whence robbing and pillaging all the Country, cutting off paſſages, laying taxes upon the people, and plundering the rich houſes, they in a few days brought the whole Kingdom of *France* into great confuſion.

But a more dangerous fire was kindled on the Sea-coaſts of *Normandy*; for the Count *Montgomery*, after he was hindred by the Kings Fleet from relieving *Rochel*, being returned into *England*, and recruited, landed in the Country which they call *le Pays de Conſtantine*, belonging to the Province of *Normandy*, but bordering upon *Bretagne*, where being welcomed by the Hugonots, and the diſcontented party of that place, in a few days he made himſelf Maſter of *Danfront*, *Carentane*, *St. Lo*, and *Valognes*, and ſeditious people running to him from all parts, as to a Head of great Authority, it was beginning to be doubted that Queen *Elizabeth*, invited by this opportunity, (though ſhe made ſhew not at all to favour or aſſiſt the Count) had reſolved once again to ſet foot in that Province juſt over againſt her Kingdom, which in times paſt had long been in poſſeſſion of the Kings of *England* her Predeceſſors.

At

1574. At the ſo frequent news of theſe tumults and inſurrections, the King who by nature was very cholerick, brake forth into ſuch terrible rage and fury, that his ſickneſs became daily more violent and dangerous; wherefore neither having ſtrength of body, nor ability of mind to undergo ſo weighty a buſineſs, often changing and varying his reſolutions, by that uncertainty gave them that were up in Arms far greater opportunity to increaſe their Forces; which as ſoon as he perceived, his diſeaſe, which could find no remedy, ſtill continuing, he reſolved to refer the whole buſineſs to the counſel and authority of his Mother, ever giving order and directions to take ſharp ſevere courſes, which could hardly be done, becauſe the condition of the preſent affairs would not permit that Armies and Governments ſhould be truſted in the hands of any but perſons of great maturity, and long experience, who by reaſon of their age and gravity were averſe from bloody violent reſolutions; wherefore the Queen being brought into great ſtreights and difficulties, and unto a neceſſity of proceeding not only againſt her Son-in-law, but even againſt her own Son, endeavoured to find ſome moderate way between the Kings anger and their unquiet deſigns; which was not to be managed according to the proper nature of affairs, and the ancient practice of experience; for it being apparent, that to remove the effects it is neceſſary to take away the cauſes, ſhe quite contrary was forced by meer neceſſity to endeavour the taking away the effects of thoſe tumults and inſurrections in the ſeveral Provinces, thereby to preſerve the Duke of *Alancon* and the King of *Navarre*, from whom their principal cauſe and original proceeded.

The Queen ſends three Armies into three parts of the Kingdom to ſuppreſs the Inſurrections.

She reſolved to ſend three ſeveral Armies into three ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, one commanded by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who ſhould oppoſe Monſieur *de la Noue* in *Poictou*; another by the Prince *Daulphine* his Son, which ſhould go into *Daulphine*, and the Confines thereabout; and the third to reſiſt *Montgomery*, commanded by *Jaques* Sieur *de Matignon*, a man of tryed fidelity, and not inferiour in valour, who was then Lieutenant to the Duke of *Bouillon* in the Government of *Normandy*. In the mean time the taking away of the Government of *Languedoc* from the Mareſhal *d' Anville* was endeavoured; to which end Count *Sciarra Martinengo* was diſpatched with all ſpeed to *S. Sulpice* and *Villeroy*, who were thought to be with him, that they might uſe ſome means to take away his life; or if they could not do ſo, at leaſt to get a Government of ſo great importance out of his hands. But *Martinengo* finding thoſe Commiſſioners ſtill at *Avignon*, without means to execute the Kings intentions, it was neceſſary to follow the ſecond directions, to take from him all, or at leaſt ſome of the Cities of that Province, which began to be diligently proſecuted by the help of the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, the Duke *d' Uzes*, the Viſcount *de Joyeuſe*, and the Sieurs *Maugiron*, *de Quelus*, *de Rieux*, and *de Suze*, Lords who had very great dependents in thoſe parts.

But the ſagacity of *d' Anville* was very great, and great was the inclination of the people to his name, he having by his liberality and politick Government, generally gained their affections; whereupon when he received the news of what had paſſed at Court, feigning on the one ſide that he was not at all offended at his Brothers impriſonment, and that he did not in any thing participate of his counſels, and publickly teſtifying, that he would not only lay down his Government, but moreover his Office of Mareſhal, until the King being certified of his loyalty, ſhould willingly reſtore him to his former dignities, he laboured on the other ſide to aſſure himſelf of the Forts and Cities, and to bring the Gentry and Souldiers as much as he could to his own devotion: by which arts he preſently put himſelf into a poſture of defence, and the Commiſſioners not having effected any thing, were fain to return to Court; which when the King knew, being infinitely offended, he cauſed him by publick decree to be deprived of his dignities, and commanded the Prince *Daulphine* to march thither with his Army.

The Mareſhal *d' Anville* Son of *Anna de Momorancy* is by the Kings decree deprived of his dignities.

The Duke of *Montpenſier* being entred into *Poictou*, had already taken *Talmont*, and laid ſiege to *Fontenay*, ſeeking all poſſible means to draw Monſieur *de la Noue* into the field, who being again declared General of the Rochellers, was exceeding diligent in gathering Souldiers and Gentlemen together; but finding himſelf not able to keep the field, he reſolved to defend the ſtrongeſt places, which he had furniſhed with all things neceſſary, endeavouring by advantage of ſituation, by conduct, induſtry and diligence to do ſome miſchief to the Enemies: in which time Monſieur *de Matignon* deſirous to ſhew his fidelity to the King and Queen, by whom he found himſelf

ſelf to be much eſteemed, and to raiſe himſelf to a more eminent degree of fortune, marched with the third Army directly to the place where the Count of *Montgomery* was, much increaſed both in ſtrength and courage. His Army conſiſted of five thouſand French Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe; to which were added many Gentlemen and Voluntiers, who excited by Letters and Commands of the King and Queen, very ſollicitous for this enterpriſe, came thither to ſerve without pay: beſides, there were fourteen pieces of Cannon, which were taken out of the Fortreſs of *Caen*, and other Cities adjacent, with a ſufficient proportion of all ſorts of Ammunition. The Field-Mareſhal was *Joan d' Hemery*, Sieur *de Villers*, who ſtirred up by his own valour and natural ingenuity, far from thoſe diſſimulations and double dealings which were then every where in faſhion, and being of one mind and counſel with his General, a man alſo of a clear uncorrupted loyalty; having to deceive the Enemy, made ſhew of moving toward *Vologues*, (a place leſs defenſible, but more abounding in ſpoil and plunder) he ſet forward about Sun-ſet, marching all night with infinite diligence toward St. *Lo*, in which place was the Count of *Montgomery*, with his Son and his Son-in-law. 1574.

*Villers* Brother-in-law to the Author.

St. *Lo* is a Town in the lower *Normandy*, not very great, but indifferently ſtrong, being ſeated near the Sea, upon the River *Vire*, which falling into the Ocean not far from thence, is by the help of the Tide made navigable to the very gates of the Town; and as a ſafe Harbour ſecureth thoſe Ships that come in from the frequent ſtorms of that coaſt; here lay thoſe Ships which had brought the Count *Montgomery* out of *England*, ready upon all occaſions to weigh anchor and put out to Sea. But *Villiers* arriving, unexpectedly with the Van of the Army at the very peep of day, ſent the Sieur *de St. Colombe* with his Regiment, that might be ſome twelve hundred French Foot, and four ſmall pieces of Cannon, to poſſeſs the bank of the River below the place where Ships lay at anchor, to hinder them from getting out of the Port. *St. Colombe* advancing with the expedition which was requiſite for that purpoſe, inſtantly took his poſt upon the bank of the River, and at the ſame time began to entrench himſelf and plant his Cannon; which he performed ſo well, that the paſſage of *Montgomery*'s Ships being cut off within a little time by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the River, he being inferiour in ſtrength, could no longer hope to ſave himſelf with his Fleet. *Villers* as ſoon as he ſaw that paſſage ſtopped, wherein conſiſted the chiefeſt point of the enterpriſe, placed himſelf with the light Horſe, and the Regiment of *Lavardin* at the foot of a hill right againſt the gate toward the Sea, and began to fall upon thoſe of the Town who were come out to diſcover the Forces of the Enemy; and whilſt they were kept in a hot skirmiſh on that ſide, Monſieur *de Matignon* arrived on the other with the reſt of the Army, and preſently made good thoſe paſſages toward the Land; ſo that in leſs than three hours the City was blocked up, and beſieged on every ſide. In the mean time the Squadrons of Cavalry under *Malicorn* and *Meleray* being come up, thoſe that ſallied out were within a little while beaten in again, though with loſs on both ſides, there being ſlain above ſixty of the Catholicks, and about eighty of the Hugonots. The Catholick Army being divided, lodged it ſelf into two ſeveral quarters, ſhutting up the ways both by Sea and Land; for it was their chief deſign to keep the Count from any means of ſaving himſelf; and as ſoon as it was quartered, they preſently began their trenches, and to plant their Cannon, believing the Town was able to hold out but a very few days. But the Count knowing his weakneſs, and making it his chief aim to ſave himſelf, having the night following often given them their alarms in ſeveral places to try and amuſe the Catholick Camp, at laſt he with a few of his Souldiers forced a *Corps de Guard* of the Sieur *de Luce* his Regiment, which kept a paſſage toward the Land, and knowing the Country very well, by the help of the night ſaved himſelf undiſcovered in certain low mooriſh grounds, which uſe to be overflow'd by the Tide, and then paſſing an arm of the Sea in certain ſmall Fiſher-boats which he found by chance, went to *Danfront*, having left his Son and Son-in-law at St. *Lo*, but with an aſſured hope of relieving them within a few days.

St. *Lo* is beſieged by the Catholicks, *Montgomery* being in it.

*Montgomery* flees from St. *Lo*.

His flight was not known unto the Catholicks, (for the darkneſs of the night, the ſmall number of his company, and his means of getting away had concealed his eſcape) till grown ſtrong in Horſe by the help of many Gentlemen of his party, he began to run about the Country, cutting off paſſages, and making ſhew that he would relieve the beſieged, whereby being at laſt aſſured that he was ſlipt out of the net,

1574. net, and inſulted furiouſly over the neighbouring Country, they called a Council of War; wherein the opinions being various, the Sieurs *de Fervaques*, *Ruberpre*, and many others counſelled the proſecution of the ſiege of St. *Lo*, (a buſineſs which they eſteemed but of a few days) to take away that ſecure retreat from the Enemy, and cut off all hopes of ſaving themſelves by Sea: but *Villers* and St. *Colombe* were of opinion, that leaving St. *Lo* ſtill beſieged, to divide the Forces of the Enemy, they ſhould with the ſame celerity they came thither follow the Count *de Mongomery*, thinking that to ſuppreſs him would quite extinguiſh the War. This reſolution being approved by *Matignon*, having left *Fervaques* and *Malicorne* to block up St. *Lo*, he himſelf with *Villers* and St. *Colombe*, taking with them two Regiments of Foot, ſix hundred Horſe, and only four ſmall pieces of Cannon, marched ſo ſpeedily to *Danfront*, that they prevented the Enemies intelligence; who though the Walls of the City were very weak, yet truſting to the River *Mante*, that runneth about one ſide of it, and to the Fort, which ſeated upon the top of a Hill guards it on the other ſide, were reſolved conſtantly to defend the place. The night following the Cannon were planted, and in the morning, there being hardly forty yards of the wall beaten down, *Villers* deſpiſing the hindrance of the River, paſſed over at the head of the Infantry up to the breſt in water, and aſſaulted it ſo boldly, that the Souldiers being terrified, fled without reſiſtance into the Caſtle, and the Town remaining in the power of the Catholicks, was by the fury of the Souldiers almoſt utterly ruined and deſtroyed: Much greater was the difficulty of aſſaulting the Caſtle, ſeated upon an intire Rock, where the Sap could do little good, and ſo high above the plain, that they were forced with infinite difficulty to raiſe Cavaliers for the planting of their Ordnance, which while the Catholicks put in execution, with the ſame ſpeed and courage, the Hugonots ſtill moleſted them with ſharp bloody ſallies, which at laſt ceaſed; for one Cavalier being finiſhed, they began furiouſly to batter the Curtin. After the battering followed a fierce aſſault, in which though the Catholicks loſt St. *Colombe* with a great many Voluntiers, and about two hundred of their moſt valiant men, the Hugonots received ſo much loſs by the death of a great many Gentlemen, and the greateſt part of their Souldiers, that they were able to hold out no longer; for which cauſe, leſt the aſſault which was preparing with more Forces than at firſt, ſhould be renewed the next day, they yielded themſelves the ſame night to the diſcretion of the Conquerours: and Monſieur *de Matignon* entring the Caſtle, cauſed the Souldiers to be pillaged, and let them all go, keeping only ſome few Gentlemen priſoners, and the Count *de Montgomery*; who with a very ſtrong guard was brought to Court, where by the ſentence of the Parliament of *Paris*, he was publickly executed as a Rebel, in the place appointed for Malefactors: The King and Queen not only rejoycing that they had freed themſelves of ſo fierce an Enemy, who held perpetual correſpondence with foreign Princes, but alſo that they had revenged the death of *Henry* the Second, ſlain by him, though accidentally, (as we have ſaid) in a Tournament, from the occaſion of whoſe death proceeded afterwards all thoſe following calamities.

The Count *Montgomery* is taken in *Danfront*, ſent to the Court, and executed.

*Danfront* being taken, Monſieur *de Matignon* returned to St. *Lo*, which he began to beſiege more ſtreightly; and the ſeventh day *Villers* ſtorming it with the chief of all the Infantry, remained Maſter of the wall, (though with the loſs of much blood) and of a Tower which placed in the flank, defended the Avenue that led toward the gate. The aſſault being renewed in the morning by break of day, the victorious Army entred the Town, where the Son-in-law of *Montgomery* being ſlain, and Monſieur *de Colombiere*, a Souldier of great valour and noble birth; Monſieur *Lorges* Son to the Count was taken, who being condemned to the ſame puniſhment which his Father had ſuffered, corrupted his guards, and ſaved himſelf by flight. *Carentane* and *Valognes* yielded without ſtaying to be beſieged; that fire being thus extinguiſhed, which with ſo much danger had been kindled in the moſt ſuſpected parts of the Kingdom.

But at that time the Kings life was drawn almoſt unto the laſt period; for having begun ſome months before to ſpit blood, being afterwards oppreſſed with a ſlow, but a continued internal Feaver, he had in the end utterly loſt all ſtrength; whereby knowing himſelf to be already near his death, he cauſed all the Lords and Officers of the Crown which were then at Court, to be called unto him; and having told them the danger of his ſickneſs, and nearneſs of his death, he declared his Brother

ther *Henry* King of *Poland* to be his Succeſſor in the Kingdom, and until his coming, the Queen his Mother to be Regent; ſtrictly commanding the Duke of *Alancon*, the King of *Navarre*, and all others, under pain of Rebellion to obey and ſerve her faithfully until the arrival of the lawful King. After that the Secretaries of State, and *Renato de Birago*, (who a while before was choſen High Chancellor in the place of *Michael de l' Hoſpital* already dead) had paſſed the Patents for theſe matters, and regiſtred them in the Parliament, the King recommending the Peace of his Kingdom to his Council, and his little Daughter the only Child which he had by the Queen his Wife, and *Charles* his Baſtard Son, who was yet a Child, unto the care of his Mother, with grave and pious diſcourſes, having diſmiſſed all thoſe that were preſent, he held his Mother ſtill faſt by the hand, and ended the courſe of his troubleſom Reign upon the Thirtieth day of *May*, before he was full Five and Twenty years of age; leaving his Kingdom, after the revolution of ſo many Wars, in no leſs danger and confuſion than he had found it in Fourteen years before, when he came a Child unto the Crown. 1574.

*Charles* the IX. dieth the 30 of *May*, 1574.

*The End of the Fifth* BOOK.

1574.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The SIXTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*THE Sixth Book contains the Arts uſed by the Queen Regent, to hold matters in ſuſpence till the coming of the King,* Henry *the Third, out of* Poland. *He departs ſecretly from that Kingdom, and paſſing through* Italy, *comes to* Turin: *The Queen ſends thither to inform him of the affairs of* France; *and thither alſo comes the Mareſhal* d' Anville. *The King denies to reſolve upon any thing till he have conferred with his Mother; he reſtores thoſe places to the Duke of* Savoy, *which for ſecurity, had till then been kept from him. He paſſes at* Pont Beauvoyſin; *is met by the Duke of* Alancon *and the King of* Navarre; *by him they are ſet at liberty: He meets the Queen his Mother, and they enter the City of* Lyons. *The Kings deſigns and ends, to which he intends to direct the courſe of his Government, are particularly ſet down; he deſires Peace, and to procure it, reſolves to make War coldly. He treats of Marriage, and reſolves to take to Wife* Louyſe *of* Lorain, *Daughter to the Count* de Vaudemont. *He is Crowned at* Rheims, *and there marrieth her. He labours to get his Brother elected King of* Poland; *but he is put beſide it: The War continues in the mean time, and* Mombrun, *Head of the Hugonots in* Daulphine, *is defeated, taken, and executed. The King alters the manner of Government, to leſſen the Authority of the Great Ones. The Duke of* Alancon *deprived of the hopes of* Poland, *and not being able to obtain the Title of Lieutenant-General, flees from Court, and becomes Head of the Politicks and Hugonots: All the other Lords of that party, put themſelves under him, and the Prince of* Conde *ſends him great Supplies out of* Germany; *which paſſing through* Champaigne, *are routed and diſperſed by the Duke of* Guiſe. *The Queen-Mother goes to confer with the Duke of* Alancon, *and concludes a Truce: in the mean time the King of* Navarre *leaves the Court, flees into* Guienne, *and declares himſelf Hugonot: The Prince of* Conde *advanceth with the German Army, and at* Moulins *joins with the Duke of* Alancon:

*The*

*The Queen returns, and concludes a Peace, but with ſuch exorbitant Conditions, that all the Catholicks are offended at it. The Duke of* Guiſe *and his Brothers lay hold of the occaſion, declare themſelves Heads of the Catholick party, and make a League to oppoſe the Eſtabliſhment of the Hugonots; the grounds and progreſs of that League are related: The King of* Navarre *thereupon pretending, that the Catholicks began firſt, by the means of the Prince of* Conde, *takes up Arms. The King aſſembles the States General in the City of* Blois, *to ſettle things in order; but after ſeveral attempts and contrivances, they break up without concluding any thing. The King deſires Peace; but ſeeing the Hugonots inclined to War, raiſes two Armies againſt them: The Duke of* Alancon *with one of them takes* la Charite, Iſoire, *and other places; the Duke of* Mayenne *with the other takes* Thone-Charente *and* Marans. *From War they come to a Treaty of Agreement: Peace is concluded, and the Queen-Mother goes to confer with the King of* Navarre *to make it the ſtronger. The King intent upon the deſign of his hidden thoughts, imploys his time wholly in Religious Exerciſes, aſſumes all Offices to himſelf, and diſpoſes of them to his Favourites; among whom, the Dukes of* Joyeuſe *and* Eſpernon *are eſpecially exalted by him. He Inſtitutes a new Order of Knighthood called* du S. Eſprit. *The Queen-Mother goes from the King of* Navarre, *and viſits a great part of the Kingdom. The Duke of* Alancon, *to obtain Queen* Elizabeth *in Marriage, goes over into* England, *is much honoured; but, notwithſtanding publick demonſtrations, nothing is determined. The Hugonots renew the War; the Prince of* Conde *takes* la Fere *in* Picardy, *and the King of* Navarre *poſſeſſeth himſelf of* Cahors, *and other places: The King diſpatcheth ſeveral Armies againſt them, by which* la Fere *is recovered, but little done in other places: The Duke of* Alancon *being returned into* France, *interpoſes and ſettles the Peace again. He goes into* Flanders *to command the States that had caſt off their Obedience to the Crown of* Spain, *does little good there, returns into* France, *and dies.* 1574.

THE death of *Charles* the Ninth happening juſt at that time when the remedies uſed by him, to purge the humours of his Kingdom, were in the height of their operation; He left not only all parts of *France* in great diſorder and confuſion; but alſo the ſtate of the Crown in exceeding danger and uncertainty, by the ſubverſion, or at leaſt weakning of all the foundations of the Government: For, beſides the lawful Succeſſour, ſo far diſtant in a ſtrange Country, who if he had been preſent, might by aſſiſting at the Helm in a time of ſo great peril, have ſteered and moderated the doubtful, troubleſom courſe of the Commonwealth, all the Inſtruments of Rule and Power were alſo either very much weakned, or utterly perverted; and even thoſe means which uſually maintain and preſerve others, were univerſally bent to the diſtraction and ruine of that Kingdom.

The Duke of *Alancon* and the King of *Navarre*, neareſt of the Blood Royal, and by that prerogative chief of the Council of State, were held as guilty of a moſt hainous crime, and ſtraitly guarded as priſoners. The Prince of *Conde*, though very young, yet of an ancient reputation by the fame of his Anceſtors, not only abſent and fled from Court, but protected by the favour of the Proteſtant Princes, and ready by foreign Forces to bring in new Inundations. The Hugonots up in Arms in every Province, and manifeſtly intent by all means poſſible to ſurpriſe and poſſeſs the chiefeſt Cities and Fortreſſes. Many of the greateſt Lords, ſome ſecretly, ſome openly, were alienated; and divers of thoſe who had moſt experience in affairs, moſt authority with the people, and moſt reputation in war, were already (if I may uſe that word) *Cantonized* in their ſeveral Provinces and Governments; the Treaſury empty, or rather deſtroyed; the Gentry wearied and impoveriſhed; the Militia waſted and con-

1574. ſumed; the people ruined and undone; and yet not only the diſſentions in matters of Religion, but alſo the emulations and enmities of the great ones were ſtill more than ever kindled and ſtirred up. In this miſerable condition no other prop upheld the State from a final ſubverſion contrived and plotted by ſo many, ſave only the wiſdom and magnanimity of the Queen-Mother, who by long uſe accuſtomed to reſiſt the heavieſt ſtrokes of Fortune, having preſently after the Kings death taken poſſeſſion of the Regency, endeavoured conſtantly by the beſt means ſhe could, to ſtop the dangerous precipice of the preſent affairs.

But the diſeaſes of that Kingdom were not ſo light, nor the humours that diſtempered it ſo weak, as could by gentle medicines be cured in a ſhort time, eſpecially in the Kings abſence; wherefore the Queen, by the experience of ſo many years, well acquainted with the nature and quality of the ſickneſs, not preſuming more upon her own ſtrength than in reaſon ſhe ought to hope; thought in that preſent conjuncture, ſhe ſhould do enough, if ſhe could keep the ſtate of the Kingdom from growing worſe, and preſerve it from falling into greater diſtractions, ſuſpending the preſent diſorders till the Kings coming; who afterwards with a well-grounded reſolution might apply ſuch remedies as he thought moſt proper: and in this ſhe imitated the ordinary cuſtom which Phyſitians obſerve in the cure of the moſt deſperate maladies; who having in hand a body full of groſs, corrupt humours, either in the heat of the Dog-days, or the extream cold of Winter, (both times unfit to cleanſe and purge them away) endeavour by gentle lenitive medicines to allay the violence of the diſeaſe, till the conveniency of the ſeaſon gives them opportunity to make a perfect cure. She was the rather perſwaded to take that courſe, becauſe ſhe knew not what the King would reſolve on; who though he had ſeverely perſecuted the Hugonots, during the Reign of his Brother, yet mens opinions and reſolutions changing, according to the alteration of affairs, ſhe could not be certain whether he would incline to Peace or War; and therefore ſhe thought beſt to reſerve things in ſuch manner, that he might have power to follow that which he moſt approved. Wherefore being reſolved to diſſemble, and to value the ſubſtance more than the appearance of things, ſhe determined firſt of all to make preparations for War, that ſhe might not be taken unprovided; and then in other matters, with delays and prolonged hopes to lull and entertain the expectations and inclinations of the Great Ones, endeavouring chiefly to keep Foreign Armies from invading any part of the Kingdome.

With this reſolution ſhe with all ſpeed ſent *Gaſpar* Count of *Schombergh*, to raiſe ſix thouſand Swiſſes, and ſome Troops of German Cavalry; to the Duke of *Montpenſier* (who by reaſon of the Kings deſperate ſickneſs was come to Court) ſhe gave charge, that returning preſently to the Camp which was left in *Poitou*, he ſhould recruit both the Horſe and Foot as much as he could: and the ſame commiſſion ſhe gave to the Prince *Daulphine*, who with the other Army was in the confines of *Daulphine* and *Languedoc*: and nevertheleſs at the ſame time having ſtill a regard to thoſe ends ſhe had ſecretly propoſed to her ſelf, though ſhe took not away the guards which were placed upon the Duke of *Alancon* and the King of *Navarre*, yet ſhe began to uſe them with wonderful ſhews of honour and affection; for alledging that it ſtood not with their reputation to be ſet at liberty without ſome previous teſtimony of their innocency, and without the decree and conſent of the lawful King, leſt the nearneſs of blood and relation might ſeem to have had greater power with her than truth and reaſon; in all other things ſhe ſhewed ſuch an entire confidence in them, that ſhe did nothing of importance without their advice; and promiſed beſides to be a particular Inſtrument in effecting their hopes and pretenſions: by which means the Duke of *Alancon*, being of an unconſtant nature, and allured by his Mothers flatteries, ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily guided by her ſubtilty: and the King of *Navarre*, finding no opportunity to advance his fortune, feigned to give credit to all ſhe ſaid. Thus theſe two Princes either drawn (though not ſincerely) to her party, or quieted, and as it were lulled aſleep, the Regency being confirmed in her without oppoſition, ſhe jointly with her Son and Son-in-law, writ to the Magiſtrates, Governours of Provinces, and other Officers of the Crown; not becauſe their aſſent was neceſſary to make her Orders authentick, nor becauſe ſhe had any great confidence in them; but to ſhew ſhe was both in mind and counſel united with thoſe Princes, and to take away all hopes of their protection from thoſe, who deſiring new changes, had ſet their eyes upon

upon them with wondrous expectation. Theſe Letters, beſides the notice of the Kings death, and his election of the Queen-Mother to be Regent, contained alſo the confirmation of thoſe Edicts granted (by *Charles* lately deceaſed) to thoſe of the Reformed Religion; as Liberty of Conſcience, the free permiſſion of their Eccleſiaſtical Rites; and finally, an effectual exhortation to them all, to live under the obedience of thoſe Edicts, and of the ordinary Magiſtrates, in quietneſs and tranquillity; on the other ſide, exhorting thoſe Magiſtrates to conſerve all perſons in their own juſt rights, and to prohibite any kind of moleſtation to all ſorts of people whatſoever; which things were by Monſieur *de Villeroy* Secretary of State, her moſt aſſured Confident, laid open with many artificial flouriſhes, and with interpretations, and commiſſions favourable to the Hugonots: to withdraw the fuel from that fire; and among ſo many diſcords, in part to qualifie and mitigate in the minds of ſuch as were moſt credulous, thoſe ſo turbulent diſſentions kindled in matters of Religion. 1574.

To theſe ſatisfactory words, joining deeds no leſs proper and efficacious, ſhe diſpatched the Abbot *Giovanni Baptiſta Guadagni*, to Monſieur *de la Noue*, to treat of a ceſſation of Arms in *Poictou* and *Xaintonge*, where the Duke of *Montpenſier* ſtill increaſing his Army, did purpoſely ſlacken his proceedings; it being the intent of the Queen Regent, rather to ſuſpend the cauſes, than proſecute or haſten the effects. With the ſame directions ſhe diſpatched Monſieur *de St. Sulpice* to the Mareſhal *d' Anville*, to the end that by giving him hopes of his Brothers liberty, and of his confirmation in the Government of *Languedoc*, he might endeavour to ſettle the commotions alſo in thoſe parts, and bring things to a truce, which ſhe was reſolved to accept of, though upon diſadvantageous conditions. The Abbot *Guadagni's* negotiation produced its effect; for the Rochellers, and other people thereabouts, who by woful experience had ſufficiently known the valour and ſevere reſolutions of the new King, when, as his Brothers Lieutenant, he made War againſt the Hugonots; being in very great fear of him, inclined eaſily to the Truce, as it were to a forerunner and introduction of Peace; for which cauſe it was concluded, that there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms for two next enſuing months, *July* and *Auguſt*, and for as much longer as the King ſhould think fit, to whom they remitted themſelves in that buſineſs; and that 12000 Crowns ſhould be paid unto them by the Regent, to maintain their Gariſons without annoying or moleſting the Country.

In the abſence of the new King *Henry* 3. a Truce is made for two months.

But the Treaty of *St. Sulpice* wrought not the ſame effect; for though the Mareſhal *d' Anville* was more diſpoſed to maintain himſelf by arts and diſſimulations, than by force, and therefore inclined to the Truce; yet of his own party *Mombrun* in *Daulphine*, who made War rather like an Outlaw againſt every body, than like a Souldier againſt a certain Enemy, would not hearken to any agreement, which would neceſſitate him to lay down his Arms, and ceaſe to over-run and ſpoil the Country: And on the other part, the Catholicks of *Languedoc*, and eſpecially the Parliament of *Thouloſe*, were ſo enflamed againſt the Mareſhal *d' Anville*, that they hardly yielded to the Ceſſation, though commanded by the Queen Regent; it would at laſt have been effected, if *d' Anville* at the ſame time aiming by any means to ſecure and poſſeſs himſelf of thoſe places that depended on him, arrogating the Kings power to himſelf, had not by deeds contrary to his words, ſummoned the States of that Province, and by means of his own adherents, publiſhed Decrees and Ordinances, which had more of an abſolute Prince, than of a Governour. Whereupon the Parliament of *Thouloſe*, infinitely incenſed at thoſe proceedings which did manifeſtly impair their authority, not only refuſed the Truce themſelves; but forbad all thoſe of the Catholick party either to accept, or put it in execution.

The Parliament of *Thouloſe* ordains, that the Truce ſhall not be accepted nor executed.

But neither the injuries of her Enemies, nor the diſobedience of her Friends, could alter the Queens determination; who making ſmall account of outward appearances, minded only the compaſſing of her own ends: Wherefore continuing the buſineſſes which were ſet on foot, ſhe treated ſtill with him, and with his Agents, to gain the benefit of time by the ſame arts, wherewith he endeavoured to ſettle the foundations of his own Eſtate: Which things, while they were in agitation, the Rochellers, fickle and unconſtant in their reſolutions, either becauſe they were excited by thoſe of *Languedoc*, or becauſe the 12000 Crowns which were paid them, were not ſufficient to maintain their Souldiers, who wanting the ſpoils of War, disbanded and forſook them daily, upon a ſudden broke the Truce, which a while before was ſo willingly accepted and concluded, and in all places round about committed moſt grievous cruel outrages:

The Rochellers break the Truce.

1573. outrages: Yet neither for all this was the Queen any thing diſmaid; but diſſembling all injuries with marvellous patience, to accompliſh her own deſigns, diſpatched new Agents to the Rochellers, and to *d' Anville*, that they might renew the Treaty; it ſufficing her, though the buſineſs could not be effected, that till ſhe had notice of the Kings arrival, the time might be ſpun out, without new troubles and diſtractions; and therefore every where mingling Treaties of accommodation with actions of War, both ſides proceeded with equal ſlowneſs, not concluding any agreement, and imploying the Armies only in the buſineſs of ſmall importance.

And now affairs were brought almoſt to the point which the Queen before deſired; for Monſieur *de Montpenſier* with an Army kept the Forces of the Hugonots at a Bay in *Xaintonge*; the Prince *Daulphine*, with another, oppoſed their attempts in *Daulphine*; and *d' Anville*, who, doubtful in his mind, thought more to eſtabliſh himſelf, than to make any new conqueſts, being held in hand with arts and promiſes, drew out the time, without making any more expreſs Declaration. But the Prince of *Conde*, reſiding in *Strasbourgh*, one of the Hans Towns in *Germany*, was already reſolved (following the ſteps of his Father) to make himſelf Head of his party; and therefore treated with the Proteſtant Princes about the raiſing of new Forces, and by Meſſages ſollicited the Hugonots of *France*, to unite and gather themſelves together, and to aſſiſt him with ſome reaſonable ſum of money, whereby while the King was abſent, he might without delay enter with a powerful Army into *Burgongne*.

For this cauſe the Deputies of the Hugonot Provinces (they then called them the *Reformed Churches*) being met together at *Millaut*, with the Agents of the Mareſhal *d' Anville*, (who, though he feigned the contrary, and entertained the Queen Regent with words and promiſes, was yet ſecretly united to them) they conſulted as well about the means of procuring money, as about the conditions upon which they ſhould admit the Prince unto that command; which the Queen no ſooner knew, but ſhe preſently diſpatched fitting perſons (whereof ſhe judiciouſly choſe many, and with her liberality maintained a great number) who under colour of treating an agreement, ſhould by ſowing doubts and diſcords, hinder and delay the reſolutions of that meeting: nor did the Deputies agree very well among themſelves; for though they all knew well enough, that without the name of a Prince of the Blood, that ſhould, both within and without the Kingdom, want authority and reputation, and by conſequence the ſtrength of all their Forces; yet were their opinions diverſe concerning the Prince: for many had yet ſet their eyes upon the Duke of *Alancon*; many deſired the King of *Navarre*; and ſome were unſatisfied with the youth of the Prince of *Conde*, doubting that his want of years and experience would be accompanied with weakneſs and contempt. To this was joined the ambiguouſneſs of *d' Anville*, who though his chiefeſt aim was his own ſecurity, and the conſervation of his Government of *Languedoc*, yet could he not altogether withdraw his thoughts from pretending to the firſt place, which though he could not obtain for himſelf, yet he deſired at leaſt that he that had it, ſhould acknowledge it principally from him: nor could it much pleaſe *la Noue*, whoſe power with the Rochellers was very great to ſee a Superiour choſen, whoſe eminence and reputation would much eclipſe and diminiſh the authority of his Command. But neither the Queens policy, nor their own particular diviſions could reſtrain the general ardour and inclination with which moſt of them voluntarily concurred, to put themſelves under that Prince, whoſe Anceſtors they were accuſtomed to obey, and whoſe very name alone made deep impreſſions in the minds of the people, by reaſon of the ſo famous, and ſo much deplored memory of his Father. Wherefore the Articles of Agreement were ſet down in the name of the Provinces, (*d' Anville* and *la Noue* aſſenting to them of neceſſity, though ſecretly) whereby after their wonted pretences and proteſtations, the power and command of that party was conferred upon the Prince of *Conde*, committing to his protection both the Liberty of their Conſciences, and the ordering of that War which was thought ſo neceſſary for their common ſafety. To theſe Capitulations joining a convenient ſum of money, they appointed three Deputies to aſſiſt the Prince, both in the conduct and ſudden expedition of the Germans, and to relate to him the ſtate of their affairs, and their common reſolutions.

*Henry* the III. ill affected to the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*, Heads of the Hugonots; as alſo to the Duke of *Guiſe*, Head of the Catholicks

The Prince of *Conde* is made Head of the Hugonots.

At this very time the Hugonots uſing all poſſible means to help themſelves, printed an infinite number of little Pamphlets under divers Titles, but all with biting ſtings and fabulous Narrations againſt the Actions and Government of the Queen Regent, to whom

whom many of them being brought, and the Council purpoſing to decree ſevere puniſhments againſt the Authors and Printers of thoſe defamatory Pamphlets, and ſeditious Libels; ſhe oppoſed that opinion, alledging, that to prohibite them, was a certain means to make them authentick; and that there was no greater proof nor trial of the good, than when they were hated, and abuſed by malicious people; and perſevering in her reſolution, not to regard outward appearances, ſhe diſſembled all thoſe injuries with admirable patience; but when ſhe ſaw the preparations for the coming of the Germans, being moſt reſolute to oppoſe them with force, if policy were not ſufficient, ſhe went from *Paris* accompanied with the Duke of *Alancon* and the King of *Navarre*, who not yet ſet at liberty, followed her, but without conſtraint; and being come into *Burgongne*, ſhe her ſelf muſtered the Swiſſes and Germans, confirming the affections of the Commanders with liberal gifts, and many favours; and then marching with them towards the Provinces that were up in Arms, which were the ſame where the Kings coming was expected, and through which the Army of the Proteſtants intended to enter the Kingdom, ſhe reſolved to ſtay in *Lions* as a convenient place to move which way ſoever need required. 1574.

In the mean time, the King having had notice of the death of *Charles*, brought to him by Monſieur *de Chemeraut*, within thirteen days, though the Nobility of the Kingdom of *Poland*, infinitely ſatisfied with his valour and comportment, did uſe all poſſible means to ſtay him there; yet he not willing to forego his hereditary right to *France*, for the elective Kingdom of *Poland*, there being ſo great a difference between them; and ſollicited by thoſe urgent affairs which called him away, to remedy ſuch violent dangers, departed ſecretly by night with a ſmall retinue, and paſſing through *Auſtria* with all poſſible ſpeed, went forward toward his own Kingdom by the way of *Italy*. He was continually haſtened by Letters and Meſſages from the Queen Regent, who with much ado ſmothering the ſparks of that fire, which was ready to break into a flame, infinitely deſired her Sons preſence, that ſhe might without further delay apply ſuch remedies as were proper for the malignity of the diſeaſe: wherefore the King ſuſpending no longer time than juſt what neceſſity required in the entertainments of the Princes of *Italy*, and particularly in the delights of *Venice*, where he was received with wonderful pomp and honour, about the end of *Auguſt* arrived at *Thurin*, where it was expected he would begin to prepare, and lay the ground-work of his deſigns.

The Mareſhal *d' Anville*, upon ſecurity of the Duke of *Savoy*'s word, came thither to him, as alſo *Philippe Huraut* Viſcount of *Chiverny* his old Chancellor, *Gaſpar* Count of *Schombergh*, *Bernard de Fizes*, and *Nicholas de Neuville* Sieur *de Villeroy*, both Secretaries of State, who all were ſent from the Queen Regent, to give him an account of the affairs of his Kingdom. But the King having heard their relation, with the ſecret deſigns of his Mother, and on the other ſide the pretences and excuſes of the Mareſhal, though not only *Roger* Sieur *de Bellegarde*, and *Guy de Pibrac* his favoured Counſellors; but alſo the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Lady *Margaret* laboured all they could to bring him to ſome determination that might be favourable to *d' Anville*; yet nouriſhing high thoughts in the depth of his mind, and making his excuſe that he would reſolve nothing without the aſſiſtance and approbation of his Mother, to whoſe vigilance and prudence he was ſo much obliged, he diſmiſſed *d' Anville* with ambiguous anſwers, and haſtned his journey ſo much the more, leſt he ſhould be put upon a neceſſity of referring that to the determinations of others, which he purpoſed to reſerve to the execution of his own premeditated deſigns; for the better compaſſing whereof, ſeeing he had ſo many buſineſſes to ſettle in his own Kingdom, that for many decads of years it would be in vain to think of any enterpriſe on that ſide of the Mountains; and deſiring abſolutely to gain the Duke of *Savoy* and the Lady *Margaret*, that he might make uſe of them afterward in the effecting of his purpoſes, he reſolved to reſtore unto them *Pignerol*, *Savillan*, and *la Vallee de Perouſe*, which for ſecurity of the intentions of thoſe Princes, had been held by the Kings his Predeceſſors; thinking it ſuperfluous to keep places with a vaſt expence, out of his own Kingdom, which were of no other uſe but in conſideration of thoſe hopes, which as affairs then ſtood, were very far off, and unlikely. Yet many condemned that his precipitate reſtitution of them, and *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers* Governour of thoſe places, and a man of equal wiſdom and loyalty, after having uſed all poſſible endeavours that they might not be reſtored, laid open his opinion finally in writing, which he deſired might

*Henry* the III. returning out of *Poland*, ſtays at *Thurin*, and reſtores certain places to the Duke of *Savoy*, kept by the Kings of *France* for ſecurity.

1574. might be kept for his diſcharge, among the Records and Charters of the Crown; whereat the King was offended, though he wiſely diſſembled it, thinking them vain and ambitious, who would ſeem to know more of his own ſecrets than he himſelf.

The fifth day of *September*, he came into the confines of his own Kingdom at *Pont-Beau-voyſin*, where the Duke of *Alancon*, and the King of *Navarre* expected him, who having till then (though with much gentleneſs) been kept as priſoners, were with demonſtrations of much honour and affection fully ſet at liberty by him at the firſt meeting; and to give the greater teſtimony of his good will toward them, he placed himſelf in the midſt between them both, to receive his ſubjects which were come thither to the confines to ſhew their dutiful reſpects unto him. The next day he met the Queen his Mother, who was purpoſely come to a little Caſtle near *Lyons*; and being entered together into the City, they began without further delay, to treat of buſineſſes, concerning the Peace, or War which they were to make with their armed ſubjects.

The King knew very well not only the wavering troubleſom eſtate of his Kingdom, but alſo the miſerable condition to which he himſelf at that time was reduced; for the whole Kingdom being divided into two different factions, the one of the Catholicks, the other of the Hugonots, both which had their chief heads appointed and eſtabliſhed long before hand, and through the long reiterated diſtractions, not only the Cities and Provinces, but alſo all particular perſons divided between them, he found that he was left (as we uſe to ſay) dry between two Rivers; and that his power being ſhared and diſmembred between thoſe two great parties, he retaining nothing but the name of a King, was utterly deprived both of his forces, and due obedience; and moreover, that to avoid miſery and contempt, he was neceſſitated to become factious, and partial; and mixing in the diſſentions of his ſubjects, to make himſelf the author of his own misfortunes, and a neceſſary inſtrument to imbroil and deſtroy his own Kingdom. For though the Hugonots and Politicks were called by the name of Rebels, as thoſe who firſt had ſhaken off the yoke of their obedience to the King, and openly oppoſed him; and though the Catholicks fought under a colour of ſo ſpecious and ſo neceſſary a cauſe as the defence and preſervation of their Religion; yet for all that the malice of mankind had mingled with it the venom of private intereſts, and under that honourable pretence, the ambition of the Great Ones had to the prejudice of their Kings, built up their own Power, and eſtabliſhed a kind of unſufferable Authority.

The *Guiſes*, whilſt in the Reign of the late Kings they bore the principal ſway in the Government, had very fair opportunities to raiſe and confirm their own Greatneſs, by putting the commands of ſtrong places, and the Governments of Provinces into the hands of their own Creatures, and neareſt Confidents; by placing their dependants in the Courts of Juſtice, in the Kings Council, in the chief honours of the Court, and the management of the *Finances*; and by drawing an infinite number of men to their own devotion, who were ſtraitly engaged to them for many favours, gifts, riches and dignities obtained by their means; which things, whilſt the minds of men were paſſionately inclined to that party, and taken with the ſpecious maſk of Religion, to many ſeemed tolerable, and to many very reaſonable and juſt: But now they were taken notice of to be united in one body of a Faction, they appeared as a great engine erected to oppoſe, and upon any fit occaſion to reſiſt even the authority and pleaſure of the King himſelf. But on the other ſide, the Hugonots had no leſs conveniency of eſtabliſhing themſelves, and ſtrengthening their own power; for having by the oſtentation of liberty, and by promiſing Offices and Authority, drawn unto themſelves all the male-contents and turbulent ſpirits, who once entangled, could no more diſ-ingage themſelves; and the Edicts of ſo many ſeveral Pacifications, having ſtill confirmed thoſe Offices and Governments to thoſe upon whom they had been conferred by the Princes and Heads of the Faction; in proceſs of time, the Provinces were incumbered with them, places of ſtrength poſſeſſed by them, many chief Offices of the Crown repleniſhed with their adherents, and a great part of the Nobility, with many popular men, were united and intereſted with them through the whole Kingdom. Wherefore the late Kings, who by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of their Reigns, had given greater opportuity to the building up of thoſe two powerful Factions, remaining utterly deprived of all the means and inſtruments of Government, were forced by neceſſity to become Champions of the paſſion, and Promoters of the greatneſs of other

other men; ſo that being unable of themſelves to execute any ſolid reſolute deſign, in ſtead of governing, they were governed; and in ſtead of bridling that violence, they themſelves were carried away by the impetuous ſtream of thoſe Factions: which indignities being ſeriouſly conſidered by the preſent King, full of high thoughts, and of a lively generous ſpirit, had made ſuch an impreſſion in him, that though he uſed his uttermoſt endeavours to diſſemble and conceal it, he could not but with deep ſighs often break forth into the words of *Lewis* the XI, (one of his Predeceſſors) * *That it was now high time to put Kings out of their Page-ſhips:* meaning, that they having ſo long been ſubject to the laſh and diſcipline of the Heads of thoſe Factions, it was then ſeaſonable to ſhake off their Empire and Dominion. With theſe conſiderations having even in the time of his Brothers Reign begun to obſerve and deplore that weakneſs of the Kings, and inſolence of the Subjects, and having made a greater reflection upon them in the thoughts of his late Voyage, after the Crown was fallen into his hands, he reſolved with himſelf to uſe all poſſible force to ſhake from his neck the wretched diſhonourable yoke of thoſe Factions, and to make himſelf a free abſolute King, as ſo many of his glorious Anceſtors had been. 1574.

* *Qu' il eſtoit temps de mettre les Rois hors Page.*

But as this thought was certainly very neceſſary for one that deſired to Reign, and very juſt in the lawful poſſeſſor of a Crown; ſo was it alſo infinitely hard and difficult to be put in execution. He wanted the ſinews of the Treaſury, already waſted and conſumed; he wanted the obedience of his Subjects, who were ſo obſtinately intereſted in their ſeveral Factions, that the Majeſty and Veneration of a King was already become fabulous and contemptible: he wanted faithful truſty Miniſters; for every one by ſome ſtrait tie or other was engaged to one of the parties; and the buſineſs of it ſelf by reaſon of their ſo exceſſive power, was a work of mighty art, extraordinary cars, infinite diligence; and for the perfecting thereof, propitious Fortune was no leſs requiſite than great length of time. But notwithſtanding all theſe ſo weighty obſtacles, the Kings mind being ſo inwardly wounded, that he could not take himſelf off from the perpetual meditation of that deſign, and thinking no enterpriſe (how painful or difficult ſoever) impoſſible to his youth and valour, firmly determined to apply all his moſt powerful endeavours to compaſs that end, which he was not only perſwaded to by publick reſpects and his former conſiderations, but was alſo moved and incited thereunto by his own private paſſions and particular inclinations; for having conceived an inveterate hatred againſt the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, from the time that he was imployed againſt them, in that War wherein he had been nouriſhed and brought up from his very childhood; he ardently deſired to ſee the ruine of them, and of all the reſt of their Faction; from whom, by reaſon of former injuries, he believed he could never have any real nor faithful ſervice: and on the other ſide, calling to mind the offence received from the Duke of *Guiſe* in the perſon of his Siſter the Lady *Margaret* then Queen of *Navarre*, (of whom it was reported that he had obtained more than ordinary favours) he had converted all the love which he formerly bare him into ſo great a ſpleen, that (although he diſſembled it) he burned with a moſt fervent deſire of revenge; and for her ſake could not endure any intereſt, dependance or alliance of blood with the houſe of *Guiſe*; ſo that publick cauſes concurring with private enmities, he ſo much the more eaſily reſolved to deſtroy both thoſe ſo potent Factions.

*Henry* the III. ill-affected to the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*, Heads of the Hugonots; as alſo to the Duke of *Guiſe*, Head of the Catholicks.

But in contriving proper means to attain that end, the firſt doubt he met withal was this, Whether the eſtabliſhment of Peace or continuance of War were more profitable for the advancement of this deſign; and though partly to diſcover their inclinations, partly to draw from them ſome conſiderations agreeing with his own intents, he heard the opinions of his Councellours in that point; ſome exhorting him to imbrace Peace, and others encouraging the proſecution of the War; yet he concluded with himſelf, that War continually nouriſhing and increaſing the force and power of the Factions, was diſadvantageous for his preſent purpoſe; and that Peace which would lull aſleep turbulent ſpirits, and with the benefit of time quiet the paſſions and animoſities of both parties, was much more helpful and proper to the effecting of his deſires. For whilſt the War continued, new Abettors and Adherents were daily added to the Factions, new places fortified, which were in the power of the Heads of thoſe parties, new Gariſons brought in, and youth was bred up in the profeſſion of Arms, and in the obſtinacy of civil diſſentions: whereas by Peace, the feuds and enmities between particular men would be extinguiſhed, the courſe of the Factions ſtopped,

1574. the fortifications already made (as the cuſtom is) would be demoliſhed, the number of thoſe, who (wanting other means of living) maintained themſelves by War, would be diſſipated, the remembrance of paſt hatreds buried, and the old engaged Leaders (ſo accuſtomed to diſcord) dropping away, young men, free from paſſion, and bred in peaceful thoughts, would ſpring up in their places. To theſe reaſons was alſo added this other important reſpect, That it being neceſſary for the execution of ſo great a deſign, to furniſh the Treaſury with ſome ſtore of moneys for the foundation of his own power, and the ſufficient maintenance of his Greatneſs, and Forces proper for a King; this could not be put in practice but by the benefit of Peace, ſince War did continually deſtroy and conſume the publick ſtock, waſting that in a few months, which with much labour was a whole year a gathering from the people. Beſides this, that old conſideration wrought alſo, which had ever produced the concluſion of Peace; for the Prince of *Conde* being ready to come out of *Germany* with a great foreign Army to the evident danger of *France*, it ſeemed much more to the purpoſe to divert that tempeſt by an agreement, than by reſiſting it with force in that weak beginning of his Reign to put the ſtate of his Kingdom in ſo manifeſt an hazard. Theſe reaſons, which perchance by the deſire of Reſt, and of the delights of the Court, (to which he was very much inclined) were made to appear more valid and powerful, perſwaded him to imbrace an accommodation; yet becauſe the occaſions of the War were ſo juſt and reaſonable, and becauſe the Hugonots on their part provoked him daily with new injuries, in ſo much as *Mombrun* coming from the mountains of *Daulphine*, had plundered his own carriages as they paſſed from *Savoy* to *Lyons*; and on the other ſide, becauſe the Catholick Princes unanimouſly exhorted him not to forſake that path of conſtancy and valour which in former times he had ſo gloriouſly trodden, for the ſuppreſſion and extirpation of hereſie; he feared his deſigns would eaſily be diſcovered, if it were obſerved, that he, a young warlike Prince, ſhould refuſe to ſhow himſelf againſt the Rebellious, and not care to puniſh the inſolence and contumacy of his own Subjects: for having no cauſe to think that his former actions could argue him guilty of either baſeneſs of mind, or weakneſs of underſtanding, they would rather believe he had directed his aim at ſome further and more important ends, which he thought it would be impoſſible for him to compaſs, when once they were laid open by more than probable conjectures: wherefore reſolving to make uſe of the continued ordinary means of diſſimulation, which by nature and cuſtom he was very well verſed in, he determined in himſelf to continue the War, but with ſuch cold faint proceedings as ſhould not alter the ſtate of affairs; and in the mean time by convenient opportunities dexterouſly and diſſemblingly to bring in Peace, upon the ground whereof he would after go on to nearer, and to more effectual means; for feigning ſometimes to be taken up with exerciſes of devotion, ſometimes with pleaſing delightful entertainments, he thought by a ſhew of negligence and careleſneſs in time to delude the wiſdom of the moſt politick Obſervers, as if nouriſhing only ſoft effeminate thoughts, he had wholly given himſelf over to eaſe and devotion.

With thoſe arts he thought he might eaſily lull the vigilancy of the Faction, and afterward have both time and opportunity, as occaſion ſerved, to build up his deſigns. He purpoſed to cheriſh, and exalt in Court quick-witted and crafty-natured men, to whom he might ſecurely commit the adminiſtration the Government; in time he intended to draw into the hands of his Creatures and Confidents, not ſo much the name and title, as the ſubſtance and eſſence, both of the greateſt Civil and Military Offices; he hoped with thoſe opportunities which time uſes to afford, by degrees to take away the greatneſs and reputation of powerful factious men, either by depriving them of their place, diminiſhing their adherents, leſſening their credit, or finally by cutting them off; by which means prudently managed he promiſed himſelf, (though with ſome length of time) that he ſhould ruine and pull down by little and little, thoſe powers which had been built up, and now appeared ſo eminent and terrible; which things wiſely diſpoſed, and diſcreetly contrived, might perhaps in the end have ſucceeded happily, if the King in proceſs of time had not ſuffered himſelf to be tranſported by his own nature and inclinations.

Now being upon theſe conſiderations, reſolved to continue the name, but to ſlacken the effects of War, he recalled the Prince from the command of the Army, who with an ardour equal to his courage, and a ſincerity equal to his nature, had done his buſineſs ſo handſomly, that having taken and ſacked *Pauſin*, a place of very great conſequence,

ſequence, and overrun all the Province of *Vivarez*, he had filled the Hugonots with infinite terrour; which progreſs being contrary to the Kings intention, having ſent for him from the Army, under colour of being preſent at his Conſecration, he committed the charge thereof unto *Roger* Sieur *de Bellegarde*, newly created Mareſhal, who was not only an intereſted friend to *d' Anville*, with whom chiefly he was to make War in that Province, but one eſteemed by the King ſo faithful to him, that he was confident he might diſpoſe of him at his own pleaſure; and becauſe the Duke of *Montpenſier* on the other ſide, having razed *Luſignan*, taken *Fontenay*, and other adjacent Towns, preſſed the Hugonots ſo home, that they were already, as it were, ſhut up in *Rochel*, he commanded away ſome of his Forces, pretending, that they were more neceſſary in *Champagne*, to hinder the entrance of that foreign Army, which under the Prince of *Conde*, was not far diſtant from the borders of the Kingdom; and becauſe *Henry* Duke of *Guiſe*, the principal Head of the Catholick party, Governour of *Champagne*, had the command of the Forces of that Province, he made *Armand* Sieur *de Byron* his Lieutenant; who no leſs famous for wiſdom, than valour, had already ſhewed himſelf very favourable to the Hugonots. 1574.

Matters of War being ſettled, and balanced in this manner, the King began to think of Marriage; for, the hopes of the Family depending upon him, and the Duke of *Alancon*, both without Children, it was neceſſary to provide for the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom. Before he went into *Poland*, he was not a little taken with *Louyſe*, the Daughter of *Nicolas* Count of *Vaudemont*, and Niece to the Duke of *Lorain*, being beſides the beauty of her perſon, infinitely pleaſed with the modeſty of her diſpoſition, and diſcreet behaviour; but the fear of augmenting the greatneſs of the Houſe of *Lorain*, and of bringing the Cardinal into the management of affairs, whoſe genius was wont to rule the wills, and ſway the affections of his Predeceſſors, did much diſſwade him from that thought; and recalling to mind the late occurrences, under the Reigns of *Francis* the Second, and *Charles* the Ninth, and the great pretentions and authority of the Cardinal, he could not bend his mind, to ſuffer by that means, a new increaſe of that Power, the abatement whereof he had with ſo much labour, and ſo long patience propounded to himſelf. For which conſiderations turning his thoughts another way, he purpoſed to demand *Elizabeth* Siſter to *John* King of *Sweden*, a Princeſs for wit and beauty not inferiour to any; and Secretary *Pinart* was preſently ſent to treat about the match. But in the mean time while the King ſtayed at *Avignon*, the Cardinal of *Lorain* (whoſe power and wiſdom he ſo much feared) chancing to die of a Burning Feaver, he ſuddenly changed his determination, recalling *Pinart* from his treaty, and being ſwayed by affection, which in all, but eſpecially in great minds, prevails above all other reſpects, he took to Wife *Louyſe de Vaudemont*, who in the beginning of the next year was brought to *Rheimes* by the Duke, and Dutcheſs of *Lorain*.

The King demands the Siſter of the King of Sweden to Wife.

The death of the Cardinal of *Lorain*.

The Kings third conſideration, was, how to ſettle his Brother the Duke of *Alancon*, who being of a ſeditious ſpirit, and fickle turbulent nature, was not likely to be more quiet in the Reign of the preſent King, whom he already hated and envied, than he had been in the late Reign of *Charles*, who had not given him ſuch cauſes of hatred and emulation. Two Propoſitions came into his mind for that purpoſe; one was to procure *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* in Marriage for him, but that had been often treated of, and always waved, by her reſolution not to marry: the other to reſign the Crown of *Poland* to him, but that could not be done, but by the conſent and election of that people, the which (they believing themſelves injured and deprived by the King, in his ſo ſecret departure from them) was very hard to be obtained. But not being to be diſcouraged by difficulty, from making trial what might be done, he choſe two Ambaſſadours to treat about the buſineſs, *Guy* Sieur *de Pibrac* a man of great learning and experience, one of his intimate Counſellors, and *Roger* Sieur *de Bellegarde*, ſubſtituting in the command of the Army *Alberto Gonai* Count of *Retz*, who becauſe he was an Italian, brought up, and raiſed by King *Charles*, and the Queen-Mother, was infinitely truſted by him, and made partaker of many of his moſt hidden ſecret intentions.

With theſe deſigns, but with a ſhew of feaſts and triumphs, began the year 1575. For the King being departed from *Avignon*, to be conſecrated with the accuſtomed Ceremonies, was come to *Rheimes*, where the holy Oyl is kept in a Viol (commonly called the *Sanctæ Ampoule*) deſtined by ancient Veneration, for the anointing of the 1575.

1575. The King is consecrated at *Reims* by *Lewis* Cardinal of *Lorain*, Brother to the Duke of *Guise*, and next day marrieth *Louyse de Vaudemont* Neece to the Duke of *Lorain*.

Kings of *France*. The Ceremonies were performed with solemn State, by *Lewis* Cardinal of *Lorain*, the Duke of *Guises* Brother; and the next day after the King married the Princess *Louyse*; all the sadness of former troubles, dissolving it self into delightful thoughts, dances, tournaments, and all manner of pomp and jollity: then having visited the Church of St. *Maclou*, where the Kings with a fast of nine days, and other pennances, use to receive that famous Gift of Healing the Kings Evil with nothing but a touch, the King in the end of *March* came into the City of *Paris*.

In the beginning of *April*, the Deputies of the Prince of *Conde*, the Mareshal *d'Anville*, and of the associated Provinces, were come thither by his permission, to treat of Peace; to whom were joined the Ambassadors of the Queen of *England*, and of the Cantons of *Swisserland*, to exhort and perswade the King, to grant those conditions to the Hugonots, which they thought necessary for their security: but their demands were so exorbitant, though the King were of himself inclined to embrace Peace, yet could he not bend his mind to hearken to them; and the Catholick party with bitter murmurings spoke openly against the insolence, and impertinence of their propositions: wherefore after a long ambiguous Negotiation, the Deputies took leave, returning to relate the Kings pleasure to those that sent them; and left *Arenes* one of their number at the Court, to keep the business in agitation, and not utterly to cut off the treaty of Peace, which was so much desired on both sides.

*Mombrun* who had taken the Kings carriages is taken himself and executed.

About this time (though it were contrary to the Kings intent) the War was not at all less active, than it was before; for mens minds being inflamed of themselves, by the fire of each faction, much blood was daily spilt in several encounters; and it happened, that *Mombrun*, grown proud by the success of many Victories, thinking to have his wonted fortune, in a sudden disorderly charge, which he gave the Forces of Monsieur *de Gordes* the Kings Lieutenant in *Daulphine*, was not only repulsed, but also so streightened, between a River and a Hill, by the multitude of the Catholicks, that all his men being defeated and scattered, he was first wounded, and after taken prisoner; so that being brought to *Grenoble*, he was by publick decree of the Parliament condemned to death, and the sentence executed without delay; he not only bearing the punishment of those infinite troubles, which he had brought upon that Province, but also of his boldness in daring to plunder the Kings own Carriages and Servants. From this battel wherein *Mombrun* was defeated, escaped *Francis de Bonne* Sieur *de Lesdiquiers*, a man of great wisdom, and no less boldness and vivacity, who in process of time, being made Head of the Hugonot Faction in *Daulphine*, advanced himself by his prudence and courage so far above his own private condition, that in the end he came with incredible reputation to be made High-Constable of the Kingdome.

*Francis Bonne* made Head of the Hugonots, and after High-Constable of the Kingdom.

Nor was the state of affairs any quieter in the other Provinces; for the Mareschal *d'Anville* having called a meeting at *Nismes*, and another afterward at *Montpellier*, had declared himself Head of the Politicks, and joining in confederacy with the Hugonots, had openly attempted those places, which held of the Kings party; In the Province of *Perigort*, *Henry de la Tour* Viscount of *Turenne*, had caused many places to revolt unto the Hugonots, in *Normandy* the Rebels had taken the Mount St. *Michael*, though within a few days after it was recovered by the care and valour of *Matignon*; and in all those Provinces, there happened daily little, but frequent encounters, which though they altered not the condition of businesses in the main, yet did they nourish discord in mens minds, and augment the power of the Faction; which reasons confirming the King so much the more in his resolutions of procuring a Peace, he sent Monsieur *de la Hunaude*, a man of much popular eloquence, to treat with *la Noue* and the Rochellers, to try if by any means they might be removed from those high conditions they demanded; and still continued the Negotiation of Agreement with the Agents of the Prince of *Conde* and Monsieur *d'Anville*. He also very politickly gave a beginning to those arts which were already contrived, and shewed openly that his mind was averse from the troubles of business, and the toils of War; and on the other side, much addicted to a devout solitary life, entertaining himself with softer pleasures, and more gentle quiet conversations: but in the mean time he ceased not to consult privately, and as much as he could to draw forward his design; which that it might be kept the more secret, he continued his custom of not propounding his most weighty affairs in the open Council of State, but to treat of them only in the Cabinet-Council, which was begun in his Brothers time, and by him reduced to a very small

small number, which were the Queen his Mother, *Renato di Birago* an Italian, High Chancellor, *Alberto Gondi* Count of *Retz*, *Philip Hurault* Viscount of *Chiverny*, *Pompone* Sieur *de Bellievre*, *Sebastian de l' Aubespine* Bishop of *Limogis*, *Rene* Sieur *de Villeguier*, and the two Secretaries, *Pinart* and *Villeroy*. To these not communicating the whole secret, but only those things which were presently to be done, he resolved as he saw occasion; and daily drew persons of wit and valour to the Court, but such as, taken from moderate fortunes, ought to acknowledge their advancement only from his hand. And to bring the disposing of the publick monies, and the giving of all grants into his own power, that so men might be obliged to him alone, and the dependance be taken away from the Heads and Princes of the Factions; seeming to find fault with the ill-ordering of those two most principal things in his Brothers time, he decreed that the Treasurers, not giving other account to the Chamber appointed for that purpose, nor to the Superintendent of the *Finances*, might make up their accounts and reckonings with nothing but acquittances signed with his hand; by which means disposing of moneys according to his own pleasure, he caused it secretly to be conveyed where he thought most convenient, without making any body acquainted with it but himself. In the business of grants and favours, he commanded that no one should intercede or beg for another, but that every one should present their own Petitions, which being once signed with his hand, the Secretaries of State were presently to dispatch them without delay, reply or contradiction: for during the Reigns of the late Kings, the Princes and great men of the Kingdom, and the Favourites of the Court were wont to present Petitions for private men, favouring their requests by their Authority, and the Petitions were sent to the Secretaries of State and the High Chancellour; who, if they found any thing in them contrary to Law, or the Institutions of the Kingdom, rejected and refused them without further consultation: But if they were such things as might be granted without inconveniency, they registred them in a Roll orderly head by head, which Roll was always read once in so many days before the King and his Council, and every request being maturely weighed, those that were granted, were signed by the Kings hand, and those that were denied, were crossed out of the Roll, and that being copied fair, was called the Counter-Roll; which was no sooner done, but the High Chancellour sealed it, and then the Secretaries dispatched them presently. But *Henry* desirous to deprive the great ones of that means of gaining adherents and dependents, resolved to alter that course, and therefore ordained that private persons should bring their Petitions immediately to himself, which he reading at convenient times, signed those which he was pleased to grant, and would have the Secretaries of State without further debate or exceptions instantly to prepare the Warrants; which new custom, though it seemed strange to the great persons of the Kingdom, and gave occasion of distaste to many, yet brought it the grant of all Gifts, Pardons and Offices into the Kings absolute disposing, taking away by little and little the followers that flocked after the Heads of the Factions, and reducing all Petitioners to acknowledge their Obligations particularly to himself.

1574.

*Henry* the III. frames a new Model of Government.

The manner observed at Court in the granting of Petitions.

On this manner did *Henry* go politickly advancing his designs; but as all things which must be effected with length of time, receive divers alterations, according to the variety of worldly accidents, there hapned a thing, which for a season crossed and interrupted the Kings purposes. The Duke of *Alanson* had till then been kept in hand by the hopes of attaining the Kingdom of *Poland*: For though Monsieur *de Bellegarde* discontented at many things, and seeing himself lessened in the Kings favour, was retired into the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*, whereof he was Governour, and had refused to treat concerning that Election; yet Monsieur *de Pibrac*, a man of perfect abilities, went thither, and for a time hoped to bring it to an happy conclusion. But when he once saw that expectation vanished, (for the Nobility and Commons of *Poland* being much displeased with the Family of *France*, had elected *Stephano Battori*, an Hungarian of great fame, and remarkable valour) not being able to live under his Brother, and expect the changes of his fortune from his will and pleasure, he fell upon a new design of building up his own greatness by himself; for finding he was repulsed in his pretending to the Office of Lieutenant General, and that, to sowe discord between him and his friends, it was sometimes given out that the Duke of *Lorain*, sometimes that the King of *Navarre* should have it, he thought that making himself Head of the Hugonots and Catholick Male-contents, as were the House of *Montmorancy*, and the Mareschal *de Bellegarde*, either he should obtain a very absolute power among them,

The Duke of *Alanson* excluded from the Crown of *Poland*, and *Stephano Battori* a Hungarian elected to succeed *Henry* the Third.

1575. them, or elſe conſtrain the King to grant him that by force, which he deſpaired to obtain by his good will. Having given ſome little hint of theſe his vaſt thoughts to Madam *de Sauve*, (of whom he was paſſionately enamoured, but not anſwered with a reciprocal affection) and ſhe having in part ſignified her ſuſpicions unto the Queen-Mother, his diſcontents encreaſed very much by the bitter words and unkind looks which he received daily: Wherefore being by diſdain and anger brought unto a violent reſolution, he determined raſhly to abſent himſelf from Court, and to make himſelf the Head of thoſe who had often wooed and perſwaded him to it. This reſolution (he being a man of mean capacity, and more ready to undertake, than able to manage ſo great an enterpriſe) was put in execution ſo unſeaſonably, and with ſo little appearance of reaſon, as made many doubt that it was a plot agreed upon by the King his Brother, and the Queen his Mother, that he ſhould feign himſelf diſcontented, and alienated from them, to deceive the Hugonots, and, under colour of friendſhip and aſſiſtance, to open a way to the ſuppreſſion and deſtruction of thoſe that were up in arms. But it is moſt certain, (and I have heard it affirmed by a perſon who having had principal Offices in the Government, was partaker of the moſt hidden ſecrets which were then in agitation) that this action of the Duke of *Alancon* was ſo far from being contrived by the King and Queen-Mother, that on the contrary it was ſo terrible and ſo unpleaſing to them, that being as it were aſtoniſhed with the blow, they neglected no poſſible means, nor thought ſcorn of any indignity how great ſoever it were, ſo they might but withdraw him from the party of thoſe factious men, and reſtore him to his former nearneſs and obedience.

Now the Duke of *Alancon* having to ſome of his moſt familiar Confidents ſecretly communicated his intention of leaving the Court on the fifteenth day of *September* this preſent year, went into the Faux-bourg of St. *Marceau*, under pretence of viſiting a certain Lady, which he loved and enjoyed; and entring the houſe where ſhe dwelt about the ſhutting in of the day, while his Gentlemen expected him on the ſtreet-ſide, he went forth at a private back-gate which led into the fields; and being come where he was expected by thoſe that were privy to his purpoſe, he preſently got on horſe-back, and with a ſmall Train, but very great ſpeed, riding all night, arrived at the City of *Dreux*, a place that was under his command, and there publiſhed a Declaration next day, wherein he ſhewed that the cauſes of his departure were the unworthy dealings that had been uſed towards Him and other great Lords of the Kingdom, who were kept in priſon without any fault or demerit, and the imminent ruine which he foreſaw did hang over the common ſafety by reaſon of the Kings evil Councellors; exhorting all *France* to join with him to make a General Aſſembly of the States, and, by means thereof, remedy the unjuſt burthens of many, moderate the heavy taxes laid upon the people, regulate the abuſes of juſtice, eſtabliſh the Liberty of Conſcience ſo often by publick ſolemn decrees promiſed to thoſe of the Reformed Religion, and reſtore peace and happineſs to all ſorts of men in the Kingdom: for which things (but without offence to the Kings Majeſty) he proteſted to ſpend the laſt drop of his blood, as he was neceſſarily obliged to do by his affection to his Country, and love to all good men. By which Declaration divulged particularly in thoſe Provinces and places moſt abounding with the Hugonots, it was plainly to be ſeen, that he aſpired to the command of that party, which by the authority of ſo great a Prince, and the number of his followers, which were many, was like to be very much augmented in ſtrength and reputation.

The Duke of *Alancon* his flight and Declaration.

But the King hearing of his Brothers departure, that very night diſpatched *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers* with ſome certain Horſe, to try if by any means poſſible they could take him; which not ſucceeding by reaſon of the great ſpeed the Duke of *Alancon* made, and the advantage of ſo many hours; he being unreſolved in his own thoughts, called his Cabinet-Council together, (on the ſixteenth of *September* at night) and began to treat of thoſe remedies which were to be uſed againſt ſo ſudden and ſo unexpected an accident: in which conſultation the Queens opinion concurring with the Kings inclination, and with the advice of the major part of the Board, the concluſion was, That not regarding any conditions how hard ſoever, they ſhould try by all poſſible endeavours to withdraw the Duke of *Alancon* from his new begun deſign, and ſeparate him from the commerce of thoſe turbulent people; to which end, though the King (being a cruel Enemy to Heads of the Factions) bare an ill will to the Mareſhals of *Coſſe* and *Momorancy*, who were ſtill kept priſoners in the Baſtile; yet

to

to appeaſe and ſatisfie his Brother, by whoſe occaſion they were fallen into that rebellion, and to take away the fuel from that fire, they were both ſet at liberty in that very conjuncture of time; the Queen intending to make them inſtruments of reconciliation with her Son, to whom ſhe reſolved to go in perſon, not believing that any could be ſo powerful and prevalent to perſwade him as the authority and flatteries of a Mother, accompanied with thoſe Arts which ſhe was wont in all occaſions to uſe with marvellous dexterity. 1575. The Mareſhals of *Montmorancy* and *Coſſe* ſet at liberty.

The Duke of *Alançon* was come into *Poitou*, where he was preſently met by Monſieur *de la Noue*, *Gilbert* Sieur *de Vantadour*, a Lord of principal note in *Limoſin*, and the Viſcount of *Turenne*, both allyed to the Mareſhal *d' Anville*, and all the Hugonot Towns ſent to honour and acknowledge him by meſſages full of duty and reſpect.

Nor did the Prince of *Conde* (who, being joined with Prince *Caſimir* upon the confines of *Germany*, had drawn together a mighty Army) ſhew himſelf leſs ready or deſirous to obey him than the reſt; for knowing his ambitious nature, and how much credit and reputation he gained by the name of the Kings Brother, he thought it was to no purpoſe to contend with him for the firſt place, being confident, that though he carried the name of the ſupreme power, yet the real authority of command would nevertheleſs ſtill remain in him, as well by reaſon of the ancient aſſurance he had of the Hugonot Faction, as becauſe that foreign Army was paid and raiſed by his own induſtry; ſo that in his imployment he acknowledged no other Superiour, but only His authority under whoſe conduct and direction he firſt took up Arms: Wherefore, preventing the motions, and in a manner the very deſires of the Duke of *Alançon*, he declared him Captain-General of his party, and ſeemed to content himſelf with the Title of his Lieutenant in the command of the foreign Army; which drawing near to enter into *France* with 14000 Swiſſe and German Foot, three thouſand French Firelocks, and ſeven or eight thouſand Horſe, and fearing too long a delay by reaſon of the greatneſs of his Army, and the tedious difficulty of the way, he reſolved to ſend *Guilliaume de Momorancy* Lord of *Thore* with two thouſand German Horſe, two hundred Gentlemen, and two thouſand Foot of ſeveral Nations, throw *Champagne* (which is the neareſt way) to join with the Duke of *Alançon*, who he thought ſtood in need of preſent aſſiſtance. *Thore* entring the Kingdom near *Langres* in *Burgongne*, and thence by the ſhorteſt way croſſing over *Champagne*, haſted by the ſwiftneſs of his march to avoid the oppoſition of the Catholicks, and paſſing the River *Marne*, to get as ſoon as he could into ſecurity: but being overtaken by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who with his Brother *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*, *Armaud* Sieur *de Byron*, the Count of *Retz*, and a freſh powerful Army followed to intercept his paſſage; either the temerity of his Souldiers, (as he ſaid afterwards) or his own deſire to fight, perſwaded him to ſtay near *Dormans*, and alter the thoughts of haſtening his voyage into a deſign of encountring the Enemy. Their Forces wanted much of equality, though both their courages were ardent and reſolute; for the Duke of *Guiſe* had above a thouſand Lanciers, two thouſand other Horſe, and ten thouſand good French Foot, and the Souldiers of *Thore* weary and tyred with the length of their march, were not near ſo great a number: yet he that under favour of the woods might have gotten to the River which was hard by, and have paſſed it at a foord called *du Vergez*, facing couragiouſly about, fell to skirmiſh with the firſt Catholicks Troops led by Monſieur *Fervaques* Mareſhal of the Field, the *Rhinegrave*, and Monſieur *de Byron*; but when he found the skirmiſh ſucceed proſperouſly, ordering his men only in two Diviſions, whereof one was led by the Count *la Val*, and the other commanded by himſelf, he began fiercely to give the on-ſet; and though the place in reſpect of the open Field, was very advantageous to the greater number, the iſſue was uncertain for many hours, till the Duke of *Mayenne* with the Van of the Cavalry, and the Duke of *Guiſe* with thoſe Gentlemen that accompanied him in the Battel, charged into the Body of the German Horſe, who having nothing but Piſtols againſt the violence and fury of the Lances, being routed and trodden under foot, loſt their lives deſperately in the place. In this encounter all the Germans were utterly defeated, and by order from the Commanders cut in pieces without mercy, except only one Cornet of the Reiters, who being placed in the Rear, and ſeeing the ſlaughter of the reſt, yielded himſelf to their diſcretion, and was ſpared rather by the wearineſs than pity of the Conquerors. Colonel *Stinc* the chief Commander of the Germans was ſlain, with many Gentlemen of quality, *Clervant* a famous Leader of

The Prince of *Conde* comes with a great Army out of *Germany*.

The Prince of *Conde* declares the Duke of *Alançon* General of the Hugonots.

1575. of the Hugonots taken, and *Thore* paſſing the River with a few Horſe ſaved himſelf by flight. Nor was this Victory gotten by the Catholicks without blood; for beſides the loſs of an hundred and fifty of their beſt Souldiers, the Duke of *Guiſe*, whilſt valiantly following the execution he purſued the fugitives, who fought as they ran away, was himſelf ſhot in the left cheek, the skar whereof ſerved afterwards for a memorable mark to win him the love of all thoſe who being affectionate to the Catholick Religion, honoured the ſigns of that Blood which had been ſpilt, and of that danger which had been undergone fighting in perſon for the ſervice of the Church of God.

The Duke of *Guiſe* is ſhot in the face.

Monſieur *de Fervaques* carried the news of this Victory to the Court, who departing before the Duke of *Guiſe* was wounded, made a lame imperfect narration of the buſineſs, yet much to his own advantage; but *Pelicart* the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Secretary arriving a few hours after, who brought word of his Lords being hurt, and many other particulars of that Action; *Fervaques* was not only ſlighted by the King, but laughed at by the whole Court, thinking that he with a falſe ſtory of the Encounter would have attributed the honour of the day unto himſelf, which was due to the worth of thoſe who had purchaſed it with their blood: whereupon he conceived himſelf to be very hardly uſed, conſidering the valour that he really had ſhewed againſt the Enemy, with whom he had fought gallantly firſt of all: and therefore he was excited by his natural inconſtancy to make one in the managing of a new deſign, which not many days after cauſed a great diſturbance in the Court.

In the mean time the Queen-Mother, attended by the Mareſchals of *Coſſe* and *Momorancy*, arrived at *Campigny* in *Poictou*, to meet with the Duke of *Alancon*, who was ſo puffed up with the preſent ambition of commanding ſo many, and with the near aſſiſtance of the Foreign Army already come to the confines of *Burgongne*, that ſhe not being able to agree with him concerning Articles of Peace, at laſt procured a Ceſſation of Arms, about the end of *November*, which was to continue for ſix months, in which time ſhe not only hoped that the German Army would waſte away; but alſo that the Duke himſelf being of a fickle unconſtant humour, might be drawn to a more reaſonable, and more ſecure Peace: the conditions of the Truce were, That the King ſhould pay 160000 Ducats to the Prince of *Conde* and the Germans, provided they paſſed not the *Rhine*, nor entred into the confines of *France*: That the Cities of *Angouleſme*, *Saumur*, *Nyort*, *Bourges*, *la Charite* and *Meziers*, ſhould be aſſigned unto the Hugonots, and Politicks for their ſecurity, which ſhould preſently be reſtored as ſoon as the Truce was expired, if the Peace were not concluded in the mean time: That the King ſhould give the Duke of *Alancon* wherewithal to maintain an hundred Gentlemen, an hundred *Gens d' Arms*, an hundred firelocks, and fifty Swiſſes for the guard of his own perſon: That the Deputies of the aſſociated Provinces, and of the Politick and Hugonot Princes, ſhould come to *Paris* in the midſt of the month of *January* next enſuing, to treat about conditions of Peace, and in the mean time all acts of Hoſtility ſhould be forborn through the whole Kingdom. Which Truce being publiſhed about the twentieth of *December*, the conditions thereof were not ſo punctually obſerved; for Monſieur *de Ruffec* Governour of *Angouleſme*, and Monſieur *de Montigny* Governour of *Bourges*, refuſed to reſign thoſe places to the Duke of *Alancon*, pretending in excuſe that they thought they could not be ſecure in any other places, by reaſon of the hatred they had drawn upon themſelves in the ſervice of the King, and of their Religion; but the Queen (with whoſe conſent it was doubted thoſe Governours had made reſiſtance) in lieu of thoſe two Cities, gave them St. *Jean d' Angely*, and *Cognac*, places of much leſs importance; and on the other ſide the Prince of *Conde*, and the Germans fearing the ſame thing which the Kings party hoped, would not conſent to forbear entering into the Kingdom; knowing that if their Army ſhould lie ſtill in idleneſs, it would certainly conſume, and deſtroy it ſelf.

A Ceſſation of Arms for ſix months.

Hereupon the Queen-Mother leaving the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and the Mareſchal of *Momorancy* with her Son, that they might entertain him with thoughts of Peace, returned ſpeedily to *Paris*, to be preſent at the Treaty with the Deputies, which was
1576. begun in the month of *January* 1576. with aſſured hopes of bringing it to a happy concluſion: for the King by his own inclination already affecting Peace, and the Cabinet-Council to deprive the Rebels of the perſon of the Duke of *Alancon*, and free themſelves from the imminent danger of a foreign Army, were content that very large conditions ſhould be granted; which afterward either by an aſſembly of the States, or

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by ſome other means they were reſolved not to obſerve; which Negotiations while they were prolonged by the many pretenſions of the Male-contents, behold a new accident interpoſed it ſelf, before the Accommodation was concluded: for the King of *Navarre* being already two and twenty years of age, of himſelf full of ſprightly thoughts, and ſpurred on by ſo frequent examples, and by the emulation of other Princes his equals; not enduring to be ill looked on, and almoſt deſpiſed at the Court, whilſt the Duke of *Alancon*, a vain indiſcreet man, and the Prince of *Conde* his inferiour both in years and honour, arrogated to themſelves the chief command of that party, which he was wont to rule; and his ſpirit not ſuffering him longer to bear the humours of the Queen his Wife, which whilſt he ſtayed at Court he was forced to diſſemble; either drawn by ſome ſupernatural hidden cauſe, or ſet forward by his own inclination to a beginning of eminent ſucceſs, took a reſolution to leave the Court; and retiring himſelf to his Government of *Guienne*, to try if he could draw that power to himſelf, which he ſaw was going to be ſetled upon the other diſcontented Princes. 1576.

The difficulty was to put this thought in execution; for he was not only carefully watched by his guards, who under ſhew of doing him honour were his diligent keepers, but even the neareſt attendents upon his own perſon, depended wholly upon the King and Queen-Mother, who mixing hopes with fears, led him gently in hand with continued ambiguous promiſes, to hold him in an opinion that they would truſt him with the charge of Lieutenant-General, which they had refuſed to venture upon the unſetledneſs of the Duke of *Alancon*; but he being ſecretly advertiſed by *Daielle* a Provencial Gentlewoman, one of the Queens maids, whom he privately enjoyed, and by Madam *de Carnavelet*, with whom he had a very near familiarity, that thoſe were but arts to keep his hopes faſtened to the Court, he took a reſolution to try his fortune, knowing that he ſhould be aſſiſted and followed by *d' Aubigny*, and *Armagnac*, the one Gentleman, the other Groom of his Bed-chamber, the only men that remained with him of his old Family. But this not being ſufficient for the well effecting of his deſign, (embracing the opportunity which occaſion offered) he communicated his intents to *Guiliaume* Sieur *de Fervaques*, with whom by a certain ſympathy of extraordinary ſpirit, he had contracted a familiar friendſhip; who highly offended at the preſent affairs, the unquietneſs of his mind being accompanied with great ſubtilty, and no leſs courage, approved the reſolution, and warily contrived both the time, and manner of their eſcape: for which purpoſe being gone out of the City upon the twenty third of *February*, with a few Gentlemen and Servants, under colour of hunting the Stagg, which the King of *Navarre* was wont much to delight in, and having deceived his guards by many ſeveral ways, they paſſed the River with all poſſible ſpeed below *Poiſſy*, and thence changing their Voyage, in ſtead of continuing toward the Weſt, they turned preſently toward the South, and avoiding the great high-ways, arrived at *Alancon* without the leaſt ſtop or delay; where ſtaying no longer than was neceſſary to refreſh themſelves, they ſuddenly paſſed the River *Loyre* by the Bridge of *Saumur*, and preventing fame by their ſo ſpeedy journey, came before they were looked for into *Guienne*, where the King of *Navarre* taking the opportunity of his ſo unexpected arrival, (becauſe they knew not whether he was come as a Friend, or as an Enemy to the King) with an incredible diligence, which gave them who were unprepared no time to arm or certifie themſelves, ſtill making uſe of his Authority as Governour for the King; and with that authority mingling force, he began to make himſelf Maſter of the chiefeſt places, calling in and reducing all thoſe who for the memory of his Father, and his own late command, were willing to follow and depend upon him.

The King of *Navarre* diſpleaſed for many cauſes, flees from the Court, and proceeds againſt the Catholicks.

Although this ſudden turn did at firſt diſturb the minds of the King and Queen-Mother, who while they laboured to remedy diſorders, ſaw daily new unexpected troubles to ariſe; yet as ſoon as their thoughts were quietly ſetled, they began to find both advantage and ſatisfaction by it, hoping that the multiplicity of Heads would bring forth diſcord and emulation; whereby the power of the Male-contents would be weakened, and being divided into many parts, every one of which would be ſeverally governed by particular intereſts, would in the end be unable to maintain it ſelf: With theſe hopes they ſhewed ſo open a joy at the departure of the King of *Navarre*, either for that conſideration, or becauſe they would not ſeem dejected at ſo great an oppoſition of Fortune, that many believed the King of *Navarre* was perſwaded to that reſolution by Monſieur *de Fervaques*, rather by the advice and conſent of the Queen,

1576. than out of any faithful care of his advancement; which was the more credibly believed by many, who know not the truth of the buſineſs, when they ſaw that *Fervaques* within a little while after forſaking that party, returned again unto the Kings obedience. But I have ſince heard Monſieur *de Fervaques* himſelf affirm, that the occaſion of his ſo ſudden change, was becauſe he ſaw the King of *Navarre* (next whom (as one that had run the ſame fortune) he hoped for the firſt place) was fain to let himſelf be governed by thoſe of moſt ancient authority in that Faction, and many were preferred before him, that were not only leſs affectionate to his affairs, but of leſs ability and meaner condition.

The King of *Navarre* publiſheth that he was forced to turn Catholick.

But it is certain that this revolt of the King of *Navarre* produced an effect not much unlike that which the King and Queen hoped; for though at firſt it was probable, that it would give a great addition of power unto the Hugonot Faction, to which he had joined himſelf with open Declarations, alledging that his Converſion to the Catholick Religion four years before, had been conſtrained and forced by the imminent terrour of a cruel death; yet it was the occaſion that the Duke of *Alancon*, being as it were eclipſed by the luſtre of the Prince of *Conde*, and King of *Navarre*, who by reaſon of the ancient confidence had of them, were in greater eſteem and reputation, did the more eaſily condeſcend to a concluſion of Peace, knowing that the true eſſential authority would be in them, and in him only the title and appearance; for the King of *Navarre* having with much eaſe aſſumed the command of *Guienne*, and the protection of the Rochellers; and on the other ſide, the Prince of *Conde* commanding the Foreign Army, the Duke of *Alancon* had no power but what they pleaſed to confer upon him; who making ſhew to honour him very much for his title of the Kings Brother, in all other things reſerved to themſelves as well the priviledge of reſolving, as the authority of executing, he having nothing left him but the weak dependence of ſome few Male-contents.

About this time the German Army marched toward *Burgongne*, againſt which (the Duke of *Guiſe* not being yet cured of the wound he had received on his face) *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* advanced with the Kings Forces, which being much inferiour to the ſtrength of the Enemy he ſtill encamped in ſafe Quarters near the Suburbs of thoſe Cities where he paſſed, endeavouring to cut off paſſages, and ſpoil the ways, (which of themſelves were much broken by the extremity of ill weather in the Winter-time) by that means to hinder their progreſs, as well in marching, as of being able to take any place that was of importance for the War: whereby the Prince of *Conde* always receiving damage, as well in his Quarters, as in ſending out to forrage, and very much annoyed by the hail and ſnow which fell in great abundance, was forced to move ſlowly, and in a very cloſe Body, endeavouring by the pillage of the weakeſt places to ſatisfie the greedineſs, and ſupply the wants of his Souldiers; wherein as his diſcreet conduct plainly appeared, being able in ſo tender an age to govern an Army made up of ſeveral Warlike Nations, and keep it within the unuſual limits of obedience to military diſcipline: ſo likewiſe the prudence and induſtry of the Duke of *Mayenne* was very remarkable, who not of much riper years, neither ſparing any pains, nor avoiding any ſufferance in ſo ſharp a ſeaſon, either in his own perſon, or his Souldiers, did with admirable diligence keep ſtill cloſe to the Foreign Army, and oppoſe their march with ſo much carefulneſs, that except ſome few open places which were quitted, no City nor walled Town felt the calamities and miſeries of the German incurſions; and it happened, that he having one night when it was late, given order to march away from a place where his Army was quartered, to prevent the Enemies advancing; ſome Companies of Foot, not only terrified by the obſcurity of the night, which was exceeding dark, but alſo by a thick ſtorm of hail, ſnow and rain together, refuſed to go along with the reſt of the Army, that marched in order under their colours with infinite patience; which being told the Duke of *Mayenne*, he cauſed them all to make a halt, and commanded the Cavalry to cut thoſe mutinous Souldiers in pieces; which being performed without delay, as he confirmed that diſcipline in his Army which Civil Wars (as they are wont) had for a long time corrupted and deſtroyed; ſo did he give a teſtimony of that ſevere gravity which ever after was proper to that Prince in all his other actions in the War.

*Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* commands his mutinous Souldiers to be cut in pieces.

But neither could the valour of the General, nor the diſcipline of the Army, with ſo great a diſadvantage of ſtrength, abſolutely hinder the progreſs of the Germans; wherefore notwithſtanding all rubs and delays, they at laſt joined with the Duke of

*Alancon*

*Alancon* about the beginning of *March* in the confines of *Bourbonois*, who having muſtered his Army which he found amounted to the number of 35000 fighting men, went to *Moulins*, where with the Prince of *Conde*, Monſieur *de la Noue*, the Deputies of the King of *Navarre*, and the Mareſchal *d' Anville*, he began to adviſe what was fitteſt to be done: the Commiſſioners appointed for the Treaty of Peace being returned from Court, and the Mareſchal of *Momorancy*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and Monſieur *de Bellieure* being there for the King, both parties conſented, though for diverſe reſpects, and with ſeveral intentions to the concluſion of peace; which though it were oppoſed by the Mareſchal *d' Anville*, who having already procured his Brothers liberty, and eſtabliſhed himſelf abſolutely in the Government of *Languedoc*, was not willing by an Accommodation to return to that obedience from which (as a thing of danger) he had by force and cunning withdrawn himſelf: yet the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, who were not pleaſed to ſee the Duke of *Alancon* enjoy that place which they were wont formerly to poſſeſs, and took it ill that he ſhould reap the fruits of their paſt and preſent labours, deſired the Agreement might be concluded, by which means he returning to the Court, and into his Brothers favour, the chief power of that party would remain in them, believing that as by his continuance on their ſide, he did much prejudice their authority, and alſo greatly hinder the execution of important deſigns; ſo if on the other ſide he could obtain from his Brother the command of the Catholick Army, he by his want of experience would give them many occaſions to advance and eſtabliſh themſelves; wherefore their inclinations, and the nature of the Duke of *Alancon* prevailing, it was in the end reſolved, That they ſhould propoſe the Articles of their demands unto the King, which if they were accepted, they would conclude a Peace; but if rejected, they would reſolutely continue the War.

1576. The Duke of *Alancon* muſtered 35000 fighting men.

The King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* offended at the Duke of *Alancons* power, think to free themſelves of him by a Peace.

Their demands propoſed were very high and exorbitant, but the Kings inclination to Peace, and the deſire of the Council to obtain the ſame, were great enough to digeſt them all, both to free themſelves of the eminent danger of a Foreign Army, and take away thoſe vaſt expences which (the Treaſury being empty) fell all upon the poor miſerable Subjects; as alſo to eaſe themſelves of that burthen which had ſo generally tyred mens minds and bodies; wherefore the Queen already gheſſing at the Kings deſigns, having by many conjectures ſounded the depth of his intentions, came her ſelf in perſon (as her cuſtom was) into the Duke of *Alancons* Camp about the beginning of *May*, and there ſetled the conditions of Peace, which by a decree of 73 Articles were ratified by the King, and ſolemnly publiſhed upon the fourteenth of *May*, he himſelf being preſent in the Parliament.

Peace is made with the Hugonots the fifth time.

This was the fifth Peace concluded with the Hugonots; by which, after the accuſtomed clauſes belonging to the approbation, and oblivion of all that was paſt, full Liberty of Conſcience, and the free exerciſe of their Religion, without exception of times or places, was granted to the Hugonots, with a power of erecting Schools or Colledges, or calling Synods, of celebrating Matrimony, and adminiſtring the Sacraments with the ſame freedom as was allowed to the Catholicks. All men of the Reformed Religion were permitted to execute any places or offices, and enjoy any dignities of what quality ſoever, without that diſtinction and precedency of the Catholicks, which had formerly been obſerved; promiſes were made to ſettle a Court of Juſtice in every Parliament, half whereof ſhould be of the one, and half of the other Religion, to judge the cauſes of the Hugonots; eight Towns were granted to the Princes for their ſecurity, till the Articles were fully and perfectly performed, *viz. Beaucaire* and *Aiguemorte* in *Languedoc*; *Perigeux*, and *la Mas de Virdun* in *Guienne*; *Nyon*, and *Serres* in *Daulphine*; *Iſoire* in *Auvergne*, and *Seine la Grand Tour* in *Provence*. The ſentences againſt *la Mole*, the Count *de Coranas*, the Admiral *de Coligny*, *Briquemaut*, *Cavagnes*, *Montgomery*, and *Mombrun* were revoked, and declared null: and further it was declared, that no fault was to be imputed to the Viſdame of *Chartres* and *Beauvais*, for having contracted, or negotiated any agreements with the Queen of *England*; for the Duke of *Alancons Apennage* (ſo they call the maintenance which is allowed to Kings Sons and Brothers) they aſſigned *Berry*, *Touraine*, and the Dutchy of *Anjou*, three of the greateſt and moſt fertile Countries in all *France*; and 100000 Crowns of annual penſion: To the Prince of *Conde* they allotted the Government of *Picardy*, and for his ſecurity the City of *Peronne*, a very ſtrong place ſeated near the Sea. To Prince *Caſimir* the Principality of *Chaſteau-Thierry*, a penſion of 14000 Crowns,

1576. The Prince of *Orange* formerly declared Rebel, is reſtored to his Eſtate.

the maintenance of one hundred Lances, and the entire payment of all arrears due to the German Army, which amounted to 1200000 Ducats. To the Prince of *Orange*, the reſtitution of all thoſe States he was wont to poſſeſs in the Kingdom of *France*, which for Rebellion had been taken from him by the ſentence of Parliament, and added to the Kings Revenue: finally, an Aſſembly of the States General was promiſed within ſix months, who were to repreſent unto the King the grievances of his Subjects, and conſult of their remedies: which condition propoſed by the Princes to ſet a better gloſs upon their cauſe, and to win the applauſe of the people, was willingly received by the King, as a convenient means to diſſolve, and diſanul the Articles agreed upon, which (with many others leſs conſiderable, but not leſs unreaſonable and exorbitant) as ſoon as they were known to thoſe of the Catholick party, exaſperated moſt of their minds in ſuch a manner, that they not only murmured freely againſt the King himſelf, as one of a mean ſpirit, drowned in the effeminate delights of the Court; and the Queen-Mother, as if to recover her Son the Duke of *Alancon* from the way of perdition, ſhe had neglected the Majeſty of Religion, and precipitated the general ſafety of the Kingdom: but many were already diſpoſed to riſe, and would have taken Arms to diſturb the unjuſtneſs of that Peace, which was generally eſteemed ſhameful and not fit to be kept, if within a while they had not manifeſtly underſtood, that the King and Queen purpoſely to recover, and draw home the Duke of *Alancon*, had conſented to conditions in words, which they were reſolved not to obſerve in deeds; for the foreign Army being firſt of all ſent away, by having diſburſed part of the arrears to Prince *Caſimir*, and given him ſecurity for the reſt, partly by pawning Jewels, partly by engaging the word of the Duke of *Lorain*; and having exactly performed all things promiſed to the Duke of *Alancon*, none of the other Articles were obſerved, either to the Hugonots in general, or to the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde* in particular: but the King permitting, and tacitly conſenting to it, the Aſſemblies of the Hugonots were every where violently diſturbed; the Government of *Picardy* was not given to the Prince of *Conde*, nor the City of *Perronne* aſſigned to him; the Courts of Juſtice which were to be formed in the Parliaments, were deferred with ſeveral excuſes; and of ſo many Counſellors which ought to have been elected, the King having named only *Arenes*, one of the Deputies which had treated the Peace, to be Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, they refuſed to accept of him, the King not being at all diſpleaſed at it: which things clearly diſcovering the Kings mind, though they quieted thoſe Catholicks, who judged of the ſtate of affairs without intereſt or paſſion, and diſpoſed the moſt part of peaceful-natured men to expect the iſſue of the Aſſembly of the States, which the King had appointed to be in the City of *Blois*, on the fifteenth day of *November*; yet the *Guiſes*, who were not ſlack in laying hold of any opportunity, to augment their own greatneſs, and to ſecure the ſtate of that Religion, which was ſo ſtraightly linked to their intereſts, began upon the conjuncture of ſo great an occaſion, ſecretly to make a League of the Catholicks, in all the Provinces of the Kingdom, under colour of oppoſing the progreſs, and eſtabliſhment of Hereſie, which by the Articles of Peace was ſo fully authorized, and eſtabliſhed; but in effect to reduce the forces of the Catholick party, into one firm entire united body which they might diſpoſe of as occaſion ſerved, for their own ſecurity, and for a foundation of that party whereof they hold the principality.

The Aſſembly of the State is appointed at *Blois* the 15 of *November*.

*Henry* Duke of *Guiſe*, *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*, and no leſs than they, *Lewis* Cardinal of *Guiſe* their third Brother, were left not only Heirs to their Fathers greatneſs, and reputation, and Poſſeſſors of the Rule and Government of the Catholick party, but had alſo by their proper valour and induſtry, acquired wonderful renown and love among the people, partly by their liberal popular nature, partly by their care and zeal ſhewed in preferring before all other reſpects, the protection and maintenance of that Religion, whereof they were the ſole Champions and Defenders. Theſe Brothers (to whom were joined the Duke, and *Chavalier d' Aumale*, the Duke *d' Elbœuf*, the Duke *de Mercœur*, with his Brothers, (though allyed unto the King, yet all of the ſame houſe of *Lorain*) when contrary to their expectation they ſaw the Peace concluded, and ratified with Articles ſo unjuſt, and prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, and to the credit and power of their party; ſtirred up with anger and diſdain, (which often uſe to lay open mens reſentments) began to enter into a great ſuſpition of the Kings counſels and deſigns, thinking that a Prince of a noble, Warlike nature, would never have ſuffered

ſuffered the temerity of his Subjects, to draw him to ſuch ſhameful conditions, but that he concealed ſome deeper thoughts, and more weighty undiſcovered reſolutions: wherefore though the King by means of the Queen-Mother, and many others which they both confided in, gave them to underſtand that his intention was to break, or at leaſt to moderate thoſe conditions, by the Aſſembly of the States at *Blois*, and that he had conſented to thoſe diſhonourable Articles, only to deprive the Hugonots of ſo powerful a prop, as the perſon of the Duke of *Alancon*; but that he would ſettle all by convenient, proportionable remedies; yet thoſe Princes were not altogether ſatisfied, but every day by various conjectures, penetrating more deeply into thoſe myſteries, as alſo being highly diſpleaſed at the Kings Decree, whereby taking away the power, in appearance from all, but in effect from them alone, of procuring gifts, and interceding for favours, for the followers and dependents of the Catholick party; and falling into a great diſtruſt of his affection towards them, they reſolved, either by that opportunity to eſtabliſh the foundation of their own power, or elſe by ſo great an obſtacle to hinder thoſe deſigns which the King had begun and contrived in his mind; to bring their followers and adherents into one well-united Body, drawing together and confirming that engine of power, which though vaſt and mighty, was yet ſpred and diſperſed as blood in the veins, through all the parts of the Kingdom. And becauſe the preſent occaſion gave them a wonderful opportunity to allure mens minds with honourable ſpecious pretences, to affright the fearful into a conſent to their deſires, and to ſtir up the anger of thoſe that were unſatisfied, and utterly diſpleaſed at the concluſion of the Peace, they began to work upon the Pariſians and Picards; *Thoſe*, as in all times jealous of the preſervation of the Catholick Religion; *Theſe*, as terrified with the fear of being commanded by the Prince of *Conde*, to whom the Government of their Province had been promiſed. 1576.

The way of meeting together, and holding intelligence with one another, was opened to them by the Kings own inſtitution, who either moved by his inclination to piety, by the admonitions and writings of Father *Bernard Caſtor* a Jeſuite, and many other religious men of that and other orders; or elſe to cover and palliate thoſe hidden intentions which he had reſolved on for the courſe of his future Government; had brought in the uſe of many *Fraternities*, who under divers habits and different names met together upon days of devotion, to ſpend their time in proceſſions, prayers, diſciplines, and other ſpiritual exerciſes, under the pious pretence of appeaſing Gods wrath, of imploring a remedy for their preſent diviſions and calamities, and of procuring unity, peace and concord amongſt all the people of the Kingdom; by which means the Catholicks did not only meet freely together in all places, but alſo found matter and opportunity to diſcourſe of preſent affairs, and to bewail the miſerable condition to which the Crown was reduced by diviſion, and by the increaſe of hereſie: from which lamentations coming to talk of buſineſſes of the Government, and the affairs of State, it was not hard both for thoſe Brethren themſelves, and perchance for others more crafty, and better acquainted with the deſigns of the principal contrivers, to ſowe the ſeeds, and ingraff the beginnings of that league, which had a near connection with that devout pretence for which the Catholicks aſſembled themſelves in ſo many ſeveral places.

By the Duke of *Guiſe* his cunning, politick diſcourſes are brought into thoſe aſſemblies which were inſtituted for devotion.

This practice was firſt begun in *Picardy* by *Jaques* Sieur *d' Humiers*, Governour of *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, and *Roye*, who being a remarkable man for riches and followers in thoſe parts, and for ſome private cauſes an Enemy to the Houſe of *Momorancy*, and by conſequence to the Prince of *Conde*, whoſe authority he hated, and whoſe greatneſs he apprehended, for fear of being put out of his Government; began by means of thoſe Aſſemblies, which were no leſs frequent there than in other places, to exhort the inhabitants of *Peronne* not to ſuffer their Town to be made the neſt and receptacle of Hereſie, nor to let that fire be kindled in their boſoms, which was like in time to inflame their whole Country, and conſume all the other parts of *France*: he perſwaded them, that the firſt day of the Princes admiſſion would be the laſt of their liberty; for being made ſubject to the tyranny of Hereticks, Seditious Men, and Foreigners, there would no longer be any poſſibility for them to enjoy their Eſtates, Houſes, Wives, nor their own Children, all which would become a prey to the covetouſneſs and cruelty of thoſe that governed: he added, that they could expect nothing but miſchief which way ſoever things were carried; for if the Hugonots prevailed, they would certainly be expoſed to the ſlavery of the Engliſh, with whom it was known the Prince had made

1576. made an agreement to give them places and Fortreſſes in *Picardy:* and though the Catholicks ſhould prevail, they were to look for no better than long ſieges, miſeries and calamities of War and Famine, ſince he was ſo earneſt to get the poſſeſſion of that Government for no other reaſon, but by the help of its ſtrength to reſiſt the laſt aſſaults of his evil fortune: By which plauſible reaſons that people being moved, and the inhabitants of *Mondidier*, *Roye*, and *Dorlan* their neighbours being perſwaded to the ſame, they conſented to make a League among themſelves to hinder the Prince from taking poſſeſſion of that place, and of the Government of *Picardy*, and to maintain and preſerve the Catholick Religion in their Province. Nor was this practice leſs advanced in the City of *Paris*, where the zeal of the common people in matters of Religion, and the open enmity which they had at all times profeſſed againſt the Hugonots, afforded them very fit matter to foment thoſe deſigns: wherefore there being many of the Parliament-men and Sheriffs of the City, (*Eſchevins*, as they call them) and not a few of Religious Orders, who in thoſe meetings and Fraternities laboured cunningly the promoting of that League, a great number of men of all degrees and qualities were by a ſtrict Oath already tyed and united in the bond of that Aſſociation.

The example of the Picards and Pariſians was followed by the Nobility of *Poictou* and *Tourain*, as neareſt to thoſe places poſſeſſed by the Hugonots, and more expoſed to the imminent danger of their authority; and being led by *Louis de la Tremouille* Duke of *Touars*, (a Lord of great dependents, and of ancient nobility and reputation, but a man full of turbulent unruly thoughts) were already united and aſſociated, drawing after them not only the greater part of the Clergy, but alſo a great many of the Commonalty. Nor did the other Provinces want either Heads to introduce, or fit matter to receive the ſame Confederacy, which being propoſed by men of great ſubtilty, and no leſs authority, under a plauſible name and ſpecious apparence, eaſily gained credit even among the wiſeſt, and ſpread wonderfully through all Cities and Provinces.

The Form of that League and Covenant which was to be ſigned by all thoſe that conſented to it, was this:

The form of the League or Covenant.

*IN the Name of the moſt holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, our only true God, to whom be Glory and Honour.*

*The Covenant of the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion ought to be, and is made for the eſtabliſhment of the Law of God in its firſt eſtate, and to reſtore and ſettle his holy ſervice according to the form and manner of the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Church, abjuring and renouncing all errours contrary unto it.*

Secondly, *For the preſervation of King* Henry, *the Third of that Name, and his Succeſſours the moſt Chriſtian Kings, in the State, Honour, Authority, Duty, Service and Obedience due unto them from their Subjects, as it is contained in thoſe Articles that ſhall be preſented to him in the Aſſembly of the States, which he ſwears and promiſes to obſerve at the time of his Conſecration and Coronation, with proteſtation not to do any thing againſt that which ſhall be ordained and ſetled by the States.*

Thirdly, *To reſtore unto the Provinces of this Kingdom, and to thoſe other States which are under it, thoſe ancient Rights, Pre-eminences, Liberties and Priviledges which were in the time of* Clovis *the firſt moſt Chriſtian King, or yet better and more profitable (if any ſuch can be found) under the ſaid protection.*

*In caſe there be any impediment, oppoſition or rebellion againſt that which is aforeſaid, be it from whom it will, or proceed it from whence ſoever it may, thoſe that enter into this Covenant ſhall be bound and obliged to imploy their Lives and Fortunes to puniſh, chaſtiſe and proſecute thoſe that ſhall attempt to diſturb or hinder it, and ſhall never ceaſe their endeavours till the aforeſaid things be really done and perfected.*

*In*

*In case any of the Confederates, their Friends, Vassals or Dependents, be oppressed, molested or questioned for this cause, be it by whom it will, they shall be bound to imploy their persons, goods and estates to take revenge upon those that shall have so molested them, either by the way of justice or force, without any exception of persons whatsoever.* 1576.

*If it shall come to pass, that any man after having united himself by Oath unto this Confederacy, should desire to depart from it, or separate himself upon any excuse or pretence, (which God forbid;) such Violaters of their own Consciences shall be punished both in bodies and goods, by all means that can be thought of, as Enemies to God, Rebels and Disturbers of the Publick Peace; neither shall such revenge be ever imputed unto the aforesaid Associates, nor they liable to be questioned for it, either in publick or in private.*

*The said Associates shall likewise swear to yield ready obedience, and faithful service unto that Head which shall be deputed; to follow and obey him, and to lend all help, counsel and assistance, as well for the entire conservation, and maintenance of this League, as for the ruine of all that shall oppose it, without partiality or exceptions of persons; and those that shall fail or depart from it, shall be punished by the authority of the Head, and according to his Orders; to which every Confederate shall be obliged to submit himself.*

*All the Catholicks of several Cities, Towns and Villages, shall be secretly advertised and warned by the particular Governours of places, to enter into this League, and to concur in the providing of men, arms, and other necessaries, every one according to his condition and ability.*

*All the Confederates shall be prohibited to stir up any discord, or enter into any dispute among themselves, without leave of the Head, to whose arbitrement all dissentions shall be referred, as also the determining all differences, as well in matters of goods as good name, and all of them shall be obliged to swear in this manner and form following;*

I swear by GOD the Creator, (laying my hand upon the holy Gospel) and under pain of Excommunication, and Eternal Damnation, that I enter into this holy Catholick League, according to the form of that Writing, which hath now been read unto me; and that I do faithfully, and sincerely entef into it, with a will either to command, or to obey, and serve, as I shall be appointed; and I promise upon my life and honour, to continue in it, unto the last drop of my blood, and not to depart from it, or transgress it for any command, pretence, excuse or occasion, which by any means whatsoever can be represented to me.

The Copies of this League framed with so much art by the *Guises*, (that making a shew to obey, and maintain the King, took from him all his obedience, and authority, to confer it upon the head of their Union) were very carefully, and with much cunning dispersed by the hands of discreet wary men, and such as were deeply engaged to them; so that by little and little it began to spread in every place, the cause or original not at all appearing; whereby making very great, but hidden proceedings, because custom had already disposed mens minds to a desire of novelties; they easily, and in a short time, drew all those into one body, whom either for zeal of Religion, dependance of interest, desire of change, or hatred of the Hugonot Princes, they thought fit to bind together in that League and Confederacy. But it being necessary to provide moneys for the nourishment and maintenance of that United Body, and to find out some protection of great power and authority to shelter and defend it from the Kings forces; the Lords of *Guise* turning their eyes out of the Kingdom, thought that both for their Religion and themselves, it was as lawful for them to make use of the help and favour of foreign Princes, as it had been for the Hugonots to require the assistance of the Queen of *England*, and the Princes of *Germany*:

and

1576. and therefore they began ſecretly to treat at *Rome* for protection, and in *Spain* for men and money: nor did they find in any place any averſenes to their deſires; for the Pope being diſpleaſed at, and affraid of the Peace concluded with the Hugonots, willingly gave ear to thoſe things which might conveniently oppoſe their eſtabliſhment: and the Catholick King grown jealous that the deſigns of the Duke of *Alancon* would at laſt break out upon *Flanders*, and that the King to quench the fire of his own houſe, would be content to kindle it in his Neighbours, willingly concurred to foment thoſe in *France* who laboured to renew the War, hoping that the diſcords in that Kingdom, might one day give him an opportunity of ſome grand deſign, and in the mean time preſerve the peace and quietneſs of all his own.

*Nicholas* Cardinal *de Pelle-ve*, bred up in the houſe of *Guiſe*, treated the intereſts of this Union at *Rome*, which by *Gregory* the Thirteenth, a man of great candour and goodneſs, but of a facile nature, was hearkened unto with much readineſs; it pretending nothing but Faith, Religion, Charity, Zeal to the publick good, correction and reformation of abuſes; though in effect it contained private paſſions, mingled with particular intereſts: which not being unknown to the Court of *Rome*, many diſcourſing of ſo new and high a deſign, aſcribed the cauſe of it to a deſire the *Guiſes* had to govern the Kings will; who excluding their help and counſel, ſhewed that he would rule as it pleaſed himſelf; others drawing the buſineſs another way, attributed it to their care of conſerving their own greatneſs, which they had with ſo much ſweat and labour been ſo long a building up. Nor did there want thoſe who paſſing yet further, (perchance through the malice they bore to that party) taxed the Heads thereof, to aim at vaſter ends; which whether true or falſe, were after publiſhed to be the depoſing of the King himſelf, as a diſſolute, incapable, mean-ſpirited man, and in time to ſettle the Crown in the houſe of *Guiſe*, which ſome did openly maintain to be derived in a right line from *Charlemagne*. But whether theſe deſigns were indeed plotted from the beginning or whether they took birth from the emergent occaſions which happened after, it is not ſo evident; for as they were divulged and amplified by the Hugonots, ſo were they cloſely concealed, and firmly denied by the *Guiſes*. But they themſelves could not deny two great and powerful occaſions; one a diſcontent becauſe they could not ſway and govern the preſent King, as they had done *Charles*, and *Francis* his laſt Predeceſſors; the other a deſire to rule the Catholick party, founded long before by their Anceſtors, and increaſed and confirmed by themſelves; and to theſe was added as a third, the neceſſity of oppoſing the Kings deſigns, which they now ſaw tended openly to their ruine, thereby to free his neck from the yoak of Factions. Theſe intereſts which could not be wholly concealed from the Pope, (for that Court, moſt wiſe in judging of all things, did eaſily penetrate into them) made him ſo much the more reſerved and wary what to reſolve, by how much the apparent reſpect of preſerving the Catholick Religion ſpurred him on to conſent unto it.

Cauſes that moved the *Guiſes* to frame the Catholick League.

But whilſt the approbation of this League is treated on at *Rome*, the Pope inclining but ambiguouſly unto it, the buſineſs was very eaſily determined on the other ſide in the Court of *Spain*; the propoſitions being ſuch, that the Catholick King ought rather to have deſired that the League ſhould put it ſelf under his protection, than make himſelf be long entreated to comply with thoſe requeſts, which for that purpoſe were effectually made unto him: for indeed it was a gate which did not only open unto him a paſſage to the ſecurity of his own States, but alſo to very great hopes of acquiring more, and at leaſt (if no better) to keep the King of *France* his Forces divided and imployed, with which the Crown of *Spain* had ſo long and ſo obſtinate contentions.

The King of *Spain* becomes Protector of the Catholick League.

Theſe practices, eſpecially thoſe which were managed in *France*, were not unknown to the King, for they were repreſented unto him by the Queen-Mother, and other his intimate Confidents; nay, the Count *de Retz* had particularly advertiſed him, that Monſieur *de Vins* negotiated that Confederacy in *Provence*; and the Prince of *Conde* by the means of the Sieur *de Montaut*, had made him acquainted with the Union of thoſe in *Poitou*; beſides, that at the ſame time one *Nicholas David*, an Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris*, was ſtayed and taken in his journey, which he confeſſed he was imployed in by the *Guiſes* to negotiate that buſineſs at *Rome*: The Hugonots diſperſed certain Writings, which under title of a Commiſſion given to him, contained the deſigns of the Catholick League, and their end and intention to poſſeſs themſelves

of

of the Crown; but for the moſt part full of exorbitant, fabulous, incredible things; ſo that they were generally believed to have been maliciouſly forged and ſpred abroad to diſcredit the Lords of *Guiſe*, and to render them odious and ſuſpected; who did not only abſolutely deny the tenure of thoſe Commiſſions, and account *David* a fool, and no better than a mad-man if he had any ſuch Writings about him; but they alſo cauſed them to be anſwered by ſome of their party, proving many things in them to be abſurd, and without any appearance of truth. But thoſe divulged Papers generally believed to be falſe, wrought not ſo great a ſuſpicion in the King, as the Letters of Monſieur *de St. Goart*, his Lieget Ambaſſador in the Court of *Spain*, who gave him notice how he had diſcovered that ſome French Catholick Confederates did earneſtly treat of ſecret buſineſſes in that Court. But whether ſo many diſcords and confuſions ſpringing up daily, they could not all be provided againſt at the ſame time, and therefore they neglected thoſe which at firſt ſeemed leſs material, to remedy others which were more urgent and weighty; or whether the King taken up with his ſecret deſigns of opening a way to future matters, did ſlight the preſent danger, being confident he ſhould cut off all thoſe plots and conſpiracies at one time: whichſoever of theſe cauſes it were, it is moſt certain, that though the King knew all theſe practices, he was ſo far from oppoſing or hindring them, that he ſeemed not diſpleaſed to have one Faction ſtruggle with the other, thinking that by thoſe jarrs which would ariſe between them, he ſhould remain abſolute Arbitrator, and enjoy the fruits of that weakneſs which they would bring upon themſelves by falling upon one another. Beſides, he thought this ſo high and ſo general reſentment of the Catholicks, gave him a very lucky occaſion to break the conditions of peace granted to the Hugonots, and to make appear to the World, that he did it not of his own reſolution, becauſe he had ſo intended from the beginning; but becauſe of the general diſcontent of his Subjects, of whoſe good, and of whoſe deſires he was obliged as a Father to be much more careful, than of complying with the will of thoſe that were rebellious and diſobedient; for which cauſe he did not only tolerate the continuation of thoſe practices about the League, but by ambiguous actions, obſcure words, and dark anſwers, that admitted ſeveral interpretations, he almoſt made it be believed, that all was managed by his order and permiſſion. 1576.

But if the King reſolved to make uſe of that opportunity to break the Articles of Agreement, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* were no leſs diſpoſed to do the ſame; who having thruſt the Duke of *Alancon* out of their faction, ſought to lay hold of any occaſion that might kindle the War again, by which they hoped to eſtabliſh their own greatneſs: wherefore the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* having often complained to the King and Queen; the King of *Navarre*, that his intereſts were utterly forgotten in the conditions of the Peace; and the Prince of *Conde*, that neither the Government of *Picardy*, nor the City of *Peronne* were aſſigned unto him; and the King having ſtill interpoſed delays and impediments, had at laſt remitted all to be determined by the States: now upon this new occaſion of the League, they redoubled their complaints the more earneſtly, urging that they could not continue in that uncertainty of their preſent condition, whilſt their adverſaries united their forces in a League to ſuppreſs and deſtroy them: with which importunities the King being troubled, and having (rather to hold him in hand, than with an intent to perform it) offered the Prince in ſtead of *Peronne* and *Picardy*, to give him St. *Jean d' Angely* and *Cognac*, in thoſe parts where the ſtrength of the Hugonots lay; he not ſtaying for the aſſignment, ſuddenly made himſelf Maſter of them, and following the ſucceſs of that beginning, ſent for Monſieur *de Mirabeau* under colour of treating with him concerning other buſineſſes, and forced him to deliver up *Brovage* into his hand, a Fort of great importance, as well for that it lies upon the Coaſt of the Ocean Sea, as becauſe it abounds with ſuch ſtore of Salt-pits, which yield a great and conſtant revenue; he made the Sieur *de Montaut* Governour, and put into it a ſtrong Gariſon of his dependents, furniſhing it with ammunition, and fortifying it with exceeding diligence: nor content with that, but vigorouſly proſecuting that enterpriſe by the means of his dependents, in a few weeks he reduced into his own power, *Royan*, *Pons*, *Talemont*, and *Marans*, with many other conſiderable places in *Xaintonge*.

But the King of *Navarre*, who with more deliberate conſiderations had raiſed his thoughts to higher deſigns, making uſe of the ready boldneſs of the Prince of *Conde* in thoſe matters where force and violence were needful, with infinite moderation (*to*

1576. which as well by choice, as nature, he was much inclined) under title of being Governour of the Province, reduced the principal Cities to himſelf, ſhewing both in words and actions, a great deal of gentleneſs to the Catholicks, a great deal of reverence to the Kings perſon, ſingular deſire to help the advancement of every one, and very much trouble for the loſſes and outrages which by occaſion of the War he was neceſſitated to bring upon that Country; by which arts having gained all the people of *Perigort*, and the Towns of *Loudun*, *Agen*, *Ganache*, and many leſſer places, he poſſeſſed all that Country except *Bourdeaux*, where the Parliament reſiding, the Citizens had ever refuſed to admit him; yet ceaſed he not after many repulſes, ſometimes to allure them with kind meſſages, ſometimes to aſſure them with large promiſes, ſhewing himſelf to be utterly averſe from the animoſity of the Factions, and the cruelties uſed by others in Civil Wars, ſince he of his own accord had ſetled the uſe of the Catholick Religion again in thoſe places that were of his own Patrimony, from whence his Mother had taken it away, and with much modeſty, reſpect, and favourable Declarations treated with the Church-men concerning the intereſts of Religion; which artifice, or nature, or rather (as it often happens) artifice derived from nature, won the hearts of all the people, and took off that hatred, which (as Enemies to the Commonwealth) they were wont to bear to others who had held the chief command of that Faction; which he deſiring to join and unite into one body, as he ſaw the Heads of the Catholicks endeavoured to do on their ſide, having obtained leave of the Citizens to enter *Rochel*, (the command whereof he knew to be very neceſſary for him) he was ſo skilful in managing the affections of the people, that having tamed and aſſured the minds of the Citizens, which were full of ſuſpitions, and unapt to give credit to any body, by their counſel, and with the conſent of all the Cities which followed their party, the Deputies whereof he had aſſembled in that place, he in the end made himſelf be declared Head and Protector of that party, and the Prince of *Conde* his Lieutenant General, ſhewing himſelf every where ſo full of ſincerity and moderation, that he thereby gained not only their inclination and good will, but alſo a very free and abſolute authority over them; which among ſo many jealouſies, and ſo many pretenders, perchance he could not have obtained by other arts: for neither the Prince of *Conde*, nor the Mareſhal *d' Anville*, nor perhaps Monſieur *de la Noue*, nor Monſieur *de Rohan* would ſo eaſily have yielded to him, if they had not been forced (beſides the ſplendour of his Royal name) to give place to his popularity, and his arts of Governing. Now having obtained the power of that Faction chiefly by the favour of the Rochellers, and knowing that Monſieur *de Fervaques* as a ſubtil man, and not truſty, was ſuſpected of all, but eſpecially the Citizens of *Rochel*, who deſired for their ſecurity, that Meſſieurs *de Rohan*, *de Mouy*, *de la Noue*, *Langoiran*, and other old Abettors of that party, might have the firſt place in their Councils, and in their Civil and Military Offices; or elſe, perſwaded by *d' Aubigny*, who affirmed he had diſcovered that *Fervaques* at the very laſt point had revealed his intended departure to the King, and that they were not ſtayed, becauſe the King having a wonderful ill opinion of him, gave no credit to his words; he cunningly gave him occaſion to go his way, (as hath been already related) and making up his Council of men that were famous for integrity and honeſt intentions, did not only take away the jealouſie of the Rochellers, and of all the neighbouring Provinces, who feared he would change his Power into a tyrannical Government, but won the hearts of many Catholicks; who, ſo they might enjoy the liberty of living in the Religion of their forefathers, were alſo diſpoſed to ſerve and follow him. He interpoſed his authority that the Rochellers might give way to the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion in their City, and before he departed procured leave for Maſs to be ſaid in a little Church, many being preſent at it; which things accompanied with his modeſt temperate ſpeeches, as they gained him a great deal of affection from thoſe of his own party; ſo did they leſſen and extinguiſh that hatred which the *Guiſes* by imputations of revolt and apoſtacy, endeavoured to faſten upon him among all degrees of people in the Kingdom.

The King of *Navarre* declared General of the Hugonots, and the Prince of *Conde* his Lieutenant-General.

At the interceſſion of the King of *Navarre*, the Rochellers permit the Catholicks to ſay Maſs in their City.

But the King in ſo great a combuſtion of all things, and in ſo miſerable a condition of his Crown, which was openly aſſailed by the Politicks and Hugonots, and ſecretly conſpired againſt by the Catholicks of the League, having conceived great hopes of finding a way to compaſs his deſigns by means of the General Aſſembly of the States, was intent upon calling them together in the City of *Blois*, where he, with his Mother, and the Duke of *Alancon* his Brother arrived the tenth day of *November*; and having

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by his Letters given notice to the Deputies of the ſeveral Provinces to meet together without delay, the buſineſs was followed with ſo much diligence, that the ſixth day of *December* gave a ſolemn beginning to the Aſſembly. The Kings intention was (proſecuting his own deſigns) by means of the States, to ſettle a firm general Peace, which being eſtabliſhed by the common conſent of the whole Nation, no man ſhould have cauſe to find fault withal; but, laſting in a firm continuance, might quite aboliſh the intereſts of the ſeveral parties, cauſe the preſent animoſities to be forgotten, and give him time and opportunity to execute his own reſolutions of abaſing and weakening the ſtrength and credit of both the Factions. He hoped that a moderate Agreement would readily be laid hold on by all the three Eſtates: For the Clergy were always fain to contribute very largely, as to a War wherein they were more intereſſed than any others; the Nobility wearied with the toils of War, and exhauſted with the vaſt expences of it; and the Commons, who beſides the continual and intolerable taxes and contributions, being (in the Fields by the inſolencies of Souldiers, in the Cities by the interruption of Trade) ſubject to all the miſeries of War, ſeemed greedily and impatiently to deſire Peace.

1576. The Aſſembly of the States at *Blois*.

With theſe ends and hopes, the ſeveral Orders of the States being met together in his preſence, he began with a grave effectual Speech to deplore the miſerable calamitous eſtate into which the Kingdom of *France*, formerly ſo powerful and flouriſhing, was then reduced; ſince every degree and part of ſo great a Monarchy being fallen from their former greatneſs and proſperity, into a labyrinth of diſcord and confuſion, was manifeſtly brought to terms of lamentable ruine and deſolation: That the obedience and veneration of the Royal Majeſty, which had in all times been ſo proper and peculiar to the French, was now utterly loſt: That the bond of that charity which the love of one common Country uſeth ordinarily to knit faſter among men of right underſtanding, was broken to pieces by the violence of inveterate inteſtine hatreds: That by the licence of Civil Wars, which had laſted ſo many years, the due reſpect to juſtice was taken away, the fear of Magiſtrates trodden under foot, and the ſincerity of mens manners exceedingly corrupted: That he knew, whatſoever calamities the people ſuffer, are always attributed to the Prince's evil Government; yet he was ſatisfied with the clearneſs of his own Conſcience, and doubted not but equal Judges would free him from all blame, conſidering the tender age of the King his Brother, and of himſelf, when the beginnings of that miſchief brake forth: That all the World knew how much care and pains the Queen his Mother had undergone to remedy thoſe misfortunes, which from what cauſes they were derived, was ſufficiently apparent: That the conſervation of the Kingdom, and the inheritance of her Sons yet Children, (conſpired againſt with ſo much cunning, and openly aſſailed with ſo much violence) was to be aſcribed to her prudence, conſtancy and magnanimity; but if her vertuous endeavours had not been able to extinguiſh thoſe miſchiefs, too fierce and powerful in their beginnings, perchance it was the permiſſion of Divine Providence, to puniſh the ſins of both Prince and People together: That it was likewiſe manifeſt to every one, what he himſelf had done for the ſuppreſſion and extirpation of the preſent evils; that under the Reign of the King his Brother, he with thoſe victorious atchievements which were not unknown unto the World, had tried the rigour of the ſword; but he had found by experience, that the letting of blood only weakened the body, but neither leſſened the violence nor malignity of the diſeaſe: That by civil inteſtine Wars, Religion it ſelf (which receives its nouriſhment from Peace) was much impaired and abaſed, ſo that in ſtead of gaining thoſe Souls that were gone aſtray, by violent means they did indanger the loſs of thoſe that were moſt zealous in the truth; for which cauſe he had both before he went into *Poland*, laboured to bring in Peace by a Ceſſation of thoſe calamities; and ſince God had called him to the Crown, endeavoured by all means poſſible to procure the repoſe and quiet of his Kingdom: That to that end he had called the Aſſembly of the States, that by the advice of his good and faithful Subjects ſome way might be found to ſtop the courſe of thoſe preſent miſeries; wiſhing, rather than they ſhould continue, that the thred of his life might be cut off before he had ſeen the half of his days: That it was therefore time to think among themſelves of ſome wholſome remedy, by which putting an end to the reciprocal enmities, diſcords, wars and animoſities, they might with gentleneſs and moderation perfectly reſtore the candour of Religion, bring mens minds again to their due veneration and obedience, reduce the integrity of Juſtice to its primitive condition, baniſh the pernicious liberty of Vice,

King *Henry* the Third his ſpeech at the beginning of the Aſſembly of the States at *Blois*.

1576. recover the ancient ſimple honeſty of Manners; and finally, give breath to thoſe dangers of the Clergy, to thoſe toils of the Nobility, and to thoſe loſſes and diſtractions of the Common people, which by occaſion of the War he was (to his great grief) not only forced to continue, but alſo to increaſe and multiply without end: That he thought for the procuring of thoſe bleſſings, there was no more ſecure nor effectual means, than a good, moderate, and laſting Agreement; and yet that he was ready to give ear to any reaſons that could be objected to the contrary, and to any other means that could be propounded, that ſo he might make choice of thoſe which ſhould be thought the beſt, moſt eaſie, and moſt profitable: That therefore he did earneſtly exhort every one of them, that laying apart all paſſions and intereſts, they ſhould ſtudy ſincerely to find out ſuch propoſitions as they thought moſt fit, to eaſe the troubles of the State, and quiet the diſtractions of the Kingdom; for as he was very willing to conſult of all things in common, ſo was he abſolutely reſolved, that whatſoever they concluded and eſtabliſhed, ſhould be moſt exactly and punctually obſerved.

The High Chancellour *Birago* ſpake then to the like effect, and with a longer Oration ſhewed the ſame things, concluded at laſt, that ſince the admirable wiſdom of the Queen-Mother, and the valour and generoſity of the King had till then preſerved *France* in the midſt of ſo many troubles and dangers, the States ought now to offer their general opinion and advice, every one ſtriving to propound ſuch profitable, ſeaſonable remedies, as might relieve the Kingdom from preſent, and keep it ſafe from future miſeries. All the three Orders ſeverally gave the King many thanks for his affectionate care, and praiſed his juſt intention, every one promiſing for their own parts to aſſiſt with faithful loyalty and ſincerity of heart.

But though in theſe firſt appearances the Kings intention and that of the States ſeemed both to be the ſame, yet inwardly they were very different; for the Deputies of the Provinces were for the moſt part ſuch as had ſubſcribed to the Catholick League, and were ſwayed by the counſel and ſuperintendency of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who being abſent himſelf had ſent his Brother of *Mayenne*, *Pierre Eſpinac* Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, the Baron *de Senecey*, and many other of his dependents thither; and therefore the Deputies whom it concerned to propoſe and conclude matters in the Aſſembly, were for the moſt part reſolved, not only to moderate the laſt Articles of Peace, which the King would willingly have agreed to; but alſo to break them utterly, and again with more force than ever to begin the War againſt the Hugonots, who having violated the conditions, had already taken arms for their own advantage. But the Kings mind was abſolutely averſe from that, which being known to the Deputies, who had diſcovered it by many ſigns, eſpecially by his Speech unto them, and foreſeeing that by his power he would delude and fruſtrate all their deſigns, as long as he was able to reſolve alone of whatſoever was propounded; they ſought cunningly to take away that Prerogative, and ſettle it in a certain number, who ſhould have power to conclude and determine all buſineſſes without contradiction or appeal. Wherefore the Deputies of the Nobility and Clergy partly conſenting, and the Deputies of the Commons not altogether oppoſing, they thought it unfit to diſpute openly whether the States were ſuperiour to the King or no, (a very ancient queſtion, though diſproved by the manner of holding the States, and always deluded and made vain by the Kings authority) but to petition the King, that for the diſpatch of all buſineſſes with ſpeed, and with the general ſatisfaction, he would be pleaſed to elect a number of Judges, not ſuſpected by the States, who together with twelve of the Deputies, might hear ſuch motions as from time to time ſhould be propoſed by every Order, and conclude and reſolve upon them, with this condition, that whatſoever was jointly determined by the Judges and Deputies together, ſhould have the form and vigour of a Law, without being ſubject to be altered or revoked.

It's an ancient queſtion, whether the Aſſembly of the States or the King be Superiour.

The King was not ignorant of the importance of that demand; and though he was inwardly much diſpleaſed that they went about to deprive him of the power which was naturally his, and from a free King bring him to the ſlavery of his Subjects; yet by how much greater the force of that ſtorm was, with ſo much the more dexterity endeavouring to overcome it, he anſwered graciouſly, that as often as the States ſhould offer any propoſitions or demands, he would without delay hearken to the twelve Deputies, (which he gave them power to nominate) and that as ſoon as he had maturely weighed their reaſons, they ſhould have a ſpeedy and reſolute anſwer to determine whatſoever was neceſſary for their general contentment; and that for the better ſatiſ-

faction

faction of them all, he was willing to deliver unto the States the names of ſuch as were admitted to his Councils, to the end that they might know the qualities of thoſe perſons by whoſe advice he meant to govern, which he would conſent to do by the example of any of his Predeceſſors; but to confirm and ratifie whatſoever others ſhould determine without himſelf, it was not poſſible for him ever to yield to in any manner, it being contrary to all precedents obſerved by the King his Predeceſſors. The States being excluded from that hope, and deſpairing of being able to compaſs their deſires, ſince the cunning of the demand was taken notice of, turned another way, and began to propoſe, That matters of Religion might firſt of all be decided; for it being once eſtabliſhed to admit no other but the Catholick, (which neither the King himſelf would dare to oppoſe, nor any of the Deputies, though there were many of them who ſecretly were of another mind) all hope of Peace would be laid aſide, and the War with the Hugonots preſently be reſolved on. Wherefore the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* propoſing for the Clergy, the Baron *de Seneccy* for the Nobility, with the conſent of *Pierre Verſoris*, one of the principal Deputies, for the Commons, a man depending upon the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and one of the chiefeſt ſtickers in the League; the Clergy concurred in this Vote, That the King ſhould be moved to prohibit the exerciſe of any other than the Roman Catholick Religion; and that all ſorts of people ſubject to the Crown ſhould be forced to live according to the Rites of that Church: the ſame Propoſition was followed by many of the Nobility, who ſuffered their Votes to be ſwayed by the will of others, though many of that Order were againſt, not the integrity of the Roman Catholick Faith, but the taking up of Arms, deſiring the preſervation of Religion, and reducing of ſuch as were out of the way, but by thoſe means which might be uſed without War. The Commons aſſented to this laſt opinion, becauſe the burthen of the War lay chiefly upon the meaneſt people, as Merchants, Tradeſmen and Husbandmen: nor could any of the Deputies (who in particular reaped fruit by thoſe troubles, and being engaged with the Heads of the League, did therefore obſtinately follow the Vote of the Prelates) have power to perſwade any of them to change their verdict; for *Jean Bodin*, a man famous for learning and experience in State-affairs, one of the Deputies of the Commons of *Vermandois*, and who was ſecretly induced by the King to contradict the Church-men in that particular, endeavoured by a long diſcourſe to make appear unto the Aſſembly how ruinous and fatal the new taking up of Arms would be, repeating from the beginning all the dangers and miſeries of the late Wars, which made a very deep impreſſion in the minds of the third Eſtate, and would have done the like in both the other Orders, if their Conſciences had been abſolutely free and ſincere; but meeting with men who were not only carried by the zeal of Religion, but whoſe opinions were byaſſed and pre-ingaged, it was determined by plurality of voices, that requeſt ſhould be made unto the King to eſtabliſh only the Catholick Religion in the Kingdom, and to exclude for ever all communion with the Hugonots. Nevertheleſs, *Bodin* procured certain words to be entered in the Records of the Order of Commons, to certifie their deſire of unity in Religion without the noiſe of Arms, and the neceſſity of War.

1576.

*Jean Bodin* contradicts the Prelates in the general Aſſembly.

This motion of the States being propounded to the King, who had already ſounded the ſecret practices of the Aſſembly, made him reſolve no longer to oppoſe, (knowing that the plurality of voices would be clearly againſt him) but to delude the propoſitions of the Deputies; for by oppoſing, he ſaw thoſe Arms of the Catholick League would be turned upon him, which were then prepared againſt the Hugonots; wherefore ſeeking obliquely to hinder that determination, he propoſed to the States and perſwaded them, that before it were enacted, Commiſſioners ought to be ſent to the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Mareſchal *d' Anville*, who by true ſubſtantial reaſons ſhould perſwade them to obey the will of the States, without returning again to the fatal hazard of Arms, hoping by ſuch delays to find ſome remedy againſt that reſolution which he ſaw the major part of the Deputies was obſtinately bent upon. To that purpoſe they choſe the Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, Monſieur *de Rubempre*, and the Treaſurer *Menager*, Commiſſioners to the King of *Navarre*; the Biſhop of *Autun*, Monſieur *de Momorine*, and *Pierre de Rate* to the Prince of *Conde*; the Biſhop of *Puits*, the Sieur *de Rochefort*, and the Advocate *Toley* to the Mareſchal *d' Anville*, to know the laſt reſolution of every one of them. But the King of *Navarre* having notice which way the States inclined, and ſeeing ſo terrible a ſtorm preparing againſt him, whilſt the time was ſpent at *Bloys* in conſulting, and things were drawn out in length by diverſity

of

1576. of opinions, and other obſtacles which were interpoſed; he being reſolved to make ready for War, buſied himſelf in gathering Souldiers with infinite diligence from all parts, and in ſeiſing upon many places convenient for the defence and maintenance of party; which ſucceeding according to his deſires, he had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Bazas*, *Perigueux*, and St. *Macaire* in *Guienne*, *Chivray* in *Poitou*, *Quimperley* in *Bretagne*, and with a more Warlike than numerous Army laid ſiege to *Marmande*, a great Town ſeated upon the bank of the *Garonne* near to *Bourdeaux*, and therefore very commodious to ſtrengthen that place, which was the only principal City of that Province that made reſiſtance.

1577. In the mean time the States Commiſſioners being come unto him, he gave them audience at *Agen*, in the beginning of the year 1577. with demonſtrations of great honour and reſpect. There the Biſhop of *Vienne* having eloquently declared the reſolution of the States, to ſuffer no other but the Catholick Religion in the Kingdom of *France*, exhorted him effectually in the name of all the Orders to come unto the Aſſembly, to re-unite himſelf in concord with the King his Brother-in-law, to return into the boſom of the Church, and by ſo noble and ſo neceſſary a reſolution to comfort all the Orders of the Kingdom; by whom, as firſt Prince of the Blood, he was greatly eſteemed and honoured; and afterward inlarging himſelf, he repreſented the ſeveral commodities of Peace, and the miſerable deſolations of War. The King of *Navarre* with ſuccinct, but ſolid words replyed punctually, That if the happineſs of Peace, and miſeries of War were ſo great and many as he alledged, the States ought therefore ſincerely to eſtabliſh that Peace which was before concluded, and not by new deliberations, and by revoking Edicts already made, to kindle again the ſparks of War which were almoſt extinguiſhed: That it was an eaſie matter to diſcourſe of the rooting out of a Religion by the Sword, but experience had always ſhewed, it was impoſſible to effect it; and therefore it was to be eſteemed a more diſcreet advice to allow a ſpiritual Peace, thereby to obtain a temporal one; than by diſquieting mens Conſciences to fancy the conſervation of an outward Peace: That for his part, he was born and brought up in the Religion he profeſſed, and he believed ſtill that it was the right and true Faith; but yet when by ſound reaſons urged to him by men of underſtanding, and not by force and violence, he ſhould find himſelf to be in an errour, he would readily repent his fault, and changing his Religion, endeavour the converſion of all others to the belief of that Faith which ſhould be acknowledged the true one: Therefore he prayed the States not to force his Conſcience, but to be ſatisfied with that his good will and intention; and if that anſwer were not ſufficient to content them, he would expect new and more particular demands, for the better anſwering whereof he would preſently aſſemble a full Congregation of his party at *Montauban*; but in the mean time, while he ſaw all things prepared to make War againſt him, he was conſtrained to ſtand armed upon his own defence, to prevent that ruine which he plainly ſaw contrived by his Enemies.

The Prince of *Conde* will not acknowledge the Aſſembly of *Blois* to be the States General; nor treat with their Commiſſioners.

The Prince of *Conde*'s anſwer was very different; for having received the Commiſſioners privately, he would neither open their Letters, nor acknowledge them for Deputies of the States General, alledging that that Aſſembly could not be called the States General, which wanted the Deputies of ſo many Cities, Towns and Provinces, and which treated of violating mens Conſciences by force, of ſhedding the Blood-Royal of *France*, and ſuppreſſing the Liberties of the Crown, to comply with the deſires of ſtrangers, who were ſo hot upon the proſecution of their own intolerable, pernitious intereſts of ambition and private ends, that it was a Conventicle of a few men ſuborned and corrupted by the diſturbers of the publick Peace, and therefore he would neither open their Letters, nor treat with their Commiſſioners.

The Mareſchal *d' Anville* gave an anſwer not much unlike, but ſomething more moderate, the Deputies having found him at *Montpellier*: For having repreſented to them, that his heart was real as any mans to the Catholick Religion, wherein he had been born, and would continue as long as he lived, he told them, that it would be both vain and impoſſible to prohibit the exerciſe of the Reformed Religion granted by ſo many Edicts, and confirmed by ſo many Concluſions of Peace, and that by blowing up the flames of War, the deſtruction and ruine of all parts of the Kingdom would be continued; but that it ought to be conſulted of in common in a lawful Aſſembly of the States General of *France*, and not in a particular Congregation as that of *Blois*, where only the Deputies of one party were met together; and therefore he did

did proteſt againſt the validity of whatſoever ſhould be there decreed or reſolved. 1577.

The Commiſſioners returned to *Bloys* with theſe anſwers in the beginning of *February*; and the Duke of *Guiſe* being come thither to give a colour to the buſineſs on his part, the inclination of the States appeared manifeſtly ready to diſanul the late Edict of Pacification, and reſolve upon a War with the Hugonots: Wherefore the King not willing to draw the hatred of all the Catholick party upon himſelf, nor give them cauſe to ſuſpect the ſincerity of his Conſcience, making the Pope and all Chriſtendom believe he held intelligence with the Hugonots, which jealouſie would have endangered the Catholick League to take Arms of themſelves without his Authority, and diſorder the whole ſtate of things: Beſides being adviſed by the Biſhop of *Lymoges*, and Monſieur *de Morvillier*, two of his principal Councellors, he determined (ſince he could not by open reſiſtance hinder the deſigns and progreſs of the Catholick League, which already had taken too deep a root) to make himſelf Head and Protector of it, and draw that Authority to himſelf which he ſaw they endeavoured to ſettle upon the Head of the League, both within and without the Kingdom; hoping that he being once made Moderator of that Union, in time convenient means would not be wanting to diſſolve it, as a thing directly oppoſite to his intentions: Wherefore ſhewing a great deſire to extirpate the Hugonot Faction, and making all believe that he was highly offended with the Princes anſwers, he cauſed the Catholick League framed by the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain* to be read, publiſhed and ſworn in the open Aſſembly, where they themſelves were preſent, eſtabliſhing it as an Irrevocable and Fundamental Law of the Kingdom: Then he declared himſelf principal Head and Protector of it, with loud ſpecious proteſtations, that he would ſpend his laſt breath to reduce all his people to an unity in Religion, and an entire obedience to the Roman Church: Thus did he labour to avoid that blow, which he ſaw he could not break by making reſiſtance.

*Henry* the III. declares himſelf Head of the Catholick League.

But the King having for many days ſhewed a wonderful deſire to ſuppreſs the Hugonots, purpoſed with one mortal blow to try the conſtancy of the Deputies; for having ſent his Brother the Duke of *Alancon*, and the Duke of *Nevers* unto the Aſſembly, he cauſed them to propoſe, that it being requiſite to make War with powerful Armies, againſt thoſe that were diſobedient to the Catholick Church, great ſums of money were alſo neceſſary, and that therefore the Kings Treaſury being exhauſted, he deſired the States to aſſiſt him with two millions of Ducats to maintain the vaſt expences of War; which none ought to refuſe, ſince they had all ſolemnly taken the Oath of the League, and thereby obliged themſelves to contribute their Fortunes in common; at which demand, the Deputies for the City of *Paris* not being preſent, (becauſe ſome were indiſpoſed, and the reſt gone home to elect the *Prevoſt des Merchands* the chief Officer of that City) and therefore *Jean Bodin* being Preſident of the Order of Commons, and knowing all that burthen was to be laid upon the people, roſe up, and anſwered, That the Third Eſtate had always propounded and proteſted to deſire unity in Religion, and the reducing of thoſe that went aſtray but without the noiſe of Arms and War, and that if they looked into the Records of the Aſſembly, they ſhould find thoſe very words formerly expreſſed in the Vote of the Commons, which he had cauſed to be regiſtred, and that ſince they had not conſented to the War, neither were they bound to contribute to the expences of it, to ſatisfie the fantaſtical humours of ſome of the Deputies, and conſume their own Eſtates to renew the yet bleeding wounds of the Kingdom: to which ſpeech of his, not only the other Orders, but the Clergy themſelves aſſented, who having ſworn that in words, which they were not ſo forward to perform in actions, and deſiring no leſs than the reſt to eaſe themſelves of thoſe contributions wherewith all of them were equally wearied and burthened, the ardour and conſtancy of thoſe began to waver, who had ſo readily reſolved upon a War at the charge and danger of other men: whereupon the King turning his ſail according to the wind, the next day he himſelf propounded to the Deputies, That ſince they thought the charges of War ſo grievous a burthen, they ſhould patiently expect the Duke of *Montpenſier* and Monſieur *de Byron*, ſent by him to the King of *Navarre*, to procure his converſion in a friendly and peaceable manner; with which motion (notwithſtanding the oppoſition of many) the major part of the Deputies were contented.

Not many days after the Duke of *Montpenſier* returned; and being brought into the Aſſembly by the Kings command, related in order all that had paſſed in his Negotiation,

1577. tion, and in ſubſtance ſhewed them that the King of *Navarre* being moſt deſirous of the Peace of the Kingdom, would be contented with ſuch reaſonable conditions, as cutting off all exorbitant, ſuperfluous matters which were granted in the laſt Edict, might moderate and compoſe all differences without putting themſelves upon the neceſſity of a War, and gave almoſt aſſured hopes, that he himſelf (though he would not give occaſion to have it thought that he turned Catholick by compulſion) might yet in time condeſcend to alter his opinion, and make a happy concluſion of all things; which relation coming from the Duke, who was of the Blood-Royal, Brother-in-law to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and always partial to the Catholicks, wrought ſuch an effect in the minds of all, as encouraged *Jean Bodin* and others of the Order of Commons, again to try the way of agreement with expreſs proteſtation, that unity in Religion ought to be procured without War: Which Vote being ſome days ſtiffly oppoſed, and as conſtantly maintained, was at laſt carried, and a Writing drawn up in the Name of the States, beſeeching the King to endeavour an unity in Religion by peaceful means, and without the neceſſity of War; which being propounded by the King himſelf in his Council, the opinions concerning it were diverſe; for the Duke, and Cardinal of *Guiſe*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and others, were againſt the propoſition of the States, alledging that the end they aimed at could not be obtained without the extirpation of the Hugonots, who were up in Arms, and moreover had already renewed the War; and affirming, that laſt propoſition of the Deputies to be artificially contrived and extorted; whereas the firſt had been voluntarily and generally agreed on, and the Oath taken in approbation of the League, which was directly contrary to the preſent proceedings. But the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Mareſchal *de Coſſe*, Monſieur *de Byron*, the High Chancellour *Byrago*, *Morvillier*, *Chiverny*, *Bellievre*, and *Villeclaire*, with the major part of the Council being of the contrary opinion, alledged that there were many other means (though ſuch as required more time) to bring thoſe that were out of the way, home into the boſom of the Church; and that to deſtroy ſo much people would exceedingly weaken the Kingdom, and bring it again into the late miſeries and dangers. Wherefore it was concluded that the Duke of *Montpenſier* ſhould return to the King of *Navarre*, to know his laſt anſwer concerning his converſion and reconciliation to the Church, and the ſetling of a laſting, reaſonable Peace.

In the mean time many other things were debated in the Aſſembly, about the rule of juſtice, the ordering of the *Finances*, the payments of debts, and the reformation of manners; among which matters, ſome of the Prelats moved, that the Council of Trent might be received and obſerved: but the Deputies of the Nobility, and thoſe of the Commons oppoſed it ſtoutly; with which the major part of the Clergy concuring, for the conſervation (as they ſaid) of the priviledges of the Gallique Church, and ſuch as had been granted to it by ſeveral Popes, it was at laſt reſolved, that it ſhould paſs no further.

The Heads of the Catholick League and their followers omitted not to ſeek ſome way of reſtraining the Kings power, and propounded that his Council might be reduced to the number of four and twenty Counſellors; which ſhould not be choſen at the Kings pleaſure, but by every Province of the Kingdom, as is the cuſtom in other States. But this motion being made but coldly, and ſtifly oppoſed by many as contrary to the ancient conſtitutions, and all former precedents, it was in the end caſt out, leſt the mention of it ſhould too much exaſperate the King.

After many diſputes the general Aſſembly is diſmiſſed without concluding any thing.

With theſe deliberations, not only ambiguous and uncertain, but alſo oppoſite and diſagreeing among themſelves, the Congregation of the States broke up, which having neither concluded Peace nor War, the King was left free to do what pleaſed himſelf; who having happily, though not without much pains and induſtry, overcome the conſpiracies of the League, was in good meaſure confirmed in the reſolution of his firſt deſigns; having not only increaſed his inward hatred toward the Houſe of *Guiſe*, but found by experience his own weakneſs, and the too great power of their Faction: Wherefore being reſolved to eſtabliſh Peace, becauſe both parties were nouriſhed and fomented by the War, he firſt of all put the Biſhop of *Lymoges* away from the Court, and cunningly excluded *Morvillier* from the Cabinet-Council, ſuſpecting that they held ſecret intelligence with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and that they had perſwaded him to declare himſelf Head of the League, not ſincerely, but to aſſiſt that party; for though the artifice had ſucceeded happily, he thought nevertheleſs he had diſcovered that in

many

many occaſions they had diſſwaded the War with the Hugonots; which they having done, becauſe they thought it ſo became their Order, being of the Clergy, had thereby ſtirred up the Kings anger and ſuſpicion, who was jealous beyond meaſure of ſeeing the League favoured or not oppoſed by any of his own Creatures. The Biſhop of *Lymoges* being retired to his own houſe, lived very quietly all the reſt of his days; but *Morvillier*, a man ſecretly full of great ambition, was poſſeſſed with ſo deep a melancholy, that within a few months he ended his life with grief. 1577.

The King preſently diſpatched Monſieur *de Byron* and Secretary *Villeroy* to the King of *Navarre*, that they being joined with the Duke of *Montpenſier*, might proſecute the Treaty of Agreement: But though the King of *Navarre* (who with wiſe conſideration meaſured the ſtrength of his party, which was not very powerful at that time, making ſhew to do it through a moderation of mind, and a deſire of the general quiet) did yield to decline the late conditions, and conſent to what was propoſed by the Kings Agents; yet the Prince of *Conde*, of a fierce haughty nature, and the Hugonot Miniſters, with whoſe advice all things were neceſſarily to be governed, were ſtill obſtinate againſt Peace, unleſs upon the Capitulations already eſtabliſhed, diſputing about ſuch things as neceſſity diſpoſed another way: wherefore as ſoon as their ſtubbornneſs, and the difficulty of the Treaty appeared to the King, being reſolved to put the Hugonots in mind of their weak eſtate, and force them to receive conditions of Peace, if they perſiſted in their wilfulneſs, he ſent out two ſeveral Armies againſt them in the beginning of *April*; one into the Countries near the *Loyre*, and the Provinces on this ſide the River, under the command of the Duke of *Alancon*, who to remove all diſguſts, was declared his Lieutenant-General; the other, on that ſide of the River in *Xaintonge*, under the Duke of *Mayenne*, whom he made uſe of much more willingly than of the Duke of *Guiſe*, becauſe he found him of a more moderate mind and inclination; and beſides thoſe two Armies, he ſet forth a Fleet under Monſieur *de Lanſac* to clear the coaſts, and hinder the entry into *Rochelle*: By this means he thought preſently to make the Catholick party weary of thoſe expences which (by the management of the Duke of *Alancon*) would become intolerable; and at the ſame time to break the obſtinacy of the Hugonots, letting them ſee how little means they had to reſiſt his forces; whereby he might afterwards accommodate the conditions of Peace in ſuch a way as ſhould appear to him juſt and reaſonable, ſince the former Capitulations could be neither broken nor moderated, unleſs there were firſt ſome beginning of a War.

The King ſends two Armies againſt the Hugonots. The Duke of *Alancon* made the Kings Lieutenant-General.

It was not hard for either of the Kings Armies to do great matters in a little time; for the Hugonots being reduced to an exceeding want of men and money, were not able to keep the field; and their fortified places, though valiantly defended, yet having no aſſiſtance ready either of their own party, or of ſtrangers, their only help and refuge in all times of their need, they were fain either to let themſelves be miſerably deſtroyed, or yield to the diſcretion of the Conquerors. So no Head of the Hugonots appearing in the Field, the Duke of *Alancon* having attacked, and within a few days taken *la Charite*, was marched into *Auvergne*, and had beſieged *Iſoire*, a place ſtrongly ſituated and well fortified, but which imported moſt, conſtantly, or (to ſay better) deſperately defended by the inhabitants: Yet as the event always proves it impoſſible to keep any place that cannot be relieved, it was brought to ſuch extremity at the beginning of *June*, that being at laſt yielded to diſcretion, it was not only ſacked, and the inhabitants put to the ſword, as it pleaſed the immoderate will of the Duke of *Alancon*, but it was alſo ſet on fire, and burnt to the very ground: On the other ſide, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having without difficulty taken *Thone-Charente*, and *Marans*, had laid ſiege to *Brouage*, a place for ſituation, ſtrength, and the profit of the Salt-pits, of very great importance; where the Prince of *Conde* having tryed all poſſible means to relieve the beſieged, the Hugonots after ſome difficulty were brought into ſuch a condition, that about the end of *Auguſt* they delivered it up, ſaving only the lives of the Souldiers and inhabitants, which agreement the Duke punctually obſerved. Nor did their affairs proſper better by Sea than Land: for *Lanſac* with the Kings Fleet having driven away that of the Rochellers commanded by the Sieur *de Clairmont*, and taken two of their greateſt Ships, landed alſo in the Iſle of *Oleron*, took it; and being at laſt come to the Cape of *Blaye*, did exceedingly incommodate the affairs of *Rochel*. Theſe accidents having qualified the Prince of *Conde*'s fury, and overcome the obſtinacy of the Miniſters; there was not any of the Hugonots, who

1577. foreſeeing their total ruine, did not deſire and labour for peace, with ſo great an inclination of all private men, that the Souldiers forſook their colours, the Gentlemen retired to their own houſes, and the inhabitants of the City, deteſting the exerciſe of Arms, returned to the buſineſs of their ſhops; beſides, the Mareſchal *d' Anville*, who in their proſperity had united his Counſels and Forces with them, now pretending he had been abuſed and ill dealt withal by certain Heads of the Faction, did endeavour to make his peace, and return unto the Kings obedience, and had already taken Arms againſt ſome of the Hugonots, by whom he gave out, that he had been grievouſly offended.

Nor were the Catholicks more cool and moderate in their deſires of peace; for though the good ſucceſs of the War redounded to the benefit of the King, and of the Catholick Religion, yet the charge of contributions, and the loſſes the Country ſuſtained by the inſolencies of the Souldiers, and want of Government in the Duke of *Alaneon's* Army, reſulted to the detriment and ruine of private men; wherefore ſeeing that the War, though unactive, and not very dangerous, was yet like to be long and tedious, a great many of thoſe who at firſt either deſired it, or did not oppoſe it, began now to long for peace, to free themſelves from the burthens and incommodities of the War; and, except the Lords of *Guiſe* and their dependents, there was not any who did not think it requiſite to procure an agreement, for the eaſe of the people who were ſo exceedingly oppreſſed. But the expectation of the Hugonot party was ſetled upon the King of *Navarre*, who (having from the beginning foreſeen that miſchief, and deſired peace) now treating at *Bergerac* with the Kings Deputies, knew ſo well how to hide and conceal his weakneſs, that though he ſtood not upon thoſe conditions which were laſt concluded with the Duke of *Alaucon*, yet he held up the affairs of his party in being and reputation. But the Kings inclination, and by conſequence the eaſineſs of his Miniſters, was not leſs than the policy of the King of *Navarre*: wherefore a Ceſſation of Arms being agreed upon for a few days in the beginning of *September*, the Accommodation was ſo actively followed, that in the end the Articles of Peace were concluded with ſo great contentment of both parties, that the King being come to *Poictiers* with the Court for that purpoſe, ſhewed manifeſt ſigns of joy, calling it His peace; and the Prince of *Conde* imbraced it with ſo much greedineſs, that the ratification coming to him in the evening when it was already dark, he cauſed it to be publickly proclaimed that very night by torch-light.

Through weakneſs of both parties the Peace is concluded and publiſhed by torch light.

The Edict of this Pacification was very copious, being compriſed in Seventy Four Articles, which did limit and take away many of thoſe exorbitancies that had been granted in the former Edict in favour of the foreign Forces eſtabliſhing a very moderate, political Government, equally juſt and reaſonable for both parties; it permitted the exerciſe of the Reformed Religion in the Houſes of Gentlemen Feudataries, or (as they call them) * *de Haute Juſtice*, with the free admiſſion of every body: but in the Houſes of private Gentlemen, not above the number of ſeven was allowed, and in a prefixed place in every Juriſdiction and Baily-wick, except in *Paris* and ten leagues about, and two leagues compaſs from the Court whereſoever it ſhould be; it bridled the licence of thoſe who leaving their Religious Orders, had joined themſelves in matrimony, by ſpecial favour pardoning what was paſt, and ſeverely regulating the future: it reſtored the uſe of the Catholick Religion in all places from whence it had been taken during the War: it preſcribed the preſent reſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues to Prieſts and Prelates in what Province ſoever, and that without any delay: it obliged the Hugonots to the certainty of Baptiſm, to keep the appointed holy-days, to exclude Conſanguinity in Marriage, and many other things wiſely obſerved in the Catholick Church, and very proper for a peaceful orderly Government: it took away *les Chambres* * *mi-parties* (as they call them) which were already ſetled in *Paris*, *Roüen*, *Dijon* and *Bretagne*, leaving them ſtill in the other Parliaments, but with a ſmaller number of Hugonots; nor was any thing omitted which could hinder diſcords, take away ſcandals, re-unite the minds of thoſe that were diſſident or divided, and ſettle the authority of Magiſtrates and vigour of the Laws in their firſt ſtate and condition: Yet were eight places granted to the Hugonot Lords for their ſecurity for the ſpace of four years, after which (the Edict being entirely obſerved) they promiſed faithfully to reſtore them into the Kings hands; they ſerving only in the interim till the Edict of Pacification was ſetled in a way, and by time and obſervance reduced unto the ordinary

* High Juriſdiction, authority to judge and determine all criminal or capital matters (except High-treaſon) within his own precincts, and all civil actions or controverſies, except in Royal caſes, and ſuch as concern Gentlemen and the high ways.

* Courts of juſtice, wherein half were Catholicks, half Hugonots

dinary uſual courſe. Theſe places were *Mompellier* and *Aiguemorte* in *Languedoc*; *Myon* and *Serres* in *Dauphine*; *Seine* in *Provence*; *Perigueux*, *la Reolle*, and *le Mas de Verdun* in *Guienne*; things all prudently ordered, and diſpoſed for the eſtabliſhment of a well-ſetled Peace. 1577.

But though the King for the Catholick, and the Princes of *Bourbon* for the Hugonot party, had (to the univerſal joy of the people) concluded this Agreement, which ſeemed very likely to take away the late diſcords, and quiet the diſtracted eſtate of the Kingdom; yet neither were mens minds generally pacified, differences totally compoſed, nor the tumults utterly appeaſed; but the fire of publick War being extinguiſhed, particular quarrels did ſtill boil in the intereſts of private perſons; for neither did the Mareſchal *d' Anville* (who every day withdrew himſelf further from the Hugonots) ceaſe to proſecute thoſe by whom he pretended to be injured in *Languedoc*, under colour of reducing the places of his Government under his own command; nor did the Sieur *des Diguieres* in *Dauphine* dare to truſt the peace, nor hazard himſelf upon the Kings word, remembring what had befallen *Mombrun*, in whoſe company he had made War, and therefore ſtill continued armed for his ſecurity: and the Catholicks (eſpecially the adherents of the League) when they ſaw the Hugonots meet at their Sermons, being inflamed with anger, and tranſported with paſſion, could not ſuffer them without murmurings and detractions, which occaſioned many contentions, and ſometimes dangerous bloody accidents; whereby a great part of *France*, though the peace was made, continued ſtill in broils and inſurrections. But the King believing that the benefit of time and moderation of Government might at laſt appeaſe and extinguiſh all thoſe commotions, diſſembled thoſe things which were written and preſented unto him from ſeveral parts, and had ſetled his whole thoughts upon the framing and executing of his deſigns: yet after the ſpace of ſome months, ſeeing the ſtirs and diſſentions ſtill continue, he reſolved that the Queen his Mother going into *Poiton* to confer with the King of *Navarre*, and then into the other moſt ſuſpected Provinces, ſhould with the wonted effect of her preſence compoſe the differences, artificially taking away thoſe ſcruples which ſtill diſturbed the Edict of Pacification.

About that time the King created two Mareſchals, men of admirable valour in War, and ſingular prudence in Government, *Armand* Sieur *de Byron*, and *Jaques* Sieur *de Matignon*, who free from the intereſts of the Duke of *Guiſe*, depended meerly and wholly upon the Kings will, acknowledging him their ſole Benefactor; and though *Byron* for thoſe paſſages concerning *Rochel*, and ſome other jealouſies, had for a long time been little favoured by the King, eſpecially before he came unto the Crown; yet being now reſolved to exalt and truſt thoſe who were diſaffected to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, he came to riſe to one of the higheſt places: it being generally conceived, that he was chiefly induced to thoſe other matters by the envy and hatred which he inwardly bore that Family, by which he knew that not only his advancement was oppoſed, but that oftentimes, and particularly at the Maſſacre at *Paris*, his death was both propounded and perſwaded. And becauſe *Renato di Birago* the High-Chancellour at the recommendation of the King and Queen was by the Pope received into the number of Cardinals; that moſt important Office was conferred upon *Philip Hurault* Viſcount *de Chiverny*, one of the Kings moſt truſty intimate Counſellours.

The High-Chancellour *Birago* being made Cardinal, *Philip Hurault* is choſen in his place.

In the mean time the year 1578 being begun, the Queen-Mother, after ſome delays, cauſed by the ſharpneſs of the Winter, had with a noble train of principal Lords and Gentlemen, begun her journey toward the King of *Navarre*, taking with her the Lady *Margaret* her Daughter, to reſtore her to him, ſhe having by his ſudden departure been left behind him at the Court: being arrived at *Bourdeaux*, ſhe ſent to treat with the Deputies of the Hugonots, who, as to their Head, were come unto the King of *Navarre*, who (in this weakneſs and ſlenderneſs of his party, mens bodies being wearied, their eſtates conſumed, and the minds of the Proteſtant Princes alienated by reaſon of the ſmall account that had been made of Prince *Caſimir* and the Germans) was forced by cunning and diſſimulation to ſupply the publick neceſſity, and his own private maintenance: Wherefore being reduced into a corner of that Province, Governour of *Guienne* only in title, deprived of a great part of his own revenues, and altogether excluded from the Kings favour and liberality, wherewith his Anceſtors had born up their dignity after the loſs of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, he was on the one 1578.

1579. ſide fain to imbrace Peace, becauſe he had not forces to make War; and on the other he was neceſſitated ſecretly to ſuffer private diſcords to break forth into acts of hoſtility, thereby to maintain his credit and his followers, who had no other means to keep themſelves; wherefore with politick deliberations, and with a certain lively promptitude which was natural to him, he made ſhew exceedingly to reverence the Kings commands, and yet managed his own intereſts ſo dexterouſly, that in ſuch an exigence of urgent affairs, his vivacity was much eſteemed by men of underſtanding; though ſome blamed his reſolution to live rather in that manner like a baniſhed man, than to ſubmit himſelf unto the Kings obedience, who by infinite ſigns was known to be more averſe to the Houſe of *Lorain* than to him.

1579. But though this variety of intereſts had prolonged the treaty of matters till the beginning of *February* 1579. yet could it not utterly diſturb it, ſo that at laſt it was concluded at *Nerac*, where both parties were met; for the Hugonots not having ſtrength ſufficient to think of War, were content in the end (the obſcurity of the Edict being taken away, from whence all thoſe diſſentions were thought to ariſe) that every particular ſhould remain firmly eſtabliſhed, and the Peace (as much as the ſecret deſigns of both parties did allow) perfectly ſetled.

In the mean time the King, conſtant to his own intentions, had begun to confirm the ground-work of his determination; for beſides the two Mareſhals which were formerly choſen, he had given the Office of General of the Artillery (that for a long time had been held by Monſieur *de Byron*) to *Philibert* Sieur *de la Guiche*, and had declared *Laurence* Sieur *de Maugiron* Lieutenant-General in *Daulphine*, which place was vacant by the death of the Sieur *des Gordes*: and the Government of the City of *Paris*, formerly held by the chief Lords of the Kingdom, was given to *Rene* Sieur *de Ville-guier*, (then one of his two principal Favourites) and *Francis* Sieur *d' O* (the other) was Superintendent of the *Finances*, and almoſt at the ſame time *Jean* Sieur *d' Aumont*, a man of very noble birth, and not inferiour valour, but not favoured with the power or union of any of the Factions, was created Mareſchal in the place of *Francis de Momorancy*, who waſted by the tedioufneſs of adverſe fortune, was lately departed out of this life. The King bred up continually near his perſon (beſides thoſe who already ſate at the Helm of Government) many young Lords and Gentlemen, of great hopes and expectations, to fill up the vacancy of thoſe Offices that fell daily; among which the chief were *Anne* Son to the Viſcount *de Joyeuſe*, and *Jean Louis* the Son of Monſieur *de la Valett*, who by the vivacity of their wits did equal the nobleneſs of their extraction: for the Viſcount *de Joyeuſe*, Father of *Anne*, being honourably deſcended, had long been Governour of *Gaſcogne*, and amidſt the greateſt combuſtions had faithfully followed the Kings and Queens party, without medling with either faction; and Monſieur *de la Valett* the Father of *Jean Louis*, being alſo a Gentleman of moſt noble blood, having commanded the Light-Horſe in the courſe of all the Wars, had gained an extraordinary reputation of valour: Wherefore theſe young Lords bred up in the diſcipline of the Court, (where they had the example of their worthy Progenitors, and advanced into the Kings Chamber) were as Leaders to the reſt, who were brought up in great number to the principal hopes of the Crown: and though Monſieur *de Quelus*, and *Francis* the Son of *Maugiron*, two of theſe young Favourites (falling into a quarrel with *Antraquet* and *Riberack*, Favourites of the Houſe of *Guiſe*) were both ſlain in Duel, and St. *Megrin* (a third Companion of theſe two) was killed in a few days after by ſome that were unknown, as he came out of the Court late at night; yet the King, ſatisfying both his grief and anger by doing honours to the dead, (in ſo much that he cauſed their Statues in Marble to be erected in the Church of St. *Paul*) did ſtill raiſe up others into his favour, who for birth and ingenuity were proper for the greatneſs of his deſigns: which things while they were ripening, the Kings life was very different from that education in which from his childhood he had been trained up generouſly in the midſt of Arms; for having at firſt determined to feign a ſoft quiet courſe of life, very conformable to the inward inclination of his nature, and out of meaſure pleaſing to him; he gave himſelf over wholly to his eaſe, frequented Sermons and Proceſſions, converſed often with Capuchins and Jeſuits, built Monaſteries and Chappels, uſed to undergo penances and wear hair-ſhirts, wore his beads openly at his girdle, and was often preſent at the Schools of the Penitents, and at the Canonical hours of the Hieronomites, who were brought by him to live in his own Palace; by which actions he ſhewed a wonderful

*Henry* the III. his manner of life.

affection

affection to Religion, and a moſt ardent deſire to increaſe and propagate it. This manner of living did, in great part, produce the effect he deſired; for many of the Catholicks, lulled aſleep, and weened from a Military life, by the example of their Prince, had turned themſelves to quiet peaceful thoughts, and to the care of their domeſtick affaires, which, in the revolutions of ſo many Wars, had been long neglected and forgotten; and among the Hugonots, (part laying aſide their ſtubbornneſs, ſince it was not provoked; and part ſeeing all gifts and favours were beſtowed upon ſuch as followed the Kings example, in reverencing Religion, and exerciſing Catholick duties) many, by little and little, withdrew themſelves from that party, and either really, or in appearance, joyned with the Roman Church; ſo that a few moneths of peace were clearly ſeen to have converted more then twenty years of continual War had done before. 1579.

But, this deliberation of the Kings, which, if it had been proſecuted with the ſame ſeverity it was begun, might perchance have happily effected his propoſed end; being at length drawn aſide by paſſion and inclination, began to paſs from devotion to luxury, and from eaſe to diſſoluteneſs; ſo that though he continued in the ſame ſpiritual exerciſes, yet his hours of recreation, and dayes of reſt, were ſpent in delightful Paſtimes, ſumptuous Maſques and Balls, Stately Marriages, and continual converſation with the Ladies of the Court, whereby, his deſign of a quiet and peaceful life, corrupted by little and little, was no longer art and diſſimulation, but turned into cuſtome, and abuſe; and though on the one ſide the advantage of taking off mens minds from their wonted fierceneſs, did thereby continue; yet on the other it rendred the King very odious, and contemptible to a great part of the Kingdom: For the * Nobility, (ſeeing their Prince's favour was totally ingroſſed by a few men, and every one excluded from any advancement at Court, but by the means of thoſe Favourites (commonly called *Minions*,) who were not onely to be ſerved, and waited on, above the condition of their birth, but oftentimes alſo to be corrupted with great Preſents) were kindled with an infinite diſdain, and, ſhunning and avoiding the very ſight of the Court, awakened and ſtirred up the ſtate of preſent affairs. The Common People intollerably burthened with new Taxations, and innumerable grievances, not onely thereby to heap up treaſure ſufficient to ſuſtain that fabrick of the Kings deſigns, but much more to ſupply his ſuperfluous expences both ſpiritual and temporal, and to feed the greedy covetouſneſs of his Minions; ſeeing themſelves in a much worſe condition in Peace, then they were wont to be in War, hated the very name of the King, and murmured againſt his way of Government. The Clergy, no leſs burthened then the reſt, did continually blame the Counſels of that Adminiſtration, which had made Peace with the Hugonots to follow the Luxuries, and Pleaſures of the Court; and many of the Principal Hugonots themſelves, though they peaceably enjoyed a liberty of Conſcience, yet could they not ſettle their minds, nor free themſelves from jealouſies, whilſt they ſaw the King publickly addicted to the ſevereſt exerciſes of the Catholick Religion, and continually incompaſſed by the Capuchins, Jeſuites, Bernardines, Hieronomites, and other Religious Orders; ſo that in the midſt of Peace, nothing but the Perſecution of Hereſie was daily threatened. Thus the King's ſecret deſigns, framed, and plotted with ſo long care and induſtry, (as is the cuſtome of too ſubtil Counſels) did, at length, produce effects very different from the intent and aim of their contriver.

* Including the Gentry, who are alwayes meant by the French Nobleſs, as well as the Lords.

This occaſion of the general hatred againſt the Kings Perſon, was not omitted by the Duke of *Guiſe*, nor by his brothers, and confederates, for doubting of his intentions in matter of Religion, whereof they had declared themſelves defenders; and having already, by many conjectures, found out the end to which the action tended; they, being no leſs politick, and crafty then himſelf, did labour, by all means poſſible, not onely to increaſe the ill-will, which was in a manner generally borne him, and to bring him into the contempt of all his People, but alſo to gain themſelves credit and reputation, and to win the love, and applauſe of every one; grave in their ſpeech, affable in their converſation, ready to ſhew favour and aſſiſtance to thoſe that needed, boaſters of their own vertues, which were many, and (which among the common People, is alwayes very prevalent) of noble Preſence, comely Perſon, and graceful behaviour. So, though the King diminiſhed their Power, by bringing ſuch into imployment as were averſe from them, and onely depending upon himſelf, yet they grew up another way, cunningly receiving, and aſſiſting ſuch as were injured, and drawing the Male-

*The Guiſes* foment the Peoples hatred againſt the King.

1579. Male-contents to joyn with them; and, though the King had taken off much of that hatred, which formerly, in the common ſort of Hugonots, was very great againſt him, by having granted them both an inward, and an outward Peace, yet did they ſtir up the hatred of the Catholicks, and particularly of the Pariſians, imputing his favours towards the young Gentlemen that were about him, unto an unfitting irregular deſire; his Devotions and Penances to hypocriſie, and diſſimulation; the advancing of his dependents to offices and honours, to a tyrannical power, and a greedy appetite to devour all things; which things, they themſelves not naming, but ſpeaking of the Kings actions with ambiguous words and reſervations, cauſed them to be divulged by active eloquent men, ſometimes figuratively in the Pulpit, ſometimes openly in meetings and ordinary converſations, and many times, by little pamphlets, under divers Titles, made them be artificially deſcribed and publiſhed.

But the King truſting to the ſecret ſtructure of his deſignes, which he thought to be in a very good forwardneſs, believed he ſhould at laſt be eaſily able to overcome all oppoſitions; and to level the line of them the more regularly, by joyning the Theorick to the Practick, he retired himſelf every day after dinner with *Baccio de Bene*, and *Giacopo Corbinelli*, both Florentines, men exceedingly learned in the Greek and Latine Studies, making them read unto him *Polybius* and *Cornelius Tacitus*; but much more often the diſcourſes and Prince of *Machiavel*; which readings ſtirring him up, he was ſo much the more tranſported with his own ſecret plots; for the advancing whereof, that he might the better engage and oblige the principal perſons more nearly and confidently to himſelf, under colour that the Order of the Knights of St. *Michael* was become mean and common, by having been too eaſily, and too indifferently conferred by his Predeceſſors, he inſtituted a new Order of Knighthood; which with ſtrict rules, and an aſſignment of certain Revenues, he called *l' Ordre du St. Eſprit*, ſolemnizing the Ceremonies of it upon the firſt day of the year: But, as this Prince was moſt ingenious in laying his deſigns, and ardent in the beginning of them, but remiſs in the proſecution, having found many difficulties at *Rome* in his purpoſe of aſſigning Church Lands to that Order of Knighthood, under title of *Commendams*; ſo the profits of that Order were fruſtrated, though the Name and the Order it ſelf being placed in perſons of eminent quality, hath continued for many years in high eſteem and veneration.

*Henry* the 3d inſtitutes the order of Knighthood of the Holy Ghoſt.

Whileſt theſe things paſs at the Court, the Queen Mother (having concluded the Treaty with the King of *Navarre*, and endeavoured to make him taſte the delights and benefits of Peace) went to viſit the Provinces of *Gaſcogne*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*, every one receiving her Anſwers as ſo many Oracles, ſince the King, ſhewing a deſire to live quiet and retired, had remitted all the weight of Affairs unto her care; and having left her Daughter with her Husband, ſhe had conferred with the Viſcount *de Turenne* in *Poictou*, and had compoſed differences with the Mareſchal *d' Anville* in *Languedoc*, who, having ſued for pardon, (yet, without ſtirring from his Government) was returned (though but in appearance) unto the Kings obedience. Laſt of all, the Queen went to *Montluel*, a Town of the Duke of *Savoys*, not far from the Confines, to ſpeak with the Mareſchal *de Bellegarde*; who, during the Wars of *France*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*.

*Bellegarde* had, for many years, held the chief place in the Kings favour, and in the beginning of his Reign, was, by him, created Mareſchal; but afterward, for ſome jealouſies the King conceived of him, and by the inſtigation of his competitors *Chiverny* and *Villeguier*, he was faln out of favour; and, under pretence of ſending him into *Poland*, to negotiate for the Duke of *Alancon*, he had cunningly ſought to put him from Court: But, being openly favoured by the Mareſchal *d' Anville*, and ſecretly by the Duke of *Savoy*, he went into the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, where, having found a light occaſion of diſpute with *Carlo de Birago*, the Kings Lieutenant, who held the principal places, he eaſily drove him away by force; and having, without much difficulty, made himſelf Maſter of that State, he carried himſelf in imitation of *d' Anville*, obeying the King's orders onely ſo far forth as he himſelf thought fit. This action of his did not onely prove very prejudicial to the Affairs of *France*, but likewiſe wrought great ſuſpicions in the Italian Princes, who, with reaſon, doubted, that *Bellegarde*, ſet on by the Catholick King, to deprive the French of the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, might give the King occaſion, for the recovery of his own, to bring the War into *Italy*, and put the affairs of that Province into confuſion; and that ſo much the rather, becauſe they

*Bellegarde*, by intelligence with the Duke of *Savoy*, uſurps the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*.

they saw *Bellegarde* leavy Soldiers, and fortifie places, and yet knew not with whose money he could do those things: Wherefore the Pope being moved, had prayed the Venetian Senate, as Friends to the King, to interpose their wisdom, to take away the occasion of that fire, the preparations whereof were so near at hand: The Senate undertook the business very carefully, and having caused their Ambassador *Grimano* to treat with the King, and *Francesco Barbaro* Resident in *Savoy*, with the Mareschal *de Bellegarde*, was the occasion that the King committed that affair unto the managing of his Mother. For this cause, the Queen, not being able to draw *Bellegarde* unto *Grenoble*, whither the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Venetian Ambassador, were come to meet her, was content to go to *Montluel*, (according to her custom) making small account of Ceremonies (which use so much to trouble Princes) so she might obtain her ends in the substance of things. There, having wrought the Mareschal to acknowledge the King, and receive the Patent of his Government from him, she dispatched it for him, with many demonstrations of honor; but, whatsoever the occasion were, the Mareschal died suddenly as soon as he was returned unto *Saluzzo*; and before the Queen departed from those Provinces, the Governours and Guardians of his Son delivered up that State into the hands of the King of *France*. 1578.

The Queen being gotten out of that trouble, passing thorough *Bourgogne*, was returned unto her Son, to assist in the administration of the Government; whilest he, retired from the management of affairs, seemed onely to mind Feasts and Solemnities, leaving all businesses to her, and to his Council, though indeed every least particular passed thorow his own hands; by which arts he thought himself so secure of present, and certain of future matters, that he believed he had already fully executed all that he had secretly contrived in his mind. Onely he thought the course of his designs was stopt by the Duke of *Alancon*, who, fickle and unconstant in his desires, sometimes retiring himself from Court, sometimes returning confidently again; now holding intelligence with the Male-contents, and within a while refusing to meddle with them, kept him still solicitous with many jealousies and anxieties.

The Low-Countries being withdrawn from the King of *Spain's* Dominion, first seek protection from the King of *France*, and then put themselves under the Duke of *Alancon*.

The Queen-Mother endeavoured principally to remedy that fear, as a thing so material, that the tranquility or disturbance of the Government depended on it: Wherefore, the people of the Low-Countries being already withdrawn from the subjection of the Catholick King, having first besought the King of *France* to receive them into his protection; and after he refused it, having offered the Command of themselves to the Duke of *Alancon*, if with a powerful Army he would deliver them from fear of the Spanish Tyranny; the Queen, desirous to free one Son from his suspicions, and to provide a convenient State for the other, exhorted the King to let the Duke of *Alancon* accept of the protection of the States of *Flanders*, and to raise an Army, upon fained pretences, within the limits of *France*; alledging, that all unquiet factious spirits would go along with the Duke, and diminish that pestilent matter which maintained the discords and troubles of the Kingdom: and, the better to ground and settle that design, she tryed to renew the so often rejected Treaty of Marriage, between the Duke and the Queen of *England*; which, though it could not be concluded, yet, at least, this consequence might result from it; That the Queen, by her Forces and Authority, would incline to favour the Duke in his new Command; wherefore, omitting nothing that could advance that end, after many Embassies on both sides, *Alancon* himself went this year personally into *England*, where, being honourably and sumptuously received by the Queen, he stayed there a great while; and, though she abhorred to submit her self to the yoke of Matrimony, and that the State of *England* did likewise abhor the Government of a French King; yet, because the interest of State required to dissemble, as well to encrease the Dukes reputation, and by consequence the strength of the States of * *Flanders*, as also to cause a jealousie in the Catholick King, who, at that time, was intent about many other designs, which were much suspected by all the Princes his Neighbours; the Queen fained to consent unto the match, and, amongst the pomps and delights of her Court, honoured and favoured the Duke of *Alancon* very familiarly; in whose behalf the King dispatched an honourable Embassie, the chief whereof was *Francis de Montpensier* Prince Dauphin, a Lord of winning carriage, and often imployed, being known to be of a sincere minde, an honest (but not crafty) nature, and very far from medling or consorting with factious minded men. At the arrival of this Embassie, which was received with great tokens of honour, the articles and conditions were treated of, which were

* The Italians, under the name of *Flanders*, usually comprehend all the Low-Countries.

to

1579. to be obſerved by both parties; and the buſineſs went ſo far, that the Duke and Queen gave each other a Ring in token of future Marriage; though ſhe nevertheleſs perſevered conſtantly in her reſolution of a free, ſingle life, and therefore would by no means ſuffer it to go any further: But theſe things happened in the courſe of the year following

In this year the King of *Navar*, after the departure of the Queen-Mother, did aſſemble a Congregation of his Party at *Mazere* in the County of *Foix*, to deliberate in what manner they ſhould behave themſelves for the time to come; where (amongſt the diſcourſes of Peace, the ſpirits of many that deſired War, ſhewed their inclinations) in the end it began to be debated, whether the Peace ſhould be continued, or that they ſhould return to the hazard of Arms. Nor was the King of *Navarre* himſelf much averſe from active thoughts, knowing, by experience, that peace and idleneſs did ruine by little and little, and inſenſibly diminiſh the ſtrength of his party; for many, weary of innovations, returned ſincerely unto the Catholick Church, many ſeeing the Hugonots depreſſed, and excluded from Offices and Honours, did feign to return to it; and all of them (old buſineſs growing out of date, and the authority of Command languiſhing) did equally withdraw themſelves from the cares and intereſts of the Faction: and he himſelf being reduced to a very low ebb of Fortune, not onely foreſaw his future ruine, but for the preſent had not wherewithall to maintain the honour of a King, nor of firſt Prince of the Blood. To which neceſſities, the inſtigations of the Prince of *Conde* being added (who was of a more fierce unquiet nature, unable to digeſt the affront of being excluded from the Government of *Picardy*; and the aſſent, or rather deſire of many young men that ordered matters of Government concurring in the ſame) they concluded at laſt, that it was better to try the fortune of Arms, than to periſh ſecurely in the idleneſs of Peace; and they reſolved to prepare themſelves, and ſeek ſome occaſion to begin the War, ſo much the rather, becauſe the Kings manner of life, being already thought to proceed from diſſoluteneſs of Cuſtoms, and weakneſs of ſpirit, it incited all to carry themſelves without reſpect, according to their proper intereſts and inclinations. Wherefore the King of *Navarre* calling to him the Deputies of *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, which were come to the Congregation; after a long diſcourſe, wherein he exhorted them, on their parts, to lend what aſſiſtance they were able unto the Common Cauſe, he gave them pieces of a broken French Crown of Gold to carry to Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*, Son to the Admiral *de Coligny*, who was already gotten into *Languedoc*, and to Monſieur *des Diguieres*, who was in *Dauphine*, with direction, that they ſhould give credit, in the matter and order of War, to thoſe that ſhould bring them the remaining pieces of the Crown, eſteeming that a very ſecret Token, and not ſo eaſily to be counterfeited: with which determination, each retiring into his own Province, they began ſecretly to make themſelves ready to take up Arms.

The Hugonots ſtir up new commotions.

But the King of *Navarre* ſeeking to put a gloſs upon the buſineſs, with ſome ſpecious reaſonable colour, the time drawing on, that the Cautionary Towns were to be reſtored, though the King demanded them but coldly, rather out of compliance with the Catholick party, then a deſire to have them; yet He made a mighty noiſe about it, and often calling Aſſemblies of the Hugonots (which they call *Synods*) endeavoured to ſhew them, that the time of reſtoring thoſe places was not yet come, nor the execution of the Edict fully accompliſhed, ſince the free exerciſe of their Religion was neither permitted in *Champagne*, *Normandy*, *Bourgogne*, nor the Iſle of *France*; whereupon, the Miniſters growing hot, who were very much pleaſed with that pretence, their minds began to incline to War; for the beginning whereof, the King of *Navarre* was reſolved to undertake ſome notable enterprize, the fame whereof might quicken the ſlowneſs of all the reſt of his party: wherefore he thought of beginning with an attempt upon *Cabors*, which Town having been promiſed by the King to the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, in Dowry, was never aſſigned unto her, it being kept by the Governour in the Kings Name: by that he obtained a reaſonable pretence (ſo neceſſary in Civil Wars to feed the minds of the People, and to palliate the intereſts of the parties) and a great benefit reſulted to him by the addition of a rich City, and neighbouring Territory, which was both very great, and wonderful commodious for his preſent affairs.

The Prince of *Conde* alſo, who could not blot the buſineſs of *Picardy* out of his memory, purpoſed to go unknown into that Province, and by the help of ſome adherents,

rents, to make himſelf Maſter of a place or two, by which he might get footing in that Country, and enlarge his State and Fortune beyond the narrow limits of *Xaintonge*; thinking, he might fairly cover his own ends, by making ſhew that he would live under the Kings obedience, and revenge himſelf of his enemies, by whoſe practiſes he had been excluded from the Government. The Prince of *Conde*, as of a more haſty impatient nature, began firſt; and, being come unknown to *Poictiers*, he paſſed from thence, with very great danger, through the other Cities and Provinces of *France*, into the heart of *Picardy*, where, after the ſpace of a few moneths, having, with art, and the intelligence of his Friends, drawn together, from ſeveral parts, the number of 300 men, he entred *la Fere*, a ſtrong place, and of great conſequence, whence, driving away the Governour, and the ſmall Garriſon that was in it, he became Maſter of it the 29th day of *November*; and, having preſently writ unto the King, that he kept that Fortreſs in his Name, as being by him elected Governour of the Province, from which he had been excluded by the malice of his enemies; he began, notwithſtanding, to make preparations to defend himſelf as well as he could, not doubting, but the King would uſe all his force to chaſe him out of ſo convenient an harbour. 1579.

But, in the beginning of the year following 1580, the King of *Navarre* (after he had ſent the remaining pieces of the broken Crown to the Lord of *Chaſtillon*, and Monſieur *des Diguieres*, in token that they ſhould begin the War) began to ſettle himſelf in his intended enterpriſe of *Cahors*, which was, to ſurpriſe that City upon a ſudden, and bring it into his own power. 1580.

The City of *Cahors* is ſeated upon the River *Lot*, which, environing it on three ſides, leaves onely one paſſage free, called *la Port aux Barres*, and the other three ſides are entred by three fair Bridges that croſs the River. By one of theſe, called the New-bridge, the King of *Navarre* was reſolved to attack the City ſecretly in the night, not having Forces to aſſault or beſiege it by day: And, becauſe the firſt entry of the Bridge was hindred by a Gate that was kept locked; after which, without any Draw-bridge, at the other end ſtood the Gate of the City, defended by two Ravelines, one on either hand: He purpoſed at each Gate to faſten a Petard (an Engine till then) little eſteemed for the newneſs of it, but ſince, by often tryals, grown famous, for ſudden enterpriſes in War) and the obſtacles being broken, to come preſently to handy-blowes with the defenders. For this purpoſe, beſides the company who to faſten the Petard were neceſſarily to go before, he divided his Soldiers into four Squadrons; the firſt led by the Baron *de Salignac*; the ſecond by the Sieur *de St. Martin*, Captain of his Guards; the third, wherein were the Gentry, and he himſelf in perſon, by *Antoyne* Sieur *de Rochelaure*; and the fourth by the Viſcount *de Gourdon*, wherein were 1200 good Firelocks. The Petard being faſtned to the firſt Gate of the Bridge by Captain *Jehan Robert*, wrought its effect according to expectation, and thoſe few Soldiers that were in the Ravelines were cut in pieces without much difficulty; nor did the ſecond Petard any leſs, having broken open the Gate of the City, ſo that they might eaſily have entered if there had been no further oppoſition; but, they of the Town, wakned with the noiſe of the firſt Petard, and the Sieur *de Veſins*, who was Governor, being run to the danger juſt as he was, not utterly without Arms, but almoſt without Cloaths; they ſtoutly oppoſed the entry of the Enemy, freſh men ſtill running armed from all parts of the City to make reſiſtance: There was a very hot ſervice between the firſt ſquadrons, not onely fighting at a diſtance continually with ſhot, but the boldeſt of them coming up with ſhort weapons; and, by little and little, the ſecond and third ſquadrons being every where mingled with the firſt, the encounter became very fierce and bloody, wherein the Governor of the Town (who, though unarmed, was, of neceſſity, to be in the thickeſt of the Fight) was killed on that ſide; and, on the King of *Navarr*'s, the Sieur *de St. Martin*. The buſineſs continued for two long hours in equal ballance; but, the Baron *de Salignac* firſt, and then the Sieur *de Roche-Laure* being dangerouſly wounded, and carried out of the hurly-burly, the courage of the reſt began to ſink, in ſuch manner, that the aſſailants gave ground apace; who, though at the firſt, they had entred as far as the Market-place, yet being now driven back almoſt to the very Gate, would certainly have been quite repulſed, and beaten out of the City, (for the Viſcount *de Gordon*, with his Firelocks that were in the Rere, advanced but very ſlowly) if the King of *Navarre* (much troubled for the loſs of his Captains, highly incenſed at the affront his men were like to

*Cahors* is taken and ſacked by the Huguenots.

1580. receive, and deſpairing of his own affaires, if his firſt enterpriſe failed of a happy ſucceſs, coming up to the head of his ſoldiers, in the very face of the Enemy) had not renewed the aſſault, by fighting gallantly and undauntedly with his own hand: For the Lords, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, haſting bravely after him, and ſtriving to go beyond each other in following the ſteps of their Leader, who (doing incredible exploits) did fiercely quell the ardor of the defendants, advanced ſo far, that about break of day they had again recovered the chief Market-place of the City, the Townſmen having ſhut up and fortified themſelves (as well as the ſhortneſs of the time would permit) in the publick Schools; from whence, though they gave fire on every ſide, to the great ſlaughter of the aſſailants, who fought without defence in the open ſtreets; yet the King of *Navarre* never moved from the head of his men, though they that were next to him were often killed by his ſide. In this manner they fought all the day, and all the night following; except onely that now and then they took a little reſt, which both ſides were invited to by the darkneſs of the night. The next day about Sun-riſing, news was brought to the King of *Navarre*, that Supplies were coming to the City from the Neighbouring Towns; wherefore he ſent the Sieur *de Chouppes* to fight with them without *La Porte aux Barres*, and couragiouſly redoubled the aſſault, to drive the defenders from their places of advantage; but he found ſo ſtout and valiant reſiſtance, that though the ſupplies were defeated that came to aſſiſt the Town, and that they thereby received no relief, yet could not he in all that day, and the night following, force them to yield, till three Pieces of Cannon, which they found in the City Magazin, being fitted and brought forth, they ſhattered and broke down all the Barricadoes made up by the defendants; whence followed a bloody execution, and a wonderful ſlaughter of the People. Thus, after three dayes continual fighting, the City of *Cahors* was at laſt taken, and violently ſacked; having not onely yielded very rich ſpoil and booty to the Soldiers, but wreaked the hatred which many of the Hugonots bore to the very name of a Catholick. In this enterpriſe, the fearleſs courage of the King of *Navarre* was much admired by every one; who, having in his other actions given proofs of a great and lively ſpirit, in this (to the terror of his enemies, and admiration of his friends) he ſhewed himſelf as gallant and as daring a Soldier, as the effects of his following exploits did compleatly witneſs him to be.

At the very ſame time, *Les Diguieres* in *Dauphine*, not being able to move the Nobility, which ſcorned to come under his Command, (who, though a Gentleman by birth, was yet neither favoured with the ſplendor of an antient Pedigree, nor Riches) had ſtirred up the Country People to take Armes againſt ſome of the chief of them, by whom they complained they had been very much oppreſſed; but, the War proceeding with very ſmall ſucceſs, becauſe Monſieur *de Maugiron*, Lieutenant of that Province, and Monſieur *de Mandelot*, Governor of *Lyons*, often routed and defeated his peaſants; he having attempted many enterpriſes without effect, at laſt retired, and fortified himſelf in *la Muxe*.

But, in *Languedoc*, whether it were, that the Lord of *Chaſtillons* authority was not yet very powerful with that People, or that men, being weary of civil broils, ſtood in awe of Monſieur *d' Anville*, who ſhewed himſelf very ready to ſuppreſs any Inſurrection, there was not any ſtir or taking of Armes, as the King of *Navarre* expected, the Mareſchal labouring very diligently to take away all occaſions of diſcontent, by a full obſervation of the King's Edicts.

The King being informed of theſe new eruptions in ſo many ſeveral places, whilſt he thought himſelf ſecure, and free from all troubles and dangers of War, reſolved to ſhew his face once more to thoſe that made Inſurrection, to reduce them to obedience, and to the ſincere obedience of the Peace; to which end, he raiſed three ſeveral Armies with infinite diligence: One for *Picardy*, to recover *la Fere*; another for *Guienne*, againſt the King of *Navarre*; and the third, to ſettle the Commotions in Dauphine: From which ſudden reſolution, and the readineſs of levying and ordering thoſe Forces, wiſe men drew more confident aſſurance that his quiet ſtilneſs was onely voluntary, and that under a ſhew of eaſe and careleſneſs, he nouriſhed more deep important thoughts in his mind. To theſe Armies the King appointed Commanders ſuitable to the occaſion, and his ſecret intentions: For, deſiring that *la Fere* ſhould preſently be recovered, becauſe it is ſo near the heart of the Kingdom, and the City of *Paris*, and eaſie to be relieved by the nearneſs of the States of *Flanders*, he ſent thither *Jaques* Mareſchal

At the news of theſe ſtirs, the King ſends forth three Armies.

reſchal *de Matignon*, whom he was alwayes wont to make uſe of where there was need of doing ſomething to the purpoſe, on the other ſide, deſiring, that the King of *Navarre* ſhould be repreſſed, but not utterly ſuppreſſed, becauſe he would not caſt the Scale ſo much on that ſide, and make the Faction of the *Guiſes* Superior, (which had no other counterpoiſe ſo proper as his party) he ſent *Armand* Mareſchal *de Byron*, to the end, that by his old inclinations he might proceed very warily in oppoſing it. And being neceſſitated to employ ſome one of the *Lorain* Princes, by reaſon of the power of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, to which it was requiſite to bear a convenient reſpect; and becauſe he would not utterly alienate thoſe of the Catholick League, he made choice of *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* for Dauphine, as well becauſe he eſteemed him to be of a more ſetled nature then his Brother, as out of a belief the buſineſs of thoſe parts was very eaſie, and of but ſmall conſequence. 1580.

*La Fere* recovered by Monſieur *de Matignon.*

Nor did the effect differ from the Kings expectation; for Monſieur *d' Matignon* having beſieged *la Fere*, from whence the Prince of *Conde* was already departed, and gone into *England*, he, within a ſmall time, recovered it, though not without ſome blood. The Duke of *Mayenne* having taken *la Mure*, and put the Hugonots of that Province in a very great terror, did not onely reduce the Gentry and Commons to obedience, but alſo the Sieur *des Diguieres* himſelf. And, the Mareſchal *de Byron* having about *Nerac* defeated ſome Companies of *Gens d' armes*, and taken many weak places in *Guienne*, at laſt his horſe falling under him, and his thigh being hurt in two places, he drew his Army into Quarters, without any further progreſs. So that the King of *Navarre* not being able to keep the Field, nor undertake any deſign, by reaſon of the oppoſition of the King's Army; yet, ſhewing much more courage than ſtrength, maintained himſelf ſtill in Armes with actions of ſmall importance.

In this interim, the Duke of *Alancon* being returned out of *England*, full of hopes, by the Queens promiſes, but without any certainty of the future Match, and preparing for the journey of *Flanders*, interpoſed between the King his Brother, and the King of *Navarre* his Brother-in-law, to ſettle buſineſſes in the former Concord; fearing, that if the War ſhould break forth in good earneſt in *France*, he ſhould not then be able to draw thoſe helps from thence which he expected for the accompliſhment of his deſign: wherefore, being gone perſonally to *Libourne* and *la Freche*, Towns in the County of *Foix*, whither alſo came the King of *Navarre*, and on the Kings part the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Mareſchal *de Coſſe*, and *Pompone* Sieur *de Bellievre*, he wrought ſo far, that he brought the buſineſs to a good concluſion: for, the King, by nature, was inclined to it, and the King of *Navarre*, beſides the ſmallneſs of his Forces, and the ill ſucceſs of his late enterpriſes, had no hopes at all of any aſſiſtance from abroad; the Prince of *Conde* who went into *England*, and thence into the Low-Countries, and after into *Germany*, found all their mindes intent upon the buſineſs of *Flanders*, weary of the inſtability of the French Hugonots, and unſatisfied at the taking up of Arms without any lawful occaſion, whilſt the King, living in peace, obſerved punctually the Conditions of the Agreement; wherefore, having no hope of aid, and not daring to ſet up his reſt within the Kingdom, the former Articles were willingly accepted by him, and the Edict of the late Peace confirmed, as alſo the Conference held at *Nerac* with the Queen: and, in this manner, Armes were laid down again, and all things were compoſed in a peaceful way.

The Civil broils being quieted, two different enterpriſes kept all *France* in action; That of the Duke of *Alancon*, who, with the tacite permiſſion of his Brother, prepared himſelf to go into the Low-Countries againſt the Catholick Kings Forces, under the Command of *Aleſſandro Ferneſe*, Prince of *Parma*; And that of the Queen-mother, by occaſion of the Kingdom of *Portugal*. For the King *Sebaſtian* being dead in the War of *Affrica*, and after him King *Henry Cardinal*, without ſons; among many others who pretended to that Crown, the Queen-mother, as heir of the Houſe of *Bologne*, and deſcended in a right line from *Robert* the ſon of *Alfonſo* the third, and the Counteſs *Matilda* his firſt and lawful Wife, pretended alſo to that ſucceſſion; alleadging, that all the Kings who had reigned ſince *Alfonſo* (being deſcended from *Beatrice*, which could not be the lawful Wife, but the Concubine of *Alfonſo*, *Matilda* being yet alive) were illegitimate; and, becauſe by reaſon of her being ſo far diſtant, and many other reſpects, ſhe thought her ſelf not ſo powerful in Forces as ſome of the other Competitors, ſhe pretended, that the buſineſs was to be decided by the way of Juſtice, without coming to force of Arms. But the King of *Spain*, out of a confidence of his

1580. power and nearneſs, having in the mean time uſurped that *Kingdom* with an Army, and cauſing himſelf, by the Governors thereof, to be proclaimed the lawful Succeſſor; the Queen joyning Counſels with *Anthonio* Prior of *Crato* (who pretended to the ſame Kingdom, but had been put beſide it by the *Spaniards*) ſet forth a mighty Navy under the command of *Filippo Strozzi*, againſt King *Philip*, to relieve the * *Tercera*'s Iſlands in the Ocean Sea, belonging to that Kingdom, which were yet held by *Anthonio*; and, to make new acquiſitions, if they could land upon the Coaſts near the City of *Lisbon*. The death of *Strozzi*, the diſperſing of that Navy, and other things that happened in that buſineſs, I leave to thoſe Authors that ſhall write the Hiſtory of *Portugal*, it not being neceſſary to enlarge this Narration, and make it more prolix, by the addition of forraign matters, that little or nothing concern the knowledge of the French affairs.

* Geographers call theſe Iſlands, the *Acores*, and only one of them * the *Tercera*, as being third in the paſſage from *Spain* towards *Virginia*, *Florida*, and thoſe parts.

1581. The ſame ſilence, and for the ſame reaſon, I obſerve in the buſineſs of *Flanders*, whither the Duke of *Alancon* (having, with the Kings tacite conſent, levied a very great Army) went, the following year, being 1581, to relieve the City of *Cambray*, and after he had ſuccoured it, and reduced it into his power, paſſed on with greater Force into the Low-Countries, to receive the Title and Poſſeſſion of thoſe States, which having withdrawn themſelves from obedience to the Catholick King, had put themſelves under him, with certain limited conditions. Nor did the King of *Spain* and the Pope fail, by means of their Ambaſſadors, to complain of the King of *France*, as well for what concerned the Duke of *Alancon*, as becauſe *Antonio* of *Portugal* was received into *France*, and by the Queen-mothers attempts abetted in his pretenſions to that Kingdom. But he anſwered the Ambaſſadors, and, by means of his Agents at *Rome* and in *Spain*, excuſed himſelf to both; That, *Antonio* had been received by his Mother, and aſſiſted as her Vaſſal, ſhe her ſelf pretending to the Crown of *Portugal*; That the Fleet which had been ſet forth, was made ready at her own charges, without his knowledge or conſent; and though it ſhould be fought withal and beaten by the Catholick *King*, he would not at all think himſelf injured or ill dealt withal, it being a buſineſs apart, that concerned not his Intereſts, or the Crown of *France*: That for the Duke of *Alancon*, he had oppoſed him ſtiffly more then once; but that he was more apt to follow the ſuggeſtions of others, then to obey his commands: That he was ſorry he had not been able to reſtrain thoſe French that went with him; but that the diſobedience of his Subjects was known to all the World, and alſo the quality of thoſe perſons that were gone thither, who, for ſo many years, had diſturbed the *Kingdom* in his time, and in the Reigns of his Brothers and Predeceſſors: That he had given a ſufficient teſtimony of himſelf, when the States of *Flanders*, deſiring to put themſelves under his Authority, he had refuſed them without any demur at all: So that he having no hand in thoſe preparations made againſt *Flanders*, nor in the others againſt *Portugal*, he believed, that the Peace and Friendſhip which he held with the Catholick *King*, were neither violated nor diſturbed; concluding, that to give a clear evidence of himſelf, and to conſerve the Peace with the Crown of *Spain* (if the Catholick *King* ſhould deſire it) he would at any time ſend men into *Flanders*, to ſerve the Prince of *Parma*, with expreſs order, not onely to fight againſt the States, and againſt the other Commanders, but alſo againſt his brother the Duke of *Alancon* himſelf.

This was the ſubſtance of what the *King* ſaid, adorning it with many particularities and circumſtances; but, in effect, he endeavoured to make both buſineſſes continue, being glad, not onely that the Duke of *Alancon* ſhould go out of his *Kingdom*, but that with Monſieur *de la Noue*, the Mareſchal *de Byron*, and many other Commanders, the greateſt part of that matter, which did moleſt and diſquiet his State, ſhould alſo be

1582. removed; which, when he ſaw effected in the year 1582, having ſetled himſelf in his former repoſe, he continued the proſecution of thoſe deſigns, which, by long practiſe, were grown familiar to him: and, becauſe cunning and diſſimulation were already converted into nature, and he now did that by uſe and cuſtom, which his humour inclining to, he was, from the beginning, reſolved to bring to paſs by art; he went on, exalting and giving power, onely to thoſe, who, bred up by himſelf, were, beyond meaſure, eſteemed, and moſt exceſſively favoured by him: amongſt which, to *Anne de Joyeuſe* (by him created Duke and Peer of *France*) he gave in Marriage his own Siſter-in-law, ſiſter to the Queen: and to *Jehan Louis de la Valett* (created alſo Duke of *Eſpernon* and Peer of *France*) he granted the moſt important Governments, and

the

the greateſt Offices that were daily vacant. Next to theſe, in his favour, were the Chancellor *Chiverny*, *Rene Sieur de Villequier*, *Francis Sieur d'O*, *Pompone de Bellievre*, *Villeroy* the Secretary of State, and the Mareſchals of *Retz* and *Matignon*, who (no leſs mature in underſtanding than in age) cared not to be the firſt in the King's favour, leſt they ſhould alſo be firſt expoſed to the blow and envy of Fortune; but, yielding the higheſt place to the vanity of young men, contented themſelves with a more ſetled, and more moderate condition. The wiſdom of the Mareſcal *de Retz* was particularly very remarkable; who, knowing himſelf to be an Italian, and therefore ſubject to the hatred and perſecution of the French, though the King did, by the vaſtneſs of his Gifts, ſeek to exalt him to the higheſt pitch of greatneſs, yet did not onely put rubs and hinderances in the way of his own advancement, but afterward, when he ſaw that the King was reſolved to make him great, he moſt diſcreetly endeavoured, that thoſe things which he knew were deſtined to him, might be procured by the interceſſion of ſome one of the great Princes: A thing that ſucceeded ſo happily for him, that his greatneſs was eſtabliſhed without envy, every one being either unwilling or aſhamed to croſs that fortune which he himſelf had favoured, and that man which he believed, he had made one of his obliged dependents. But *Joyeuſe*, *Eſpernon*, and the other youths, whoſe age and experience had not taught them ſo much moderation, ſpreading all their Sails before the proſperous Wind of Fortune, laboured, by all poſſible means, to attain to the moſt eminent Dignities: Wherefore, the death of *Philippo Strozzi*, who was General of the French Infantry, happning at the Tercera's, that that charge was given to the Duke *de Eſpernon*, but much more amplified in Command and Authority. And the Mareſcal *de Byron* having left the Office of Lieutenant of *Guienne*, to go into *Flanders* with the Duke of *Alancon*, it was conferred upon the Mareſchal *de Matignon*. And the Governments of *Orleans*, *Blois*, and *Chartres*, void, about that time, by the death of the Mareſchal *de Coſſe*, were transferred upon the Chancellor. The ſame rule being obſerved in all things, that the moſt important Places and Governments, ſhould ſtill be beſtowed upon Creatures of his own breeding. 1582.

But the year following 1583, the Duke of *Alancon* having attempted to bring his limitted Command in *Flanders* to a free abſolute Dominion, the ſucceſs proving very contrary to his hopes; and therefore he being hated and oppoſed by thoſe very men who had firſt called him thither, was driven from thence by the Forces of *Aleſſandro Farneſe*, and (to the Kings great trouble) returned again into *France*, where it was feared he would contrive ſome new miſchiefs, according to his raſh inconſiderate nature, moſt ardent to leap headlong into any dangerous deſign: Wherefore, he being recalled into *Flanders* by his adherents, and by thoſe who more abhorred the Tyranny of the Spaniard then his fickle inſtability, the King promiſed him very great Supplies of Men and Moneys, that returning to his former deſign, he might eaſe him of the jealouſies and fears of new Commotions; and, without doubt, the effects would have made good his promiſes, if the Duke of *Alancon* (afflicted with the croſsneſs of his late Fortune, and quite worn out with perpetual toil and trouble, or elſe (as ſome ſaid) with thoſe diſſolute courſes, to which he had wholly given himſelf over) had not died at *Chaſteau-Thierry*, a Caſtle of his own, in the Moneth of *June*, 1584, leaving *Flanders* at liberty, and his Brother free from a moſt certain revolution of new troubles. After his death, the Signories of *Anjou*, *Angouleſme*, and *Berry*, which had been aſſigned for his *Appennage*, returned into the Kings power: But the City of *Cambray*, taken two years before, and put under the Government of the Sieur *de Balagny*, (the King not deſiring to transfer it openly to himſelf, leaſt it ſhould break the Peace with the Catholick King) fell in appearance, and as by inheritance, unto the Queen his Mother. 1583.

The Duke of *Alancon* rejected by thoſe who had called him into *Flanders*, is driven thence by the Prince of *Parma*, returns into *France*, and a while after dies there.

1584.

*The End of the Sixth BOOK.*

THE

1584.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The SEVENTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*IN this Book are set down the causes, why the Duke of* Guise *and his adherents endeavour to renew the Catholick League, which before was almost laid aside: The Reasons they alledge for themselves: The quality of those persons that consented to, and concurred with the League: The design of drawing in the Cardinal of* Bourbon, *and his resolution to embrace it:* Philip *King of* Spain *takes the protection of it: The Conditions agreed to with his Agents at* Jainville: *The Popes doubtfulness in ratifying and approving the League, and his determination to delay the time. The King of* France *consults what is to be done for the opposing of that Union, and the opinions differ: He sends the Duke of* Espernon *to confer with the King of* Navarre, *to perswade him to embrace the Catholick Faith, and return to Court. The King of* Navarre, *at that Proposition, resolves to stand firm to his Party. The League takes occasion by that Treaty, and makes grievous complaints. They of the Low-Countries, alienated from the King of* Spain, *offer to put themselves under the Crown of* France: *The King is uncertain what to do in it, but at last remits them to another time. King* Philip *entring into suspition of that business, sollicites the Duke of* Guise *and the League to take up Arms: To that end, Forces are raised both within and without the Kingdom. The King tries to oppose them, but finds himself too weak. The Cardinal of* Bourbon *leaves the Court, retires to* Peronne, *and with the other Confederates publishes a Declaration. They draw an Army together in* Champagne, *seize upon* Thoul *and* Verdun. *The City of* Marseilles *riseth in favour of the League, but the Conspirators are suppressed by the rest of the Citizens; the same happens at* Bourdeaux. Lyons, Bourges, *and many other places in the Kingdom, side with the League. The King answers the Declaration of the League; he endeavours to disunite it, by drawing many particular men from that Party, as also the City of* Lyons; *but seeing his design succeedeth not to his mind, he resolves to treat an Agreement with the Confederates: The Queen-Mother*

*Mother goes into* Champagne *to confer about it with the Duke of* Guiſe, *and Cardinal of* Bourbon: *After many Negotiations, the Peace is concluded. The King of* Navarre *publiſheth a Declaration againſt the League, and challengeth the Duke of* Guiſe *to a Duel: He paſſeth it over, and makes the Declaration be anſwered by others. The Duke of* Bouillon *and Monſieur* de Chaſtillon *go into* Germany, *to ſtir up the Proteſtant Princes in favour of the Hugonots. The King conſults of the manner of effecting what he had promiſed in the Agreement with the League: The opinions differ, and there ariſeth great diſcord about it among his Councellors. He reſolves to make War againſt the Hugonots; and coming to the Parliament, forbids all other except the Roman Catholick Religion. He ſends for the Heads of the Clergy, and the Magiſtrates of the City of* Paris, *and with words full of reſentment, demands money of them for the War. He prepares divers Armies againſt the Hugonots. Pope* Gregory *the Thirteenth dies:* Sixtus Quintus *ſucceeds him, who at the inſtigation of the League, declares the King of* Navarre *and the Prince of* Conde *to be Excommunicate, and incapable to ſucceed in the Crown. This Excommunication is diverſly ſpoken of in* France: *Many write againſt it, and many in favour of it.* 1585.

FRom the aſhes of the Duke of *Alanſon*, the half-extinguiſht ſparks of the League began again to be kindled and burn afreſh: for the King by his policy in the Aſſembly at *Blois*, and after by the delight and benefit every one received in Peace, and by keeping down the Heads of the Hugonots, and holding them at a diſtance, having taken away the opportunities and ſpecious pretences of the Lords of *Guiſe*, it was of it ſelf grown old, and in very great part decayed and diſſolved. And though thoſe Lords, being ſtung to the quick by the exceſſive greatneſs of the Kings Minions, and continually ſtirred up by the jealouſie of his proceedings, had failed of no occaſion that might conveniently blemiſh his actions, and bring themſelves into reputation; yet matters had till then been rather in unſetled debates than certainly concluded, and had conſiſted more in words than in actions. But now by reaſon of the Duke of *Alanſons* death, and that the King, after having been ten years married, had no probable hope of iſſue, affairs began to be very much altered: For as the King of *Navarre*'s being firſt Prince of the Blood, and ſo neareſt the Succeſſion of the Crown, did ſpur forward the readineſs of the *Guiſes*, his old corrivals and natural enemies; ſo likewiſe it afforded them a fair occaſion to renew the League, that they might take a courſe betimes to hinder the Kingdom from falling into the hands of the Hugonot Prince, to the univerſal ruine of the Catholicks, and the total overthrow of Religion: Wherefore, the diſguſts they received at Court, and the ſuſpicion which for many years they had conceived, concurring to ſollicite them, and this emergent occaſion offering a fit opportunity, they began again not only to repair the old ſtructure, but alſo to contrive and build up new deſigns. The diſaſters which the Lords of *Guiſe* received at Court, were many: For beſides ſeeing themſelves excluded from the Kings favour, and from the adminiſtration of State-affairs, wherein they were wont to hold the firſt place, and whereof they now did not at all participate; as likewiſe being ſo little able to do any thing for their dependents and adherents, becauſe the King reſerved unto himſelf alone the diſpoſing of all Gifts and Honours: they were alſo highly offended at the greatneſs of theſe new men, who not favoured by the luſtre of ancient Families, nor raiſed by the merits of their own actions, but only by the liberality of their Prince, were advanced ſo high, that with a ſudden ſplendour they eclipſed all thoſe Honours which they with infinite pains and dangers had attained to in the courſe of ſo many years. And though the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, by his Marriage with the Queens Siſter, was allied unto the Houſe of *Lorain*, and ſeemed in many things to be intereſſed with them, yet they diſdained to lie under the ſhadow of anothers protection, where they were wont to ſee an infinite number of perſons ſhelter themſelves under the favourable wing of their Power and Authority. To this was added, that the Duke of *Eſpernon*, either through his

The *Guiſes* foreſeeing their own ruine, contrive new deſigns.

1584. his own natural inſtinct, or the hopes of raiſing himſelf upon the ruines of the Great Ones, or through the friendſhip which he had held from his youth with the King of *Navarre*, who was moſt averſe from any familiarity with them, ſeemed to deſpiſe and undervalue the merits and power of ſo great a family, and failed not upon all occaſions to ſting and perſecute them; on the other ſide obſtinately favouring, and in all opportunities maintaining and aſſiſting the Princes of *Bourbon*. Whereupon it was commonly believed, that he to abaſe the credit and leſſen the reputation of the Duke of *Guiſe*, had perſwaded the King to determine a matter never clearly decided by his Predeceſſors; That in the Ceremonies of the Kings Coronation, and other occurrences, the Peers ſhould not have precedency according to their Age and Seniority; but that thoſe Peers which were Princes of the Blood, ſhould abſolutely take place of all the reſt, by Prerogative of the Royal Family; which much incenſed the Princes of *Lorain*: But it toucht them a great deal more nearly to ſee that the King was wholly intent to deprive them of their Offices and Governments, to beſtow and heap them upon his Minions: For *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* having been firſt declared Admiral, (a place held by his Father-in-law the Marqueſs *de Villars*, after the death of the Admiral *Chaſtillon*) was after forced, by the Kings violent perſwaſions, to take eighty thouſand Crowns in recompence, and to reſign his Office, which preſently was ſetled upon the Duke of *Joyeuſe*: And becauſe the Duke of *Eſpernon* complained that his place was not ſo eminent, the King deſirous to ſatisfie him, or at leaſt feigning to be ſo, for the compaſſing of his deſigns, had often moved the Duke of *Guiſe* to give up his Office of * *Grand Maiſtre*; and when he ſaw that, being diſpleaſed with the overture, he reſolved not to part with it, by little and little he took away all the Authority and Priviledges which were wont to belong unto that Office, leaving him only the empty name; and, in ſtead of it, conferred upon the Duke of *Eſpernon* the charge of Colonel General of the Infantry; which having been formerly promiſed to *Timoleon de Coſſe* for his exceeding great deſerts, and he being by death prevented, the enjoyment ſeemed in reaſon moſt due to his Son *Charles* Count of *Briſſac*, who was a faſt friend to the Lords of *Guiſe*, as his Father and Grandfather had been before him. The Duke of *Aumale* complained likewiſe, that he being elected to the Government of *Picardy* (for which he had been in competition with the Prince of *Conde*) to keep him as it were in an uncertainty of the poſſeſſion, the entry of many chief places was denied him; among which, *Bologne*, *Calais*, and *la Fere*, kept by perſons depending upon the King, in the name of the Duke *d' Eſpernon*. And finally, all that bore the character of dependents of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, were either by money or other means deveſted of their Offices and Governments, or at leaſt deprived of the Authority and execution of them, which by oblique ways were reſerved for, and transferred upon the Kings favourites and confidents.

* Lord High Steward of the Kings Houſhold, heretofore called *Le Comte du Palais, & le Seneſchal de France.*

Theſe were then all, or part of the diſcontents that troubled the Lords of *Guiſe*, wherein (being well verſed in affairs of State, and mindful of what had happened five and twenty years before) they admired the revolutions of this world, and the effects of Divine Juſtice, ſeeing themſelves handled in the ſame manner by the Dukes of *Joyeuſe* and *Eſpernon*, as they (governing in the Reign of *Henry* the Second) had uſed the Houſes of *Momorancy* and *Bourbon*; concluding, that though God for the moſt part reſerves his puniſhment and vengeance till the everlaſting pains of the world to come, yet is he ſometimes pleaſed, by thoſe glances of his power, to ſhew us a glimpſe of that Juſtice wherewith he governs the courſe of mortal things. But beſides the diſguſts which theſe Princes pretended to receive, they were much more ſharply pricked with the ſting of that jealouſie which by many conjectures, and by things daily put in practice, they had conceived: for ſeeing that the King balanced the Forces very carefully with thoſe of the Hugonot Lords, and that he would not ſuppreſs that party, which (as they believed) he eaſily might have done; that under ſeveral pretences he deveſted all the dependents of both Factions of their Places and Honours, to beſtow them upon ſuch as ſhould acknowledge them meerly from himſelf; and that where other pretences failed, he bought thoſe Offices which they poſſeſſed with great ſums of money, to ingroſs them all into his own diſpoſing; that he admitted no interceſſion for any body, thereby to take away the bait that drew ſo many followers and dependents to the Princes of both parties; that he ſpent great ſtore of money to bring thoſe things about, and alſo gathered great ſtore together in *Metz*, *Bologne* and *Angouleſme*, though in the name of the Duke *d' Eſpernon*; they judged that all theſe things tended

tended to their ruine and deſtruction. Nor could it ſatisfie them to ſee the King taken up with religious thoughts, and addicted to a quiet unactive life: for, they knowing his nature, wherewith they had been converſant from his very childhood, interpreted that courſe of life to ſubtil deep diſſimulation. Wherefore the Duke of *Guiſe*, a man of a wonderful quick inſight, diſcerning judgment, and high thoughts, laying all theſe things together, determined with himſelf to prevent, and not ſtay to be prevented: in which reſolution he was boldly ſeconded by his Brother *Louys* the Cardinal, a man of a high ſpirit, and an underſtanding no leſs ingenious than his; as alſo by *Henry* of *Savoy* Duke of *Nemours*, and *Charles* Marqueſs of *San-Sorlin*, (both Sons of *Anna d' Eſte*, and therefore his Brothers by the Mother) *Charles* of *Lorain* Duke of *Aumale*, and *Claude* his Brother a Knight of *Jeruſalem*, *Charles* of *Lorain* Duke *d' Elbeuf*, *Emanuel* Duke *de Mercure*, and his Brothers; who though allied unto the King yet in reſpect of the common Family, were nearly united unto him both in opinion and intereſts. Only *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* concurred more ſlowly than the reſt, who with more ſetled thoughts conſidering the courſe of worldly affairs, thought it as difficult and dangerous for the League to pull down the King, protected by the Majeſty of a Royal Name, and the natural obligations of his Subjects, as he believed it impoſſible for the King himſelf to deſtroy and ruine their Family, protected by the favour of the Catholicks, and by the merit and innocence of their perſons: Wherefore thinking it ſuperfluous to put themſelves into that fear, and for that cauſe to hazard their ſafety by raſh uncertain reſolutions, he counſelled them to proceed with more patience and more reſpect toward the lawful Poſſeſſor of the Crown. But the Duke of *Guiſe*, reſolute in his thoughts, and by the authority of his Perſon, the vivacity of his Courage, the eloquence of his Language, and the excellency of his Wit, able to perſwade and draw all the reſt to his opinion, excluding his Brothers advice, had ſetled all his thoughts upon the machinations of the League; for the enlargement and eſtabliſhment whereof, diſſembling his diſcontents no leſs than his jealouſies and private intereſts, he made ſhew of ſtirring only for the reſpects of Religion, and the general good, making an ill interpretation of all the Kings actions, and with many arts and circumſtances aggravating that danger, which he pretended hung over the Catholick Religion in that Kingdom. 1548.

He grounded his fears upon the death of the Duke of *Alancon*, and the Queens barrenneſs, which in the ſpace of ten years had had no Son, whereby, the King dying without Heirs of the Houſe of *Valois*, the Crown fell to the Princes of *Bourbon*, and in the firſt place to the King of *Navarre*, a relapſed Heretick, and an open Enemy to the Roman Religion. He urged, that his coming to the Crown would be the univerſal ruine of Religion, and the total converſion of all *France* to the Rites and Opinions of *Calvin*; and therefore ſhewed how all good Catholicks were obliged to look to it in time, and to prevent the terrible blow of that imminent ſubverſion; and if they had gathered themſelves together ten years before, to hinder the Prince of *Conde* from entring upon the Government of *Picardy*, much more ought they now to aſſemble and combine themſelves, to keep the King of *Navarre* from entring, not into a City or Province alone, but into the poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom. He endeavoured to prove that his Introduction to the Crown would be very eaſie; for the King, perſwaded by the Duke of *Eſpernon* and his other favourites, (by whom he was wholly governed) and induced by them to favour advance the party of the Princes of *Bourbon*, would in his own life-time bring him in by little and little, without reſiſtance: That therefore he had granted peace to the Hugonots, while in that low condition and extraordinary weakneſs, their extirpation was evident to all the world: That therefore he deluded the conſtant and general reſolution of the States at *Blois*, by his arts unſinewing, and by his delays untwiſting the joint will and conſent of all the French Nation: That therefore when ſometimes he had been conſtrained to make War againſt the King of *Navarre*, he employed the Mareſchal *de Byron*, who though a Catholick in outward appearance, was yet by many former proofs known to be a favourer of the Hugonots, and intereſſed in their Faction: That therefore he had lately taken *Geneva* into his Protection, ſhewing clearly to all the World how little he eſteemed the Catholick Religion, and how much he was inclined to the Enemies of the holy See, and of the great Biſhop of *Rome*: That therefore he had excluded all the Catholick Lords from any acceſs to the Court, or adminiſtration in the Government; particularly, thoſe who had ſpilt ſo much blood for the preſervation of the Kingdom and Religion, and

1584. had brought in a new people that were privy to his deſigns, and friends to the Houſe of *Bourbon:* That therefore he deprived all the old ſervants of the Crown of all their Offices and Honours, of the moſt principal Governments, and moſt ſuſpected Fortreſſes, to put them into the hands of men that were Catholicks in ſhew, but really partial to Hereticks, and inwardly adherents to the King of *Navarre:* That therefore without remorſe or compaſſion, he daily oppreſſed the poor Subject with new Taxes and intolerable Grievances, leſt when occaſion ſerved they ſhould be able to make reſiſtance, and oppoſe his pleaſure and their own ſlavery: And though the King made an outward ſhew to do otherwiſe, and to be of another mind; yet, that men of underſtanding ought not to let themſelves be deceived by his diſſimulation, who did but feign himſelf to be wholly addicted to a ſpiritual life, and altogether taken up with the zeal of Religion: For they that had penetrated to the depth of thoſe buſineſſes, knew certainly that they were but a cloak and mask which which under colour of devotion contained abominable hypocriſie; and that appearing full of mortification, cloathed in a penitent Frock, with a Crucifix in his hand in the ſtreets, in his private lodgings he gave himſelf over to the unbridled luſts of the fleſh, and to the perverſe ſatisfying of his looſe depraved appetite. From which things, ſet forth with many ſpecious reaſons, and adorned with many, and thoſe moſt particular circumſtances, he concluded it was neceſſary to provide againſt that miſchief betimes, to underprop the houſe before it fell upon their heads, wiſely to unite themſelves for their own defence, and to pull down and deſtroy thoſe deſigns, before they were brought unto perfection.

Theſe were the reaſons of the Lords of *Guiſe*; among which, that they mentioned about the protection of *Geneva*, was, that the King having been deſirous to renew that Confederacy with the Swiſſes which they for many years have held with the Crown of *France*, the Proteſtant Cantons had refuſed to accept it, unleſs the King would take *Geneva* into his protection; who conſidering (the affairs of the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo* being then in diſorder, and the friendſhip of the Duke of *Savoy* ſuſpected and uncertain, becauſe he was nearly allied unto the King of *Spain*, having taken to Wife his Daughter the Infanta *Katherine*) that if he ſhould have a paſſage in his power, whereby without ſetting foot in another mans houſe he might make uſe of the Swiſſes aſſiſtance, it was neceſſary for him to embrace the protection of that City, from the Territories whereof the paſſage is free to thoſe places upon the confines of *France*, he reſolved at laſt to conſent unto it, forced by neceſſity, but againſt his will, and with much ſuſpenſion of mind, being both by nature and cuſtom moſt averſe from having to do with the Hugonots. But that which was ſpoken concerning the Kings ſecret diſſoluteneſs, though it were not altogether without ground, by reaſon of his amorous inclination to the Ladies of the Court; yet was it by the reports of his Enemies amplified and enlarged to ſuch vices and debauches as were very far both from his nature and cuſtom: and among the common people there went ſuch extravagant tales of his licentiouſneſs, as cauſed at the ſame time both laughter and loathing in thoſe that were acquainted with his moſt ſecret hidden practices.

*Henry* the III. takes upon him the protection of *Geneva*.

Now the Duke of *Guiſe*, either really moved with a zeal to Religion, or drawn by the intereſts of his own greatneſs, or elſe perſwaded by both reſpects jointly united, having framed his deſign, and ordered his reaſons with ſo fair an appearance, made uſe of popular eloquent men to divulge them from their Pulpits, and infuſe them in private diſcourſes among the people, thereby to win their affections, and procure the enlargement and ſpreading abroad of the League. Among theſe, the chief were *Guilliaume de la Roſe*, a man of powerful eloquence, who came afterward to be Biſhop of *Senlis*; *Jehan Prevoſt* chief Prieſt of St. *Severins*, a man of rare learning and copious eloquence; *Jehan Boucher*, by birth a Pariſian, a man in the ſame City Curate of St. *Bennets* Pariſh; one *Poncet*, a Fryar in the Abbey of St. *Patrick* at *Melun*, *Dan Chriſtin* of *Nizza* in *Provence*; and *Jehan Vinceſtre*, all famous Preachers; and finally, moſt part of the Jeſuits, diſpleaſed perhaps that the King having at the firſt uſed them very familiarly, was afterwards turned away from them to the Order of the *Fueillants* and *Hieronimites*. And as theſe proſecuted the buſineſs of the League in *Paris*, the ſame was done at *Lions* by *Claude Mattei* a Prieſt of the ſame Society at *Soiſſons*, by *Matthieu de Launay* Canon of that Cathedral; at *Roxen*, by Father *Egide Blouin* of the Order of *Minimes*; at *Orleans*, by *Bourlate* a very noted Divine; at *Thoul*, by *Francois de Roſier* Archdeacon of that Church; and an infinite number of others diſperſed thorow

The Duke of *Guiſe* by means of the Preachers and Friars, in Pulpits and other places of Devotion, labours to inſinuate the Catholick League into the people.

thorow the ſeveral parts of *France*, who by their credit and plauſible popular eloquence, ſometimes in their Pulpits, ſometimes in the Congregations of the Penitents, ſometimes in their ſecret Conferences at Confeſſions, did allure the people, and entice them to enter into that Combination, which it is likely very many did, out of a reſpect to Religion, believing that thereby the Calviniſts would be utterly rooted out, and the authority of the Church reſtored to its priſtine greatneſs. But many entred into that Covenant invited by other ends, and drawn to it by different hopes, or elſe neceſſitated by their particular intereſts, though all ſhrowded themſelves under the ſame cloke of the preſervation and maintenance of Religion. Thus was the League compoſed of two different kinds of perſons. 1548.

The firſt ſort for the moſt part of ſuch as were noble eminent perſons, who ill ſatisfied with the power of the Kings Minions, and not enduring to be baniſhed from all Offices and favours of the Court, went that way partly out of anger, partly out of hope of change; believing, by the ſubverſion of the preſent ſtate of affairs, they ſhould riſe to a greater height of fortune, and in the end compaſs the height of their deſigns. The chief of theſe was *Ludovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*; who after he had refuſed the Government of the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, and other places beyond the *Alps*, when the King reſolved to reſtore thoſe Towns which had been withheld from the Duke of *Savoy*, thinking himſelf partly hated, and partly deſpiſed, could never any more attain to any other Government, as his great ſervices to the Crown made him hope he ſhould. In this number was alſo *Guy* Sieur *de Lanſac*, and *Francois* Sieur *de S. Luc*, who having ſeen ſome beams of the Kings favour, and entertained hopes of being received amongſt his Minions, were afterwards thruſt out by their Competitors, and falling from ſo great expectations, had for anger taken the contrary ſide; likewiſe among theſe was Monſieur *de Vins*, a man more fit to be the Head of a Party, both for his readineſs of his wit, and for the nobleneſs of his Family, which was the chief in *Provence*, he having at the ſiege of *Rochelle* ſaved the Kings life, and interpoſing his own body to defend him from the Bullets which were aimed at him, received a Muſquet-ſhot in the right ſide, did afterwards neither obtain his favour, nor thoſe rewards and advancements which the merit of that ſervice had cauſed him to expect: with thoſe alſo was *Jehan de Hemery* Sieur *de Villers*, to whom in recompence of his many ſervices, eſpecially for taking the Count *Montgomery* priſoner, the Government of the City and Caſtle of *Caen* in *Normandy* having been promiſed, the King without giving him any thing in exchange, diſpoſed of it preſently to Monſieur *d' O* his favourite. The like was the condition of Monſieur *de la Chaſtre* Governour of *Berry*; who after many great ſervices performed in the time of *Charles* the Ninth, was not only unrewarded for his valour and fidelity, but alſo denied the Government of *Blois* and that of *Chartres*, one of which he very much deſired, becauſe they lay ſo commodiouſly near *Berry*. The Sieur *de Mandelot* Governour of *Lions* conſented likewiſe to it, who having received intimation that his Government ſhould be taken from him, and in favour to *Bernard* Sieur *de la Valet* Brother to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, joined to that of *Dauphine*, and to the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*; and Monſieur *de la Mante*, firſt, and then the Sieur *de Paſſage*, both Creatures of the Family of *la Valet*, having been put into the Cittadel, which is the bridle of the City of *Lions*, took that party to ſecure his own affairs, Monſieur *d' Entraques* Governour of *Orleans* was another of them, who having formerly been favoured, and gratified by the King, being afterwards diſcontented that he himſelf, and his Government ſhould be ſubject to the High Chancellor, Governour of that Province, with whom he had no good correſpondence, and moved by his hatred to the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, who both in words and actions had abuſed a Son of his; joined himſelf alſo with the Lords of the Houſe of *Guiſe*. The ſame reſolution was followed by the Count *de Saux*, whoſe Father and he himſelf having at firſt (but with ill fortune) held of the Hugonot Party, had left it by reaſon of many enmities, wherewith he was ſharply perſecuted, and for his own ſafety retired under the protection and ſhelter of the League. *Guillaume* Sieur *de Fervaques* was alſo joined in that confederacy, who of ſubtil wit, but voluble nature, and ready without reſpect to lay hold of any thing, by which he could hope for profit and advancement, after he left the King of *Navarre*, had followed the fortune of the Duke of *Alancon*, and now wanting a ſupport, and not being well looked on by the King, ſought new protection, and new matter for his vivacity to work on. But the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, a man of contrary nature, to whoſe exttaordinary Learning was joined a wonderful gravity, and great care not

The Catholick League compoſed of men diſaffected to the preſent Government, and Zealots in Religion.

The Sieur *de Vins* at *Rochel* receives a Muſquet ſhot to ſave *Hen.* 3.

1584. to erre from thoſe ends which were ſuitable to his vocation, beſide the intereſts of Religion, and his long dependance upon the Houſe of *Guiſe*, was driven into the League by the Duke *d' Eſpernons* hatred, who ſlighting and deſpiſing him as a perſon not well affected, thruſt him out of the Kings favour, and almoſt out of the Court, where his worth had held one of the chiefeſt places. But amongſt them all the moſt principal was the Count *de Briſſac*, who took that reſolution for anger, that the Office of General of the Infantry, (promiſed to his Father, and pretended to by himſelf in recompence of the great labours he underwent in the *Portugal* Fleet, for the ſervice of the Queen-Mother) was diſpoſed from him without ſo much as making ſhew to reward him any other way. For theſe and ſuch like occaſions, the Sieurs *de la Roche Breaute*, *de la Baulme*, *de Sourdeac*, *de Couriers*, *de la Broſſe*, *de Beauvais*, *de Forone*, and an infinite many more Gentlemen were perſwaded to follow that reſolution, either for diſcontent of things paſt, or hopes conceived of the future.

The other kind of perſons whereof the League was compoſed ſeemed much inferiour in quality to the firſt, but was not ſo at all in the advantage and benefit of the cauſe; for by means of them whole Towns and Cities were won, and the common people, and men of many ſeveral profeſſions were brought over in all parts of the Kingdom. Theſe were for the moſt part honeſt well-meaning men, of ſimple nature, affectionate to the Catholick Religion, and bitter Enemies to the Hugonots, whereof ſome really believing (as was pretended) that the total ruine of the Roman Religion was at hand; and ſome deſiring the deſtruction of Hereſie, did not only promote the League ardently in their own perſons, but uſed all their endeavours to lead on the people, and increaſe the Adherents of that Faction; to theſe were joined alſo certain * Gown-men, who under the colour of Religion, covered both unquiet thoughts, and ambitious, covetous deſires of working their own greatneſs. Among theſe was *Jehan Maiſtre* Preſident in the great Chamber of the Parliament of *Paris*, a man of great honeſty and ſincerity, *Eſtienne de Nully* Preſident of the ſame Court, *Honorat de Laurent* Councellor in the Parliament of *Provence*, *Jehan Quiere* afterward called Sieur *de Buſſy* then Atturney in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, a man wonderfully followed, and of great authority among the people, *Louys d' Orleans*, a principal Advocate in the ſame Court, and a man of ſingular learning. *Charles Hauteman* an Agent of the Biſhop of *Paris*, and a man of very great riches, *la Chappelle Martel* Son-in-law to the Preſident *de Nully*, *Eſtienne Bernard* an Advocate in the Parliament of *Dyjon*, *Rolland* one of the Treaſurers of the *Finances*, *Druart* an Advocate in the Court of the *Chaſtelet*, *Cruce* a Proctor of the ſame Court, *Compans* and *Louchart* Commiſſaries in the Court of *Paris*, and many other men of the *Long Robe*, who were in very great credit and reputation among the common people.

* *De Robe Longue.*

This body ſo compoſed of two ſo different qualities of perſons, the Sword concurring with the Nobility and Gentry, and the Gown with Clergy-men and Lawyers, was ſtrengthened and knit together as with Nerves and Bones, by the Adherents and Dependents of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, who inſinuating themſelves into every place, did effectually ſtir up mens minds to enter into that League; for beſides the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*, there were likewiſe joined in it the Cardinal *de Pelleve*, the Commendatory *Dieu* a Knight of *Jeruſalem*, *Claude Baron de Seneſay*, the Sieur *de Baſſompier*, *Pierre Jannin* Preſident in the Parliament of *Dijon*, the Baron *de Medauit*, the Chevalier *Bertone*, the Sieur *de Antraquet*, *de Riberac*, *de Rony*, *de Niſſy*, *de la Barge*, *de Bois Dauphin*, *de Chamois*, *de Beauregard*, *de Menetille*, Monſieur *de St. Paul*, and *Sacromoro Birago*, both Colonels of Foot, and an infinite number of others, both Prelates, Barons and Commanders, who acknowledged the riſe of their fortunes to proceed from the favour and power of the Houſe of *Lorain*.

But becauſe the Duke of *Guiſe* having learned by the experience of all former times, and by the examples of the late actions of the Hugonots, that through the natural inclination of the French, thoſe commotions could have but a weak foundation, which had not the protection of a Prince of the Blood, he began to ſeek about to pick out and perſwade one of them, who furniſhing him with the authority and right of the Royal Family, ſhould be of ſuch a nature and condition, as to let himſelf be wholly governed by him. There was none more proper for his deſigns, nor more ready to receive that impreſſion than *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the third Brother of *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, and *Louys* Prince of *Conde* deceaſed; for having been always moſt obſervant of the Catholick Religion, and an open Enemy to the Hugonots, it

*Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Uncle to the King of *Navarre*, is deſired for head of the Catholicks.

was

was eaſie to draw him, by the reſpect of Religion, to conſent unto that Union, and make himſelf Head of the League; but he was alſo of ſo mean a Capacity, and of ſo meek, gentle a diſpoſition, that the Duke of *Guiſe* might, without difficulty, turn and winde him at his pleaſure; and, that which was more important than all the reſt, being the eldeſt Prince of the blood, and Uncle to the King of *Navarre*, he might bring the inheritance of the Crown in queſtion, and pretend, that the King dying without Heirs, the ſucceſſion, of right, belonged to him, and therefore he was very fit and proper to foment the pretenſions of the League, which principally did profeſs to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and the other Princes that were Favourers, or Followers of Hereſie, from the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom. Nor did fortune fail to offer the Duke of *Guiſe* his induſtry a convenient meanes of obtaining his deſires with much facility. *Andre* Sieur *de Rubempre*, a man of ſwolne thoughts, and of a vain nature, but one, who by his induſtry, and politick way of living, and clothing himſelf after a faſhion, that was conformable to the Cardinals humour, was become very gratious with him, and reckoned among his chief ſervants and favourites. The Duke of *Guiſe*, (by means of the Advocate *Louys de Orleans*, and of the Abbot of *S. Owyn*, brother to *Pellicart* his Secretary) cauſed thoſe reaſons to be infuſed into this man, for which his Patron might pretend to the Crown of *France*, urging, that the *Repreſentation* (ſo the Lawyers call it) is of no validity in collateral degrees, and that therefore the King of *Navarre* could not repreſent the perſon of *Anthony* his Father, the eldeſt Son, and heir to the Kingdom of *France*, but that without doubt it belonged unto the Cardinal yet alive, and not to his elder Brother, who was dead ſo many years before. Beſides, that the King of *Navarre* being a relapſed Heretick, and by the Canon-Laws uncapable of inheriting the moſt Chriſtian Crown of *France*; and the other Princes of the Blood being likewiſe followers and favourers of Hereſie, and therefore incurred the ſame incapacity of the Succeſſion, it was not to be endured that the vain, cautious reſpect, of not doing injury to the right of his Nephew, ſhould ſuffer it to fall into other hands; and therefore his ſucceſſion was not onely juſt, becauſe the Laws had ſo diſpoſed it, but alſo pious and honeſt, becauſe neceſſity ſo required, not to exclude the Royal Family, and at the ſame time to preſerve the Catholick Religion. To this they added, that though the Cardinal was nearer to decrepidneſs then old age, and that the King of *France* was yet in the flower of his youth, yet, in reſpect of the ſhort lives of his Brothers, the weakneſs of his own conſtitution, and the continual debauches, by which he was half waſted and conſumed, the Cardinal was likely to out-live him, and come to the poſſeſſion of the Crown before his Nephew, and might transfer it upon the Cardinal *de Vendoſme*, who alſo was his Nephew, bred up by him in the Catholick Religion, and that with ſo much integrity and ſincerity of life, that among ſo many Hereticks, and Favourers of Hereticks, he alone ſhewed himſelf worthy to attain to the rule of ſo Chriſtian a Kingdom as that of *France*. Which things, alledged by them, not onely in words, but in their Writings, folded up among a number of examples, and amplified with the ornaments of their wonted eloquence, did eaſily make impreſſion in *Rubempre*, deſiring rather to be the *Minion* of a King, then the Favourite of a Cardinal: Nor found they it more difficult to inſtil them into the mind of the Cardinal himſelf, who, to the aforeſaid reaſons, and the near hopes of the Succeſſion, added the honeſt intentions of propagating the Catholick Faith, whereof he had ever been a zealous promoter; whereas his Nephew coming to the Crown, it was to be doubted he would ſubvert Religion, and ſpread the Poiſon of Hereſie through the whole Kingdom. This ſeed being cunningly ſcattered long before-hand, had brought over the Cardinal to the Duke of *Guiſes* party, in ſuch manner, that when it was needful to make ſuch a reſolution, he eaſily was perſwaded to make himſelf Head of the League, and became a Cloke and Buckler to them that ſought the ruine and extirpation of his Family; bearing willingly the weight and burden of that Enterpriſe upon his own ſhoulders. for, being overcome by the ſubtil practiſes and skilful flatteries of the Duke of *Guiſe*, he gave himſelf wholly over to the opinions and government, eſteeming and honouring him exceedingly, as a Lord of invincible courage, and wonderful zeal to the Catholick Religion. Whereupon, they that then diſcourſed of preſent affairs, with the ordinary French liberty, were wont to compare the Cardinal to a Camel, that kneels down before his Enemies, to take up a Load, that may endanger the breaking of his own back.

1584.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* his pretenſions to the Succeſſion of the Crown.

But,

1584. But, the League being eſtabliſhed, and confirmed with theſe Forces, and with the colour of Religion, and of the Blood Royal; that it might alſo be furniſhed with money neceſſary to maintain it, and thoſe outward helps, that might bring it either favour or authority, to the end it might not want any of thoſe things that ordinarily ſeem requiſite for the effecting of ſo great an Enterpriſe, the Duke of *Guiſe* began again to quicken the negotiations with *Spain* and *Rome*, which, for ſome few years paſt, had, with all thoſe other matters, been coldly proſecuted, and deferred. Nor did they find the Catholick King very doubtful or backward in the buſineſs: for, deſiring to free himſelf from his ſuſpition, that the French might further endamage him in the Low-Country Wars; and being offended at the late attempts and troubles in *Flanders* and *Portugal*, could not but be very well pleaſed that they ſhould be buſied in their own affairs, and not have leaſure to meddle with thoſe of their Neighbours: and it making for his purpoſe, that the Hugonots ſhould be ſuppreſſed, who bitterly hated his very Name, and that the King of *Navarre* ſhould be kept from the Crown of *France*, who had ſtill his wonted pretenſions of recovering his Kingdom of *Navarre*, already united to the Crown of *Spain*, he earneſtly deſired an opportunity, to cruſh them both together; wherefore, without difficulty, he not only condeſcended to concurr with his conſent, but alſo to furniſh Moneys, believing, that the greatneſs of his deſigns would be effected in all parts of the World; if *France*, which could onely ballance and withhold his Forces, being divided in its own diſſentions, did but afford him convenient means of attaining to that Greatneſs, which mighty Princes are wont to aſpire to in their mindes. Neither did he think it any violation of the Peace, which was ſtill reciprocally continued with the King of *France*: for, if the Duke of *Alancon* had been openly aſſiſted by the moſt Chriſtian King, whilſt to obtain the dominion of that People that had caſt off the yoke of his obedience, he made War againſt his Armies in *Flanders*; and, if the Queen-Mother, with the Forces of the Crown, had oppoſed his ſucceſſion to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, he believed it much more lawful to preſerve the Catholicks of *France* from being oppreſſed by the Hugonots, and hinder the King of *Navarre* his known enemy, from coming to the Crown: And if the King had denied, that he fomented either the buſineſs of *Flanders*, or that of *Portugal*, whilſt the Wars were manifeſtly made with the Men and Moneys of his Kingdom, he thought it not unfit for him, concealing that aſſiſtance which he purpoſed to lend unto the League, and conveying it by ſecret and hidden means, to deny in appearance, that he either broke or violated the Peace: Wherefore *Juan Baptiſta Taſſi*, a Knight of the order of *S. Jago*, and Don *Juan Morreo*, the Catholick King's Commiſſioners; being come to *Jainville*, a place of the Duke of *Guiſes*, in the Confines of *Picardy* and *Champagne*, and being met there by the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Duke of *Mayenne* his brother, and *Francois* Sieur *de Meneville*, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s Atturney for thoſe of the League in *France*, both Parties agreed to theſe Conditions the ſecond day of the year, 1585.

1585. Conditions agreed upon between the Deputies of the King of *Spain*, and the Heads of the Catholick League.

That, in caſe the preſent King of *France* ſhould die, without a Son lawfully begotten, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ſhould be declared King, as firſt Prince of the Blood, and ſo true Heir to the Crown, univerſally excluding from the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom all thoſe, who being Hereticks, Revolters, or followers and favourers of Hereticks, had made themſelves incapable of it: And that during the life of the preſent King, to prevent thoſe Hereticks, leſt by the means which they were ſtill attempting, they ſhould open and facilitate their way to the attainment of the Crown, the Confederate Princes ſhould raiſe Armies, gather Forees, make War againſt the Hugonots, and do all other things which ſhould be thought fit and neceſſary. That the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, coming to the ſucceſſion, ſhould ratifie the Peace already concluded at *Cambreſis*, between the Crown of *France* and *Spain*, and obſerve it punctually, prohibiting any other Religion in the Kingdom, except the Roman Catholick, and rooting out all Hereticks by force, till they were utterly deſtroyed, ſhould ſettle the Decrees and Conſtitutions of the Councel of *Trent*. That he ſhould promiſe for himſelf, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to renounce all friendſhip and confederacy with the Turk, and not conſent to any thing that he ſhould manage or contrive, in any place, againſt the Common-weal of Chriſtians. That he ſhould forbid all Pyracie, whereby the Subjects of the Crown of *France* diſturbed the *Spaniards* Traffick and Navigation to the *Indies*. That he ſhould reſtore unto the Catholick King all that had been taken from him by the Hugonots, and namely the City and Juriſdiction of *Cambray*; and that he

ſhould

ſhould aſſiſt him with convenient Forces, for the recovery of that, which thoſe that were up in Armes had taken from him in the Low-Countryes. And, on the other ſide, That King *Philip* ſhould be bound to contribute Fifty thouſand Crowns effectively every Moneth, towards the maintenance of the League, and of his Forces; and moreover, ſhould aſſiſt with what number of men ſhould be thought neceſſary, in the progreſs of the Forces of the League, as well during the life of the preſent King, as after his death, for the utter extirpation of Hereſie. That he ſhould receive into his protection the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the Lords of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, the Dukes of *Mercure* and *Nevers*, and all thoſe other Lords and Gentlemen that ſhould ſubſcribe unto the League, promiſing to aſſiſt them againſt the Hugonots and their adherents, ſo that they ſhould be kept ſafe and harmleſs. That no Treaty or Agreement whatſoever ſhould be made with the *King* of *France*, without the mutual conſent of both Parties; and, that the Articles of this Union, ſhould, for many convenient reſpects, be kept ſecret, till a more fitting opportunity. 1585.

This was the ſubſtance of the Capitulation made with King *Philip*, who, beſides the aforeſaid things, promiſed ſecretly to the Duke of *Guiſe*, the aſſignment of Two hundred thouſand Crowns *per annum*, for his own particular, to be employed in the advancement, and for the benefit of the League.

But, the Treaty was not ſo eaſie, nor ſo ſpeedily diſpatched at *Rome*, where the ſame intereſts of State did not perſwade: For, though Father *Mattei* riding Poſt with admirable celerity, ſometimes to this place, ſometimes to that, did take great pains to contract this Union; and, though Cardinal *Pelleue* ſtaying at *Rome*, did uſe all poſſible means to make it be received into the Pope's protection; yet *Gregory*, a wonderful good man, and not of too violent a nature, counſelled moreover by *Tolomeo Gallo* Cardinal of *Como*, his Secretary, a man of very great experience in matters of Government, finding, that he could not ſee clear into the deſigns of that League, and thinking it unfit for him to conſent to the taking up of Armes againſt a King that was manifeſtly a Catholick, and an infinite honourer of the Roman Religion, under pretence of hidden ſecret things, and ſuch as were onely to be left to mens conſciences, whereof he thought he could not eaſily judge, went ſtill putting off and deferring his reſolutions, that time might bring to light the bottom of thoſe thoughts, which to him ſeemed yet very obſcure, and much entangled. Wherefore, having made choice of certain Cardinals, and other wiſe men, who were to meet, and conſult upon the Propoſitions of the League, and thoſe Deputies ſtill anſwering conditionally with the clauſe (*If it be ſo*,) whereby they ſhewed their doubt of thoſe Propoſitions which were made by *Pellue* and *Mattei*; the Pope ſtill giving the Agents of the Confederates good hopes, and exhorting them to be watchful for the good of the true Religion, and the extirpation of Hereſie: For the reſt, he held them on with continual delays; nor could they ever, with all the diligence they could uſe, get any Writing out of his hand, whereby they might ſecurely affirm, he had approved the League, or taken it into his Protection.

Whilſt the confederate Lords are thus buſie in ſtrengthening the Body of their Union, the King of *France* particularly advertiſed of all theſe things, conſulted with himſelf, and with his moſt intimate Confidents, what reſolution he ought to take, to oppoſe or divert the violence of thoſe proceedings. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, the high Chancellor *Chiverny*, Monſieur *d'O*, and *Alberto Gondi*, Mareſchal *de Retz*, were of opinion, that the King, ſhewing his face boldly, and uniting himſelf preſently with the Hugonots and the King of *Navarre*, ſhould prevent the *Guiſes*; and finding them in diſorder, and unprovided (as the motions of Leagues (where the concurrence of many is requiſite) uſe to be unready and diſagreeing) he ſhould endeavour to pull up the firſt ſprouts of that ſcandalous ſeed; alledging, that they being yet unarmed, and diſunited, might be put into confuſion, and ſuppreſſed, before they could have time either to draw any Forces together, and to get aſſiſtance and ſupplies from *Spain:* That it was not good to ſtay till that great Fabrick, being brought to perfection, ſhould unite all the members of its Body: and that it was no ſound Counſel to give time, till the great abundance of humours, which daily grew more malignant and pernicious, had ſeized upon ſome vital parts of the Kingdom; for, as while diſperſed, they might eaſily be purged away in their beginnings, ſo it would be very hard and dangerous to provide againſt them, when being grown to a maſs of corruption, they ſhould ſtifle and ſuffocate the natural vigour: That they knew, neither the Duke of *Guiſe*, nor any

of

1585. of his Faction, had an Army yet united together, but onely the conſent of ſome Churchmen, and the concourſe of the common people, with the adherence of ſome few of the Nobility of the *Kingdom*, Forces weak and uncertain of themſelves, the greateſt part whereof, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee any conſiderable ſtrength, would fall aſunder of their own accord: That the Catholick *King* was ſo taken up with the Affairs of *Flanders*, that he could not, without much difficulty, and many delayes, perform ſo much as part of thoſe things which now he ſo largely promiſed, to raiſe the turbulent ſpirits of the French: and that the Pope, a Prince far remote, and not very ſtrong, who ſeldom uſed other then Spiritual Weapons, was not yet well reſolved, either to protect or aſſiſt the League: On the contrary, the major part of the Nobility (alwayes prepared with Arms, and ready for the War) would preſently meet together, whereſoever the King, in caſe of ſo great neceſſity, ſhould call them: That the Swiſſes, who had lately renewed their Confederacy with the Crown, would, for money, ſupply them with any number of Soldiers their need required: That the *King* of *Navarre*, and the Hugonots, who ſtill continued in Armes for their own defence, would thank God for ſo happy an occaſion, and readily ſubmit themſelves to the *King*'s obedience, to oppoſe their natural enemies: That in the courſe of ſo many Civil Wars, experience had taught them, the neglect of beginnings made the diſeaſe mortal and incurable; and that the vivacity and boldneſs of noble ſprightly revolutions, was alwayes wont to bring forth fortunate proceedings, and glorious concluſions.

But, the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, *Rene* Sieur *de Villequier*, *Pompone* Sieur *de Bellievre*, and *Villeroy* the Secretary of State, were of contrary opinions; urging, that the *King*, intending to make War againſt the Houſe of *Lorrain*, and againſt all the other Confederate Lords, he muſt neceſſarily either do it of himſelf alone, or being united with the Hugonots: That if he ſtirred alone, his Forces would be very weak and ſlender; for, all the Kingdom being divided into Catholicks and Hugonots, he being an Enemy to both, would have no other Party but ſome few ſervants and dependents, againſt two powerful, antient, and inveterate Factions, which poſſeſſing all the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Provinces of *France*, *viz.* the Hugonots, *Poitou*, *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, *Gaſcogne*, and great part of *Dauphine*; and the *Guiſes*, *Champagne*, *Bourgogne*, *Picardy*, *Lyonois*, *Provence*, and *Bretagne*, beſides, the City of *Paris*, very much inclined to favour them; the *King* would certainly remain without Revenue, without fortified places, without Subjects, without *Militia*, and without Money, by making a War ſo ruinous to himſelf, and ſo ridiculous to the whole World. But, to unite himſelf with the Hugonots, beſides the unworthineſs of the action, ſo contrary to the cuſtoms and ancient purpoſes of His Majeſty, and ſo unbeſeeming the piety of the moſt Chriſtian King, and the eldeſt Son of the Holy Church, would draw on conſequences of greateſt moment, the alienation of all the remaining part of the Catholicks, and the revolt of the City of *Paris*, ſo conſtant to the true Religion, and ſo natural an enemy to the Hugonots; the addition of greater Forces to the League, which could receive no better news, nor greater nouriſhment; the making authentick all thoſe lies and ſcandals, which, till then, had been ſpread abroad againſt the King's deſigns, and real intentions: That it would colour and juſtifie the Spaniard's Protection of the League, neceſſitate the Pope to declare himſelf in favour of it, as ſoon as the Enemies of the Apoſtolick Sea ſhould be united with the King: That the moſt important, near, and inland Provinces of *France* would be loſt, by ſtaying for the ſupplies and aſſiſtance of thoſe that were far remote, at the utmoſt confines of the *Kingdom*: Nor was the ſtrength of the Hugonots great, or their aid ſecure, who, on the one ſide, were exhauſted, and unable to go forth of their Native Provinces, where they could hardly ſubſiſt of themſelves; and, on the other ſide, they could not eaſily in ſo ſhort a time unite themſelves with the King faithfully and ſincerely, who had ever been their bitter enemy, and their fatal terrible perſecutor: That the freſh memory of the bloody Maſſacre at *Paris*, whereof he was eſteemed the chief author, and, as it were, the ſole executer, would be more prevalent with them, then the preſent demonſtrations, which, by many ſuſpicious men, would be interpreted cunning, and diſſimulation, to catch them that were unwary again ſuddenly in the net: And finally, that the Proverb was true, *Different natures never ſute well together.* Wherefore they judged it to be a much better reſolution, to give ſatisfaction to all in general, and to the Lords of the League in particular, the major part whereof they knew had, for private diſguſts, conſented to that publick Commotion: for, the Lords of *Guiſe* being quieted, and the other principal men

men of the Kingdom ſatisfied, the colour of Religion vaniſhing and growing ſtale, the League would of it ſelf be broken and diſſolved: inſiſting, that the cauſes being taken away, the effects would ceaſe of themſelves; and ſhewing by many particulars, that it was in the *Kings* power to diſunite the League, by giving and granting to the Heads and other Confederates, of his own accord, thoſe things which they ſtrove for, but were uncertain to obtain by War. 1585.

The Queen-Mother conſented to this advice, as the moſt ſecure, of leſs noiſe, and leſs ſcandal; and being experienced in the ſeveral revolutions of ſo many years, thought it no leſs deſtructive than opprobrious, to forſake the more favourable, more certain, more powerful, and more conſtant Party of the Catholicks, to follow the almoſt deſperate fortune of the Hugonots. And this was the common vote and general opinion of the ordinary ſort of Courtiers, who are wont every where (but moſt eſpecially in *France*) to diſcourſe very freely of the higheſt deliberations of their Maſters.

But the Authority of the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, and of the other Minions, was very great; and they foreſaw their own aſſured ruine in that ſatisfaction which was motioned to be granted unto the Lords of the League, becauſe it could not be given them without diveſting the Favourites of that greatneſs and authority, and of thoſe Offices which they enjoyed: ſo that of them all only the Duke of *Joyeuſe* conſented to an Agreement with the Catholick League, partly through the hatred which he bore to the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, who was infinitely before him in the Kings favour; partly becauſe being nearly allied unto the Houſe of *Lorain*, he thought at the fall of all the reſt, he alone ſhould be able to hold his place, and keep upon his feet. Beſides, this advice was very contrary to the deſigns and inclinations of the King himſelf, being thereby obliged to throw down, at one inſtant, all that he had been ſo many years in building up: for by conſenting to the ſatisfaction of the *Guiſes* and their Confederates, he muſt be brought to put that authority, thoſe Fortreſſes and Offices into their hands, from whence he had ſo long been diſengaging but a part of them, by little and little, with infinite coſt and induſtry, and ſo by conſequence muſt himſelf deſtroy his firſt reſolution of the total ruine and extirpation of both Factions. Therefore he would more willingly have concurred to oppoſe the League, and unite himſelf to the Hugonots, if the ſting of his own conſcience, the unſeemlineſs of the thing, and the reſiſtance of the Queen-Mother, had not made him abſolutely abhor it: Wherefore, his mind remaining yet doubtful, and his determination ſuſpended, he reſolved in the mean time to ſound the King of *Navarre* more perfectly, and find out the ſtrength of the Hugonots, endeavouring to perſwade him to reconcile himſelf to the Church, with the other Princes of *Bourbon*: which if he could compaſs, he thought he ſhould deſtroy the foundation of the League, and reduce the *Guiſes* into a very hard and dangerous condition: For the principal point of the Succeſſion of the Crown failing, which gave colour and credit to the affairs of the League, and he uniting the Forces of the Houſe of *Bourbon* ſincerely to himſelf, ſhould remove the obſtacle of *Rome*, the concourſe of the fooliſh multitude, who believed the buſineſs only to concern the defence of the Catholick Religion, the abetting of Religious Orders, and ſo compoſe all thoſe ſtirs. He hoped alſo that many particular men, and perhaps the very Heads of that Party, would be drawn by reſpect and ſhame, from thoſe practices which then would have no other foundation left, but the ambition and unjuſt deſires of the Great Ones; and that by taking away the fuel, the flame which then blazed ſo high, and ſpread ſo far, would in a moment be extinguiſhed.

A meeting between the King of *Navarre* and the Duke *d' Eſpernon* ſent from *Henry* the Third.

To this end he diſpatched the Duke of *Eſpernon* (under colour of going to ſee his Mother, who being old, lived in *Gaſcogne*) to confer with the King of *Navarre*, believing that for his own intereſt he would effectually labour to convert him to the Catholick Religion; for if he did not, he ſaw the King inevitably neceſſitated to ſatisfie the Lords of the League, and abaſe the greatneſs of his Favourites, among which he held the chiefeſt place. But the Duke of *Eſpernon* being come into *Gaſcogne* to the King of *Navarre*, and propoſing very large Conditions in the Kings Name, if he would reſolve to turn Catholick, and come to Court, the doubts and conſultations were no leſs there than they had been before in the Court of *France*: for Monſieur *de Salignan* and Monſieur *de Roche-Laure*, Confidents to the King of *Navarre*, perſwaded him earneſtly to truſt the King, to reconcile himſelf to the Catholick Church, and return to Court, as firſt Prince of the Blood, alledging that that was the way to conquer his Enemies without

1585. Arms or Diſpute, to recover the Place due to him in right of his Birth, to get poſſeſſion of the Inheritance of the Crown, to which the King, ſeeing himſelf without Sons, would open and facilitate his paſſage, and to ſettle his own fortune in quietneſs and tranquility, as alſo the whole Kingdom of *France*. And though to attain thoſe ends, he muſt be fain to ſuffer much, and to diſſemble and bear with many things, yet it was wiſdom to bar himſelf of his own eaſe, and deny his own will, for the obtaining of ſo high, ſo eminent a deſign: That many men endured very much for the getting of a private Inheritance, though but a mean one; how much more was to be done and ſuffered to compaſs the Succeſſion of the Crown of *France*? That they clearly ſaw the Kings aim, and the expreſs will of his Councellours and Favourites: nor could he ever deſire a more ready way to ſubvert and diſſipate the power of his old Enemies and Perſecutors.

On the other ſide, *Arnauld* Sieur *de Ferrier* his Chancellor, argued the contrary, a man of ſubtil wit and excellent learning, (who after his Embaſſie to *Venice*, where he had been Lieger many years, being returned into *France*, and little accounted of at Court, had retired himſelf to the King of *Navarre*) he fearing, if his Maſter came to an agreement, and into the Kings obedience, that he ſhould remain abject and forſaken, was, though a Catholick, of the ſame opinion with *Philip de Mornay* Sieur *de Pleſſis*, with the Sieur *d' Aubigny*, (a truſty ſervant of the King of *Navarre*'s) and with the other Hugonots, who obſtinate in their Faith, laboured to ſhew that temporal hopes were not to be preferred before a good Conſcience and the ſafety of the Soul, which is eternal. Nor was it fit for the King of *Navarre*, by ſo often changing his Belief, to get the manifeſt ſcandalous opinion rather of an Atheiſt than of a fickle inconſtant man: nor yet were the preſent hopes that were offered him ſo ſurely grounded; for the King of *France* in the vigour of his youth, and the Queen in the flower of her age, might yet poſſibly have a Son, whereby the old intentions being renewed, he would remain (as formerly) deſpiſed and undervalued at the Court. That the hope of ſucceeding a young King of but two and thirty years old, was very remote and uncertain, the King of *Navarre* himſelf being but little younger; ſo that according to nature it was hard to judge which of them would live the longer. That in the mean time, for things ſo remote and uncertain, he muſt put himſelf into a preſent certain ſervitude, lay down the command and dependance of his followers, deprive himſelf of the power and foundation of his Party, and ſubmit himſelf to the pleaſure and diſcretion of his Enemies. That all the world knew the Kings nature and inclinations, who deſiring for his own intereſts to make uſe of the King of *Navarre* in the preſent conjuncture, would, as ſoon as that occaſion was paſt, reaſſume his old hatred, and his intent (derived from the firm reſolution of his Anceſtors) to abaſe, perſecute, and finally deſtroy the Houſe of *Bourbon*. And with what heart, with what courage could he return to impriſon himſelf in the *Louvre*, where with his own eyes he had ſeen that bloody ſlaughter of all his friends, and the ſafety of his own life held uncertain for ſo many hours, that he ought rather to acknowledge it to the Divine Goodneſs, and the chance of Fortune, than to the modeſty and clemency of his Enemies? That Gods Juſtice was not to be diſtruſted, for the ſetling him in the rightful poſſeſſion of the Crown, in caſe the King ſhould die without a Son. That it was much more eaſie to attain it, being ſtrengthened by powerful Forces, and the adherence of an armed Party that had ſo often reſiſted the pride of their Perſecutors, and the Power of ſo many Princes joined together againſt them, then being left naked, deprived of aſſiſtance, ſlighted, and put in Priſon at the Court. That therefore he ought not to expoſe himſelf to the certainty of thoſe dangers, treacheries, poiſons and murders whereby he had ſeen his Mother taken away, and ſo many of his Friends and Servants; but ſuſtaining himſelf with the greatneſs of his courage, to remit the event of things ſo far diſtant and ſo obſcure unto the Divine Providence.

There was no doubt among the wiſeſt men, but that the firſt advice of reconciling himſelf to the King and Church, and returning to the Court, was the moſt ſecure and expedient: but he could not clear his mind of the ſuſpicion of being deceived again, and circumvented by the practiſes of his Enemies; and his *Genius* could hardly be reduced to forſake his liberty and authority, for almoſt a certain impriſonment, or at leaſt a very private condition in the Court. He conſidered that he could not commit an errour in that reſolution that would not coſt him his life; for if the Kings proceedings were not real and ſincere, or if he ſhould ſuffer himſelf again to be ruled by the

powerful

powerful perſwaſions and contrivances of the *Guiſes*, he ſaw he muſt of neceſſity, either by ſword or perſon, incur the infallible danger of being murdered. He was alſo very much moved with the conſideration of the Lady *Margaret* his Wife: for having in a manner repudiated her, by reaſon of the report of her unchaſtity; and ſhe being gone to certain Caſtles of hers in *Auvergne*, where ſhe lived with a very licentious freedom, he ſaw that neceſſarily he muſt either receive her again to his bed, or elſe he could never continue in ſincere friendſhip and perfect confidence with his Mother and Brother-in-law, but that daily new diſcords and diſſentions would ariſe, to the total ruine of his Fortune. Theſe conſiderations joined to the power of *Ferrier*, and to the ſpur and perſwaſions of the Miniſters, made him at laſt reſolve, neither to turn Catholick, nor return to Court; but only with a great deal of modeſty he offered the Aſſiſtance and Forces of his whole Party to ſerve the King, whenſoever he pleaſed, to tame thoſe, who, with the Forces of the League, diſturbed the State and quiet of the Kingdom. 1585.

In this Conference was treated likewiſe (as had been many times before) the reſtitution of thoſe places granted to the Hugonots by the Edict of Pacification: for the limited time being expired, the King moved to have them reſtored according to the Agreement. But the King of *Navarre* being determined not to forſake his Party, made excuſes for not delivering them up, ſhewing that the times to come were like to be ſuch as made him rather deſire to have yet others for his ſecurity, than to reſtore thoſe which he already poſſeſſed; beſeeching the King to bear with the urgent neceſſity, and to aſcribe the fault to the imminent attempts and obſtinate perſecutions of his Enemies. But this point being only treated of in formality, there was neither long nor difficult debate about it; and the anſwer was eaſily received and approved, by reaſon of that colour which the courſe of preſent affairs afforded it.

With theſe Anſwers the Duke *d' Eſpernon* returned to Court; from whoſe Conference they of the League taking occaſion, divulged every where that it had been to treat an Union between the King and the Faction of the Hugonots, for the eſtabliſhment of Hereſie, and the introducing of the King of *Navarre* (an Enemy to the Catholick Church) unto the Succeſſion of the Kingdom; for which purpoſe the King had alſo ſent him two hundred thouſand Ducats. Which things being thundred out of the Pulpits by their Preachers, filled the people with vain pretended fears, and with a moſt bitter hatred againſt the Perſon of their Prince, and againſt all his Favourites and Councellours. But the curioſity and itch of the Hugonots, did in great part cut up the roots of theſe lying ſlanders: for the Sieur *du Pleſſis*, burning with an ambition to be known the Author of the King of *Navarre*'s determinations, and to get himſelf credit and eſteem amongſt thoſe of his own Party, publiſhed a little Book in print of the whole Treaty that had paſſed with the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, with the reaſons alledged by the King of *Navarre*'s Councellors, and his laſt anſwer and reſolution: whereby it appeared, that the King ſought not to unite himſelf with the Hugonots, to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, as was divulged by thoſe of the League; but by endeavouring to bring home the King of *Navarre* and the other Princes of the Blood into the boſom of the Church: As alſo, that it was not true that the King voluntarily conſented that the Hugonots ſhould keep the poſſeſſion of thoſe places, but that they refuſing for apparent reaſons to reſtore them, he made ſhew to bear with their denial, rather than in ſo unſeaſonable a time to put Arms into the hands of that other Faction alſo.

The Low-Countries ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of *France* intreating him to take the Protection and Dominion of their States.

The Duke *d' Eſpernon* at his return found new matter of doubts and conſultations: For the Low-Country-men (the Duke of *Alançon* being dead) were left without any foreign aſſiſtance, and being as it were abandoned of all, thought to put themſelves under the Crown of *France*, and by that means to gain the Kings Protection againſt the Spaniards: wherefore they ſent an honourable Embaſſie about that time to the King of *France*, to intreat him to take the Protection and Dominion of all their Countries; and making War with the King of *Spain*, to deliver them with a powerful Army from that Tyranny from which they had already for many years withdrawn themſelves. This Embaſſie at firſt kept ſecret by the King, leſt it might exaſperate King *Philip*, was afterward publickly received and admitted, when he ſaw the Spaniſh Agents continued to foment the League.

There were many, and thoſe the ſame that had counſelled him to unite himſelf with the Hugonots, who exhorted him to accept of that ſo ample Dominion, and ſo noble occaſion to raiſe and increaſe his own eſtate; urging, that ſince the Spaniards thought

1585. it lawful by ſecret practices and ſuggeſtions to diſturb the peace and quiet of his Kingdom, it was much more lawful for him to undertake the defence of that oppreſſed people, retorting the injury which he received, and bringing thoſe to a neceſſity of looking to their own, who now craftily ſought to put the affairs of others in diſorder and confuſion; That this was the way to digeſt and expel the hurtful humours of his Kingdom, which could never enjoy Peace at home, but by the help of War abroad, to take up the minds and employ the active Forces of his Subjects: They ſaid, This was a moſt powerful means to abaſe the League; which being deprived of the money and aſſiſtance of the Spaniard, would fall of its own accord, not having any ſtrength or ability to maintain it ſelf: That finally it was time to eaſe themſelves of ſo many miſeries as were every where about them, to give vent to the French fury, and rather employ their Arms to the deſtruction of the old Enemies of the Kingdom, than uſe them to tear in pieces the body of their common Mother.

But as theſe probable apparent reaſons were very noble and generous, ſo were they likewiſe difficult, and little leſs than impoſſible to be effected: For with what Armies, with what Forces could the King (his Kingdom being torn and divided, and he himſelf ſuſpected by both Factions) undertake and manage a War of ſo great importance? He could ſettle no foundation in the Catholick Party; for moſt of them were united by ſecret intelligence with the Catholick King: and to join himſelf with the Hugonots, produced the ſame difficulties and the ſame oppoſitions that were before conſidered: Wherefore the King perſwaded by the evidence of Reaſon, and counſelled by the Queen his Mother, anſwered the Ambaſſadors with kind words, expreſſing his grief for the oppreſſion they complained of, excuſing himſelf by the preſent diviſions, and inteſtine diſcords of his Kingdom, and ſhewing how ready he ſhould be to ſuccour and protect them at another time: With which anſwer, and all demonſtrations of honour, they were at laſt diſmiſſed: And yet *Don Bernardino Mendozza* the Catholick Kings Ambaſſador grievouſly complaining that the Embaſſie was admitted, and that the Ambaſſadors of thoſe that rebelled againſt his Maſter had been ſo much honoured; the King either highly exaſperated againſt the Spaniards, or not willing to ſhew fear and poorneſs of ſpirit, anſwered boldly, that the common right of Countries and the neighbourhood of ſo near a people, derived from the French Nation and Empire, did perſwade him to take them into his protection: yet becauſe of his own intereſts, he had not conſented to do any thing at all in the buſineſs; and that he would not break the peace in publick, though he knew it had been violated by the King of *Spain* in private; but that in his own time he would ſignifie his pleaſure, not fearing the forces or threatnings of any one, and knowing himſelf to be a free King, Maſter of his own Will, and one that might make War or Peace whereſoever it pleaſed himſelf. By which anſwer the King thinking to bridle the Spaniards with a jealouſie of the affairs of *Flanders*, he on the contrary haſtened their practices, and made them labour to kindle the fire in his Kingdom, that he might not be at leiſure to do ſo to his neighbours: Wherefore *Don Bernardino* departing with that anſwer, began to ſollicite the *Guiſes* and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, that taking Arms, with the aſſiſtance and with the money of *Spain*, they ſhould begin to execute the deſigns of the League; and preſently diſburſed two hundred thouſand Ducats to the Duke of *Guiſe*, for his firſt years penſion, diſpoſing three months pay in *Germany* for the raiſing of Souldiers in that Country: For *Lodovick Fifer* the chief Commander of the Swiſſes, being corrupted with great bribes, had yielded to receive a ſtipend from the League; and *Chriſtopher* Sieur *de Baſſompier* was gone into *Germany* to levy **Reiters*: nor did they omit in thoſe Provinces which were held by the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*, to raiſe both Foot and Horſe in all diligence, that with ſuch mighty Forces they might give a beginning to their intended deſigns.

*Bernardino de Mendozza* the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, having received a ſharp anſwer from *Henry* 3. begins openly to ſet forward the League.

* German Horſe.

But the King, who could neither frame his mind to join with the Hugonots, nor to give ſatisfaction to the confederate Lords, expecting counſel from the benefit of time, went on with ſlow preparations, rather ſetting a gloſs upon his cauſe, and juſtifying himſelf, than hindring the progreſs of the League: For beſides the publick Prayers and Proceſſions continually made, to beſeech God to grant him a Son, being advertiſed from many ſeveral places at the ſame time, of their ſo frequent raiſing and drawing armed men together, he thought it ſufficient to ſend forth a Decree (publiſhed the 28 of *March*) to all the Governours of Provinces; wherein, after having with his wonted preambles teſtified that all his actions were led by a deſire of the publick peace

The Kings Edict forbidding the raiſing or gathering of Souldiers together.

and

and tranquillity, and that he had begun to provide for the eaſe of all his people by fitting remedies, which ſome Enemies of quiet laboured to oppoſe and hinder; He did expreſly forbid all raiſing and gathering together of Souldiers, commanding that the Leaders of them ſhould be rigorouſly chaſtiſed; and that at the ringing of the *Toqueſaint*, the Gentry and Commons ſhould riſe, to defeat, proſecute, and cut them in pieces, delivering as many of them as they could into the hands of Juſtice, to receive the condign puniſhment of their inſolency and inſurrection: Which Edict only cauſed thoſe that drew Forces together to be acknowledged his Enemies, but neither hindered nor ſtopped the proceedings of the Confederates. But in the end, it being neceſſary to make other proviſions, more fit for the quality of the preſent times, after long doubt and uncertainty, he reſolved to oppoſe the deſigns and attempts of the League by himſelf alone, without any intelligence with the Hugonots, hoping to have ſo much ſtrength as would be ſufficient to reſtrain them; and thinking that the Hugonots would not only be natural indifferent ſpectators of the event, without troubling or moleſting him, but that without other union or confederacy, they would give both heat and life unto his enterpriſes. But he ſcarce began to put this reſolution in practice, when the deceit of that expectation appeared in the weakneſs of his Forces; for though the Sieur *de Fleury*, Brother-in-law to Secretary *Villeroy*, who was then the Kings Ambaſſador in *Switzerland*, had in a ſhort time raiſed ten thouſand Foot of that Nation for his Majeſties ſervice, yet they being to march thorow the Provinces of *Burgogne*, *Champagne*, and *Lyonois*, which were poſſeſſed by the Heads of the League, their paſſage was very uncertain and difficult: and *Gaſper* Count of *Schombergh*, who was ſent to raiſe ſome German Cavalry, being forced to paſs thorow the ſame Provinces, was by Commiſſion from the Duke of *Lorain* taken priſoner: for the Duke being ſpurred on by the hopes of getting *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, Cities upon the confines of his State, and long ago taken away by the Kings of *France* from the Dukes his Predeceſſors, had at laſt changed the determination of ſtanding Neuter, which he had obſerved in all the late combuſtions, and conſented to the League of the Lords of his own Family. Nor were matters any more ſucceſsful within than without the Kingdom; for the Nobility divided by the reſpect of Religion, and their old ſidings not yet forgotten, but revived by theſe new Commotions, came in very unwillingly and in ſmall numbers unto the Kings party; the people ill-affected to his name, did not adminiſter any help unto his neceſſity; and the Kings Revenues not only interrupted by the rumour of Armies, but purpoſely intercepted by the Heads of the Faction, were in great part diminiſhed: ſo that he was every way deſtitute of the ſinews of the War. 1585.

The Heads of the League taking courage from theſe difficulties of the Kings, began boldly to gather Forces, and to give a beginning to the execution of their intended purpoſes. The firſt breaking forth, was the departure of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* from the Court; who under colour of keeping Lent at his Biſhoprick of *Rouen*, went to *Gallion*, a fair houſe four leagues from the City, where he was received by a great number of the Gentry of *Picardy*, and for his ſecurity conducted to *Peronne*, the womb that gave birth unto the League; where the Duke of *Guiſe* being come to meet him, with the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother; as alſo the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbeuf*, they publiſhed a Declaration, which though it ſpoke in general under the Name of Catholick Peers, Prelates, Princes, Lords, Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom of *France*, was yet ſubſcribed by the name of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* alone. The Declaration contained preciſely theſe words.

A Declaration publiſhed by the Heads of the Catholick League.

IN the Name of God Almighty, the King of Kings. Be it manifeſt unto all men, That the Kingdom of *France* having for fourteen years laſt paſt been tormented with a peſtiferous Sedition, raiſed to ſubvert the ancient Religion of our Fathers, which is the ſtrong bond of the State; ſuch remedies have been applied, as * have proved more fit to nourish than cure the diſeaſe; ſuch as have only had the name of Peace, but have not eſtabliſhed it to any, except thoſe that had moleſted it, leaving honeſt men ſcandalized in their Conſciences, and engaged in their Fortunes. And in ſtead of a remedy for theſe miſchiefs, which in time might have been hoped for, God hath permitted that the late Kings have died young, not leaving as yet any Children able to inherit the Crown, and (to the grief of all good men) hath not yet been pleaſed to give any to the King that now reigneth, although his good Subjects have not, and will

* (Contrary to their Majeſties hopes.)

*Note, that this addition, and all the other alterations and additions in the following Declarations, ſtanding in the margin, are according to the French Book, intituled,* Memories de la Ligue.

1585. will not ceaſe their moſt earneſt Prayers, to beſeech God of his mercy to ſend him ſome; ſo that his Majeſty being the only Son remaining of all thoſe which his Divine Goodneſs gave unto *Henry* the Second of famous memory, it is too much to be feared (which God forbid) that his Houſe, to our great misfortune, will be extinct, without hope of Iſſue; and that about the eſtabliſhing a Succeſſor in the Throne, great tumults will ariſe thorow all Chriſtendom, and perhaps the total ſubverſion of the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion in this moſt Chriſtian Kingdom, where it would never be endured that an Heretick ſhould Reign, for as much as the Subjects are not bound to acknowledge or ſubmit themſelves to the Dominion of a Prince fallen from the Chriſtian Catholick Faith; the firſt Oath which our Kings do take when the Crown is ſet upon their heads, being to maintain the Roman Catholick and Apoſtolick Religion; by which Oath, and not otherwiſe, they afterwards receive that of their Subjects Loyalty: Yet ſince the death of my Lord the Duke of *Alancon* the Kings Brother, the pretenſions of thoſe who by publick profeſſion have ever ſhewed themſelves Perſecutors of the Catholick Church, have been ſo favoured and upheld, that it is exceeding neceſſary to make ſome wiſe and ſpeedy proviſion againſt them, for the avoiding of thoſe very apparent inconveniencies, the calamities whereof are already known unto all, the remedies to few, and the manner of applying them almoſt to none: and ſo much the rather, becauſe one may eaſily judge, by the great preparations and practices every where, the raiſing of Souldiers as well without as within the Kingdom, the withholding of Towns and ſtrong places which long ago ſhould have been delivered up into his Majeſties hand, that we are very near the effects of their evil intentions; being ſufficiently informed, that not long ſince they have ſent to treat with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* for the procuring of Forces, to the end that they may more eaſily oppreſs all good men, as their deſigns aim at no other end, but to ſecure and poſſeſs themſelves of neceſſary means to deſtroy the Catholick Religion, which is the common intereſt of all, eſpecially of the Great Ones, who have the honour to hold the firſt and chiefeſt Offices and Dignities of this Kingdom, and whom they labour to ruine in the Kings life-time, nay more, by his authority; to the end that there being no body left who for the time to come can be able to oppoſe their deſires, they may more eaſily work that change of the Catholick Religion, which they endeavour; to enrich themſelves with the Patrimony of the Church, following the example of what hath been done in *England*. Moreover, all the world knows very well, and plainly ſees the actions and deportments of ſome, who having inſinuated themſelves into the favour of the King our Sovereign, (whoſe Majeſty hath ever been and ſhall be to us moſt holy and ſacred) have in a manner totally poſſeſſed themſelves of his authority, to maintain that greatneſs which they have uſurped, favouring and advancing by all means poſſible the effects of thoſe aforeſaid changes and pretenſions, and have had both the boldneſs and the power to remove from the private converſation of his Majeſty not only the Princes and Nobility, but all that naturally are moſt near unto him, not admitting any but ſuch as are their own dependents: wherein they have advanced ſo far, that none of them now have any part in the Government and Adminiſtration of the State, nor the whole power belonging to their places; ſome having been deprived of the Titles of their Dignities, and others of the Authority, though the empty imaginary names be ſtill left unto them. The ſame likewiſe hath been done to many Governours of Provinces, Commanders of ſtrong Holds, and other Officers, who have been forced to leave and reſign their places in conſideration of certain ſums of money, which they have received againſt their wills and deſires, becauſe they durſt not contradict thoſe that had the power to conſtrain them to it. A new example, and never before practiſed in this Kingdom, to get Offices by money from them to whom they had been given for a reward of their Loyalty and faithful ſervice; and by this means they have made themſelves Maſters of all Forces both by Sea and Land. Nor do they ceaſe to endeavour the like daily to others that are in poſſeſſion; ſo that there is not one of them, who is not in fear, or who can aſſure himſelf that his place ſhall not be taken from him; notwithſtanding that having been beſtowed upon them for their deſerts, they cannot nor ought not to be deprived of them by the Laws of the Kingdom, unleſs for ſome juſt and reaſonable conſideration, or that they have failed in ſomething that depends upon them, and that ſuch their fault be proved by the means of Juſtice. Moreover, theſe men have drawn into their own hands all the Gold and Silver out of the Kings Coffers, into which they put only the ſmaller ſums of

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the general receipts, for their particular profits, keeping all the Great Ones at their own devotion, as alſo all thoſe that have the management of them; which are the true ways to diſpoſe of this Crown, and ſet it upon whoſe head they pleaſe. And by their avarice it is come to paſs, that abuſing the eaſineſs of the Subjects, they have exceeded all bounds, laying ſtill heavy Taxes upon the poor common people, not only equal to thoſe the calamities of War had introduced, which have not at all been leſſened ſince the Peace, but much more grievous ones, by infinite other Impoſitions growing daily from the greedy appetite of their unbridled wills. Indeed ſome glimpſe of hope appeared, when upon the frequent cries and complaints of the whole Kingdom, the Convention of the States General was appointed at *Blois*, which is the ancient remedy of home-bred evils, and as it were a Conference between the Prince and People, meeting together upon the terms of their due obedience on the one ſide, and of the due protection on the other; both ſworn, both born at the ſame time with the Royal Name and Fundamental Rules of the State of *France*: but this dear and laborious enterpriſe produced nothing, ſaving the authorizing of the evil counſel of ſome, who feigning themſelves to be good Polititians, were indeed wonderfully ill-affected to the ſervice of God, and the good of the Kingdom; who not being contented to turn the King (by nature moſt inclined to piety) from the holy and profitable reſolution which he had made at the moſt humble requeſt of all his States, to unite his Subjects in one only Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion, to the end they might live in that ancient piety, wherein this Kingdom had been eſtabliſhed, preſerved, and afterwards increaſed, to become the moſt powerful of all Chriſtendom; which then might have been effected without danger, and almoſt without reſiſtance; they perſwaded him quite contrary, that it was neceſſary for his Majeſties ſervice, to weaken and diminiſh the authority of the Catholick Princes and Lords, who with exceeding zeal had infinitely hazarded their lives, in fighting under his Banners, for the Defence of the ſaid Catholick Religion; as if the reputation which they had gained by their vertue and loyalty, had been a means to render them ſuſpected, in ſtead of being honoured and eſteemed. Thus the abuſe which began to ſwell by little and little, is ſince fallen like a torrent from ſo violent a precipice, that the poor Kingdom is even upon the point of being overwhelmed by it, having but very ſlender hopes of ſafety: for the Order of the Clergy, notwithſtanding all the Aſſemblies and juſt Remonſtrances which they could make, is now oppreſſed by extraordinary Tenths and Impoſitions, beſides the contempt of the ſacred things of the Holy Church of God, wherein now all things are taken away and polluted; the Nobility brought to nothing, enſlaved, and unnobled, and every day miſerably burthened with infinite payments and unjuſt exactions, which they muſt pay to their exceeding damage, if they will ſuſtain their lives; that is to ſay, eat, drink, and clothe themſelves: the Cities, the Kings Officers, and the common people ſo heavily laden with the weight of frequent new Impoſitions, which they call * *Inventions*, that there is now no other way to be found, ſave the means of applying a good remedy againſt them. 1588.

* Projects.

For theſe juſt cauſes and conſiderations, We *Charles* of *Bourbon*, firſt Prince of the Blood, Cardinal of the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Church, as he whom it moſt concerns to take into his ſafeguard and protection the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, and the conſervation of the good and loyal Servants of his Majeſty and of the State; with the aſſiſtance of many Princes of the Blood, Cardinals, and other Princes, Peers, Prelates and Officers of the Crown, Governours of Provinces, chief Lords and Gentlemen of many Cities and Corporations, and of a great number of good and faithful Subjects, which make the beſt and ſoundeſt part of this Kingdom, after having prudently weighed the motive of this enterpriſe, and having taken the advice as well of our good Friends who are moſt affectionate to the good and quiet of this Kingdom, as of diſcreet underſtanding perſons, and ſuch as fear God (whom we would not offend in this, for any thing in the world) do declare, That we have all ſworn and holily promiſed to uſe ſtrong hand, and take up arms, to the end that the holy Church of God may be reſtored unto its dignity, and unto the true and holy Catholick Religion; and the Nobility (as they ought) may enjoy their perfect freedom; and that the people may be eaſed, the new Impoſition aboliſhed, and all additions ſince the Reign of *Charles* the Ninth (whom God abſolve) abſolutely taken away; that the Parliaments may be left to the freedom of their Conſciences, and in entire liberty of their Judgments; and all the Subjects of the Kingdom maintained in their Governments,

Places,

1585. Places, and Offices, ſo that they may not be taken from them, ſave only in the three caſes of the ancient Conſtitutions, and by the ſentence of the ordinary Judges of the Parliaments. That all moneys that ſhall be raiſed upon the people ſhall be imployed in the defence of the Kingdom, and to the end for which they are appointed; and that henceforward the General Aſſembly of the States may be held freely without any practices every three years at leaſt, with perfect liberty for every one to complain of thoſe grievances, againſt which there is no due proviſion made. Theſe things and others which ſhall be more amply and particularly ſet down, are the ſubject and argument of the raiſing Arms, which are now taken up for the reſtauration of *France*, the maintenance of the good, the puniſhment of the bad, and the ſecurity of our perſons, which ſome have often, and that not many days ſince, laboured to oppreſs, and utterly ruine by ſecret conſpiracies, as if the ſecurity of the State depended upon the deſtruction of good men, and of thoſe that ſo often have hazarded their lives to preſerve it: We having no other means left to ſave us from that miſchief, and to divert the knife that already is at our very throats, but to have recourſe to thoſe remedies which we have always abhorred; which yet are excuſable, and ought to be accounted juſt, when they are neceſſary, and applied by principal authority, and with which we would not yet help our ſelves at this preſent, for the danger of our eſtates, if the ruine of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, and of the State, were not inſeparably joined unto it: for whoſe preſervation we ſhall never fear any danger, believing we cannot chuſe a more honourable Funeral, than to die in ſo holy and juſt a Quarrel, and to acquit our ſelves of the debt and obligation which as good Chriſtians we owe to the ſervice of God; and as good and faithful Subjects to hinder the ſubverſion of the State, which would certainly follow the ſaid alterations. Proteſting that we do not take up Arms againſt our Sovereign Lord the King, but for the guard and juſt defence of his Perſon, Life and State, for which we all ſwear and promiſe to expoſe our fortunes and lives to the laſt drop of our blood, with the ſame fidelity as we have done in times paſt, and to lay down our Arms immediately, when it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty to take away the danger that threatens the ruine of Gods Service, and ſo many good men; which we humbly beſeech him ſpeedily to do, giving teſtimony to all men by good and true effects, that he is indeed a moſt Chriſtian King, indued with the fear of God, and hath ingraven in his heart the zeal of the Catholick Religion, as we have always known him, and as it befits a good Father, and a King that is moſt affectionate to the preſervation of his Subjects; which his Majeſty performing, he ſhall be ſo much the more obeyed, acknowledged and honoured by us, and by all his other Subjects with moſt obſequious reverence, which we deſire more than any thing in the world. And though it would not be very far from reaſon, that the King ſhould be requeſted by an open Declaration to provide a Succeſſor, that during his life, and after his death the people committed to him may not be divided into ſides and factions by the differences about Succeſſion; yet are we ſo little moved with any ſuch conſideration, that the calumny of thoſe that upbraid us with it, will prove to have no ground at all; for beſides that the Laws of the Kingdom are known, and clear enough, the hazard alſo into which We the Cardinal of *BOURBON* do put our ſelf in our old age and latter days, doth give ſufficient aſſurance, that we are not ſwelled with ſuch hope and vanity, but only ſpurred on by true zeal of Religion, which makes us pretend to a part in a more ſecure Kingdom, the enjoyment whereof is more laſting and more deſirable. Wherefore our intention being ſuch, we do all of us together humbly beeſeech the Queen, Mother to the King, our moſt honoured Lady, (without whoſe wiſdom and prudence the Kingdom would long ago have been loſt and deſtroyed) by the faithful teſtimony which ſhe can, will, and ought to give of our great ſervices, but in particular, of Us the Cardinal of *BOURBON*, who have always honoured, ſerved and aſſiſted her in her moſt important affairs, without ſparing our Eſtate, Life, Friends or Kindred, to ſtrengthen with her the Kings party, and the Catholick Religion, that ſhe will not forſake us now at this time; but to imploy all that credit with the King her Son, which her pains and troubleſom labours ought juſtly to deſerve, and which her Enemies diſloyally would have robb'd her of. We alſo earneſtly intreat all the Princes, Peers of *France*, Officers of the Crown, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of what quality ſoever they be, who are not yet joined with us, that they would favour and aſſiſt us with all their power, toward the execution of ſo good and ſo holy a work: And we exhort all Towns and Corporations, if they

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love their own preſervation, to conſider briefly of our intentions, and to acknowledge the eaſe and quiet which may thereby redound to them, as well in publick as domeſtical affairs; and ſo doing, to lay hand to this good work, which cannot but proſper, with the grace of God, to whom we remit all things; or at leaſt, if their opinions and reſolutions cannot ſo ſoon be united (their Councels being compoſed of many) we admoniſh them to open their eyes, and look to their own affairs, and in the mean time not to let themſelves be tempted by any body, nor ſeduced by them, who, out of ſome ſiniſter interpretation of our intentions, would poſſeſs themſelves of their aforeſaid Cities, and putting Garriſons of Soldiers into them, would reduce them to the ſame ſervitude which thoſe other places feel that are already in their hands. We further declare unto all, That we will not uſe any act of hoſtility, ſave againſt thoſe that ſhall oppoſe us with Arms, and by other unfitting means favour our Adverſaries, who ſeek to ruine the Church, and ſubvert the State: And we aſſure every one, That our juſt and holy Armies ſhall not injure nor oppreſs any body, either in paſſing through, or ſtaying in any place; but ſhall live in good diſcipline, and not take any thing but what they pay for. We will alſo receive unto our ſelves all thoſe good men which have zeal to the honor of God, and of the Holy Church, and of the good and reputation of the French moſt Chriſtian Religion; with proteſtation notwithſtanding never to lay down our Armes till the aforeſaid things be fully performed; and rather all willingly to die in that cauſe, with a deſire to be heaped up together in one Sepulchre, conſecrated to the laſt Frenchmen who died fighting for the ſervice of God and of their Country. Finally, ſince all our help muſt come from God, we pray all true Catholicks to put themſelves with us in a good condition, to reconcile themſelves to his Divine Majeſty, by a thorough reformation of their lives, to appeaſe his wrath, and to call upon him with purity of Conſcience, as well in publick Prayers and holy Proceſſions, as private and particular devotions, to the end that all our actions may tend to the honor and glory of him who is the Lord of Hoſts, from whom we expect all our force, and our mok certain ſupport. 1585.

To theſe words the Heads of the League adding deeds no leſs effectual, began to make themſelves Maſters of many Cities and Fortreſſes, ſome by ſecret practices, ſome by open force of Armes; for, being drawn with an Army that already muſtered 12000 fighting men, to *Verdun*, a City upon the Confines of the Duke of *Lorain*, though the Governor behaving himſelf gallantly, laboured to defend it, yet one *Guittald*, a man of great authority with the Citizens, being ſecretly got into the Town, made them, the next day after the ſiege was laid, to take Armes, to poſſeſs themſelves of the Gates, and to bring in the Army of the Confederates, which uprore the Governor courageouſly oppoſed; but having very ſmall Forces, was eaſily overcome: for the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf being entred the City, drove him out with all thoſe that followed him; and having put *Guittald* in his place, the City remained abſolutely at the devotion of the League. The City of *Thoul* followed the example of *Verdun*; for, riſing in Arms, and driving out the Kings Officers, it gave it ſelf up voluntarily into the hands of the League. The ſame would perchance have happened at *Metz* a Fortreſs and City of great conſequence, if the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who had the Government of it, foreſeeing the danger, had not in time put in Gentlemen and Soldiers from ſeveral places, by which relief the Garriſon being confirm d, which of it ſelf was wont to be very ſtrong, as a place of importance upon the Frontiers, the Duke of *Guiſe* thought not fit to make any attempt, either not having ſufficient Forces to beſiege it, or doubting he ſhould ſpend ſo much time about it, as would prejudice his main deſign.

*Verdun*, the firſt City taken by the Army of the League.

At the ſame time happened a Commotion in the City of *Marſeilles*, the chief Port of *Provence*, and a place infinitely deſired by thoſe of the League, that they might more eaſily, and by a ſhorter cut, receive ſupplies from *Spain*: They had drawn to their party *Louis Daries* Conſul of the City, and *Claude Boniface*, called *Chabanes*, one of the City Captains, whereof the firſt being a man of a tyrannical nature, deſired to attain to the abſolute Government; the other aſpiring to the inheritance of his Brother, who was one of the Kings Treaſurers (a rich, but a very covetous man) had wickedly conſpired to kill him, and therefore deſired that tumult and inſurrection of the people, that he might the more conveniently execute his deſign. Theſe having gained a rabble of followers, made up of all ſorts and qualities of people, went by night to the Treaſurers houſe, and calling him to the door, under pretence of delivering him certain Letters, ſlew him treacherouſly, and after ran armed through the whole Town,

The Inſurrection at *Marſeilles*.

1585. exhorting the People to Liberty, and the defence of Religion, which they proclaimed to be in very great danger, by the machinations of forreign Hugonots. The common People being up, they took and led to priſon ſome that were reported Hugonots; others they ſlew, and many hid themſelves in private houſes, the greateſt part of the Citizens being as it were aſtoniſhed, by reaſon of that ſudden taking up of Armes, and of the Conſuls and Captains authority, who, with the ſame fury, made themſelves Maſters of the Forts that command the Haven. They preſently diſpatched an Expreſs, to give notice of this to *Lodovico Gonzago* Duke of *Nevers*, who thinking, that the revolt of the City was to be effected by other means, and without thoſe wicked practices, which were cauſed by private intereſts; under pretence of going to *Rome*, ſtayed by the way at *Avignon*, with hope, that the deſign of *Marſeilles* ſucceeding, he ſhould, by the League, be made Governor of *Provence*; and they alſo ſent for Monſieur *de Vins*, and the Count *de Saux*, that they, as being neareſt, might come to aſſiſt them: But they delaying to come, the day following, when the firſt fury of the people began to cool, and that the wickedneſs of *Chabanes* againſt his own brother was come to light, the multitude of thoſe that were up in Armes began by little and little to fall aſunder, and one of the graveſt Citizens for age, and of moſt authority and eſteem, named *Bouquier*, having called the people to a parley, exhorted every one to take Armes againſt thoſe ſeditious men, and to endeavour the puniſhment of the murther committed by *Chabanes*; at which, the greater and ſtronger part of the Citizens being moved (who, as in a City of great Traffick, jealous of their own wealth, were very ſuſpicious) took Armes generally, and began to fall upon thoſe that had raiſed the Tumult: They ſent alſo in great haſte to call the Grand Prior of *France*, Baſtard Brother to the King, and Governor of that Province, who was then at *Aix*, at whoſe coming, which was ſpeedy, though with no more then two hundred Horſe, the People following his authority with a very great concourſe, the Fort *de la Garde* was taken, and in it the Conſul *Daries*, and Captain *Chabanes*, who the next morning were executed; by which ſeverity, the City was kept free from thoſe dangers, and under the Kings obedience.

The like ſucceſs had the deſigns upon the City of *Bourdeaux* in *Guienne*; for the Confederates attempting to make themſelves Maſters of it by means of the Caſtle, commonly called *Chaſtea de la Trompette*, whereof the Governor was the Sieur *de Valliac*, one of thoſe that had ſigned to the League, the Mareſcal *de Matignon* (Lieutenant to the King of *Navarre* in the Government of that Province, but a Catholick, depending upon the King, and reſiding in the Town) having had notice of all that was plotted, made ſhow of holding a general Councel in the Palace, to communicate unto all ſome Orders received from the Court, and, among the reſt, drew thither alſo the Sieur *de Valliac*, who did not yet ſo much as dream himſelf to be at all ſuſpected: There, having made them that were met together, acquainted with the revolt that was contriving, he impriſoned *Villiac*, and at the ſame inſtant cauſed Artillery to be planted againſt the Caſtle, threatning to put the Governor of it to death, if they within ſhould dare to ſhoot againſt the Town; by which threats, and the reſolute nature of *Matignon*, *Villiac* being terrified, commanded his men preſently to deliver up the Fortreſs; which, with new Fortifications, and a ſtrong Garriſon, was ever after kept at the Kings devotion, under the command of *Matignon*.

But theſe ſucceſſes were little conſiderable, in compariſon of the frequent revolts which followed in other parts of the Kingdom; for thoſe of the League beginning freely to declare themſelves, the Sieur *de Mandelott* Governor of *Lyons* had taken and demoliſhed the Cittadel there; the Sieur *de la Chaſtre* had put *Bourges* into the power of the League; the Sieur *d' Entraques*, having driven thoſe of the Kings party out of *Orleans*, had made himſelf abſolutely Maſter of it; the Count *de Briſſac* with the City of *Angiers*, and others of his Government, had manifeſtly united himſelf with the Confederates; the Duke of *Guiſe*, in perſon, had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Mezieres*, a City of importance in the Confines of *Champagne*; the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the Caſtle and City of *Dijon* in *Bourgogne*; and, at length, with a ſtrong Army they were come to *Chalons* in *Champagne*, the place appointed for their Magazine of Armes, and for the baſis and foundation of the War. There they determined to expect the Forces, both Horſe and Foot, which had been leavied in *Germany*, with Spaniſh mony, and which they had intelligence began to move towards *Lorrain*: and whilſt they advanced, the Duke of *Guiſe* leaving the Duke of *Mayenne* to Command the Army, with the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbeuf*; himſelf, with a ſelect number of Horſe, was gone to *Peronne*, from whence, with infinite demonſtrations of honour, he conducted the Cardinal of *BOURBON* to *Chalons*,

*tions*, to give reputation with his Name and Preſence, to the proceedings of the League, to ſhow him in the Army, and to make uſe of him as of a ſhield and bulwark in the future War. 1585.

Againſt theſe ſo powerful, and ſo near prepartions of the League, the King made oppoſition both by words and actions, as much as he was able; and firſt of all he anſwered their Declaration with another of the following tenure.

The Kings anſwer to the Declaration publiſhed by the Catholick League.

ALthough the King hath by Letters and Commands already many times admoniſhed his Subjects, not to let themſelves be perſwaded, nor counſelled, by ſome who endeavour to ſtir them up, and intice them into their Aſſociation, and, by ſo doing, to lead them aſtray from their own repoſe; and hath likewiſe offered and promiſed Pardon to thoſe, who, being already engaged, ſhould withdraw themſelves, as ſoon as they were informed of his intentions: yet his Majeſty having, to his great diſcontent, underſtood, that notwithſtanding his ſaid Commands and favourable advertiſements, ſome of his Subjects do not ceaſe to enter into the ſaid Aſſociations, induced thereto by divers intereſts, but the moſt part dazled and deceived by the fair ſpecious colours, which the Authors of thoſe Inſurrections give to their deſigns: His Majeſty hath thought fit, for the univerſal good of all his Subjects, and for the diſcharge of his own Conſcience towards God, and of his reputation toward the World, againſt thoſe artifices, to ſet forth the light of Truth (the true conſolation of the good, and capital enemy of the bad) to the end that his Snbjects, being guided by the cleerneſs of it, may know, and diſcern, in time, and without impediment, the Original and end of ſuch Commotions, and by that means may come to avoid thoſe miſeries and calamities, both publick and private, which are like to ariſe from them.

The Pretences which the Authors of theſe ſtirs do take, are principally grounded upon the Reſtauration of the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion in this Kingdom, upon the diſpoſing of the Dignities and Offices thereof to thoſe to whom they are juſtly due, and upon the good, honour, and disburthening of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons: All which things are by real, not diſguiſed effects, known to every one to be ſo dear and precious to his Majeſty, that none can truly doubt of his intentions therein, ſo that it doth not appear, it was neceſſary to ſtir up his Subjects, to put them in arms, and raiſe forreign Forces to make him conſent to the Articles which they ſhall propoſe, in caſe they be juſt, poſſible, and profitable for his People. For, as concerning Religion, His Majeſty, before he came to the Crown, hath too often expoſed his own life, fighting happily for the propagation of it; and ſince it pleaſed God to call him to the Government of this Kingdom, hath too often hazarded his State unto the ſame end, and uſed his beſt means, with the lives and fortunes of his good Subjects and Servants, to perſwade them at this preſent, and to gain their belief, that no man whoſoever in this Kingdom or elſewhere, of what profeſſion ſoever he be, hath more Piety and Religion in his heart, than he hath alwayes had, and by the Grace of God ever will have. And if according to the example of the King his Brother of famous memory, and of many other Princes of Chriſtendom (whoſe Kingdomes and States have been troubled with different opinions in Religion) his Majeſty, with the prudent advice of the Queen his Mother, of my Lord the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and other Princes, Officers of the Crown, and Lords of his Councel, who then were near about him, pacified the Tumults that were amongſt his Subjects about matter of Faith, waiting, till it ſhould pleaſe God to unite them all in the boſome of the Holy Church; it doth not therefore follow, that his fervour and devotion, in what concerns the glory of God, and the perfect reſtauration of the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Church, ſhould ſince be changed, or leſs at this preſent, than he ſhewed it to be during the ſaid troubles. But, ſo far is it from being ſo, that his Majeſty deſires every one may know, that he made the ſaid Peace purpoſely to try, if by means of it, he could reunite his Subjects in the Church of God, which the malice and licentiouſneſs of the times had ſeparated from it; having ſo long proved, with the hazard of his Perſon and State, and with the price of the blood of a great number of Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of his Subjects, who loſt their lives in thoſe broils, that the diſcord raiſed about Religion, and that took root in this Kingdom, during the minority of the late King his brother, and of himſelf, to the great grief of the Queen their Mother, could not be ſetled by the way of Armes, without deſtroying his ſaid Subjects, and putting his Kingdom into evident danger. Wherefore his Majeſty reſolved for Peace, when once he found that

1585. all ſorts of Perſons were tyred and afflicted by the too long continuance of thoſe ſaid Tumults, and that he wanted the means of ſupplying any longer the expences of ſo deſtructive a War. [* Which would not have come to paſs, if in the Aſſembly of the States General of this Kingdom, held at *Blois*, the Deputies who were there, had made requeſt unto His Majeſty, to prohibit abſolutely the exerciſe of the pretended reformed Religion in this Kingdom; for then that courſe would not have been decreed which was there taken and Sworn to, and which his Majeſty laboured to put in execution, with thoſe conditions which are clearly expreſſed in it. For, if it had been concluded in good earneſt to proſecute the War, care would likewiſe have been taken to provide a certain ſtock of money from time to time, to maintain it till the end, as it was neceſſary to do, and as his Majeſty inſiſted that they would; ] *and they ſhould then have had no pretence of complaint, who nevertheleſs publiſh, That every one was quickly deprived of that glympſe of good hope which appeared to them at the reſolution taken by the States; though it be neither decent nor lawful for a Subject to judge of the actions of his King, if for no other reaſon, but becauſe he is often ignorant of the ſecret cauſes that are the motives of his commands, which ſometimes are more pregnant then thoſe that are apparent, and known to every one; it not belonging to any one to do ſo, ſave onely to God the Searcher and Judge of all hearts, and of the actions of Princes, who knowes the cauſes that then forced his Majeſty to conclude Peace before any thing elſe; being certain, that if he had deferred ſo to do, this Kingdom would, in a moment, have been filled with Forraign Forces, and with diverſe Factions, and new diviſions, which would have been wonderfully prejudicial to the State. His Majeſty therefore, to prevent all the aforeſaid inconveniences, to hinder the effects of them, and to try the beſt remedies, condeſcended to the aforeſaid Peace; and not to ſettle and eſtabliſh Hereſie in this Kingdom (as is publiſhed abroad,) for ſuch a thought never entred into the mind of ſo good, and ſo Chriſtian a Prince, as is his Majeſty; who, having foreſeen, felt and proved the difficulties of War, thought fit ſo much the ſooner to conſent unto the aforeſaid Peace, to the end, that by means thereof, he might at leaſt ſatisfie his good Subjects, with that eaſe, which they expected from thoſe other points propounded and required in the Aſſembly of the ſaid States General, for the publick good of the Kingdom; Peace and concord being the principal neceſſary foundation for the eſtabliſhing of good Laws, and the reformation of manners; which buſineſſes His Majeſty hath ſince continually proſecuted, as appears by the Edicts and Conſtitutions made for that purpoſe, which he hath laboured to cauſe to be obſerved and put in execution; and if his intention hath not been fulfilled according to his deſire, it hath been very much to his grief, and it may be alſo as well through the negligence of ſome of his Officers, and through the cunning of his evil-willers; as by reaſon of the advantage and footing, which wickedneſs, corruption, and diſobedience had taken in this Kingdom, during the ſaid War. By that Peace many Cities full of Citizens and Catholick inhabitants, were freed from Soldiers that had ſeiſed upon them; and the exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion was reſtored to its being, as by the diligence and care of his Majeſty, it is brought to paſs in almoſt all the Towns of this Kingdom, wherein nevertheleſs thoſe that make profeſsion of the ſaid pretended reformed Religion, have, ſince thoſe Commotions been, and at this preſent are ſtill the ſtrongeſt, and by whom the ſaid exerciſe had till then been baniſhed, both before and ſince he came unto the Crown. Likewiſe the face of Juſtice hath appeared in them, and if not ſo fully and perfectly as might have been deſired; yet ſo, that ſometimes it hath had ſufficient ſtrength to relieve the good, and terrifie the bad. The Prelates and Clergy-men are ſetled again in their Churches, and in the poſſeſſion of thoſe goods that were taken from them. The Nobility hath been able to live ſecurely in their own houſes, without being liable to thoſe expences they were wont to make during the War, to keep themſelves from being ſuddenly ſurpriſed. The Citizen, deprived of his poſſeſſion, and wandring about the Country with his Family, is alſo entred again into his own houſe, by means of the ſaid Peace. The Merchant hath likewiſe wholly betaken himſelf again unto his Traffick, which was interrupted by occaſion of the ſaid Tumults. And the poor Peaſant, preſſed down under the weight of intolerable burthen, proceeding from the unbridled liberty of the Soldier, hath had means to breathe, and have recourſe unto his ordinary labour, to ſuſtain the poverty of his life. Briefly, there is no kind of Eſtate or Perſon, that hath not effectually ſhared in the fruit and benefit of that Peace.

And,

[* Which would not have come to paſs, if in the Aſſembly of the States General held at *Blois*, when the Deputies (inducedthereunto by his Majeſties ſervent affection to the Catholick Religion) had requeſted him utterly to prohibit the exerciſe of the pretended reformed Religion in this Kingdome, (whereupon followed the determination which was there taken and ſworn, which his Majeſty hath ſince laboured to execute) they had at the ſame time provided a certain ſtock of Money to proſecute that War unto the end, as it was neceſſary to do, and as it was motioned by His Majeſty.]

* And they would now have had no pretence of complaint, who nevertheleſs publiſh, &c. *Mem. de la Ligue.*

And, as his Majeſty hath alwayes been moſt jealous of Gods honour, and as ſolicitous of the publick good of his Subjects, as a moſt Chriſtian and truly good Prince ought to be; knowing, that the evils and calamities of a State do ſpring chiefly from the want of true Piety and Juſtice, he hath, ſince the ſaid Peace, continually laboured to ſet thoſe two Pillars up again, which the violence of the ſaid Tumults, had, as it were, overturned, and thrown to the ground: and that he might ſo do, had begun to nominate ſuch perſons to Eccleſiaſtical dignities that have cure of Souls, as were fit and capable, and ſuch as are ordained by the holy Decrees. He hath alſo invited his Subjects, by his example, to reform their manners, and to fly unto the Grace and Mercy of God by Prayer and Auſterity of life, which hath confirmed the Catholicks in the duty towards the Divine Majeſty, and moved ſome of thoſe, that were ſeparated from the Church of God, to reunite themſelves unto it. He hath alſo graciouſly taken time to hear the diſcourſes and complaints of the Clergy (after having given them leave to meet together for that purpoſe) and provided amply and favourably for them, having ſince rather eaſed then burthened them with new extraordinary Tenths, without having any reſpect to the neceſſity of his own affairs, * being very ſorry, that he could not alſo free them from the payment of the ordinary ones, having, when he came to the Crown, found them engaged for the payment of the rent of the Town-houſe of *Paris*. The ſaid Prelates and Clergy-men have likewiſe had conveniency by His Majeſties permiſſion, to call and hold their Provincial Councels, by means whereof, they have conſulted and provided for the reformation of abuſes, introduced into the Church during the ſaid Tumults; and have made many very good and holy Ordinances for the Government of it, which have been commended and approved by his Majeſty. Theſe are the fruits, and publick general advantages, which the Church of God, and the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion have reaped from the aforeſaid Peace, beſides infinite other private and particular ones, which it would be too long to recount. 1585.

[* Whatſoever is publiſhed to the contrary] *Mem. de la Ligue.*

Then, as concerning Juſtice; every one knowes the pains his Majeſty hath taken in drawing it out of the darkneſs where thoſe troubles had buried it, to ſet up the light thereof again in its firſt force and ancient ſplendor: having, by death, diſannulled thoſe Offices that were ſupernumerary, and moreover prohibited the ſale of the ſaid Offices, which the neceſſity of money had forced his Predeceſſors to introduce, without having any regard of his own wants, though they were no leſs then thoſe of his Predeceſſors. Beſides that, his Majeſty hath excluded all Pardons and * *evocations* which in times paſt were wont to be diſpatched by his own will and pleaſure, knowing, that the hope of the one gives encouragement to wickedneſs, and the too much eaſineſs of granting the other, brought a confuſion in matters of Juſtice. Moreover, His Majeſty, ſince the ſaid Peace, hath had opportunity, to ſend Courts, compoſed of the Officers of the Parliament of *Paris*, into divers Provinces of this Kingdom, to do Juſtice to his Subjects upon the place, from whence that fruit hath been gathered, which every one hath taſted, and which yet would have been greater, to the great contentment of good men, if his good intentions had been better aſſiſted by thoſe who naturally, and by the particular obligation of their Offices, were bound to do ſo. But, as the misfortune of the times hath made ſome ſo bold, as to attribute the faults of others to his Majeſty; ſo the corruption and malignity of them hath been filled with ſo much impudence and indiſcretion, that many have alſo taken pleaſure to defame his moſt holy and beſt actions, and in that manner gain themſelves credit at the coſt of his reputation: and have had ſo high a degree of boldneſs, as to interpret too too much rigour and ſeverity, that laudable reſolution he had taken, to make the Sentences and Decrees of the ſaid Courts be executed againſt Malefactors. Thus his Majeſty, having by theſe means begun to provide for the ſetting up again of theſe two Pillars, the true and onely foundations * of all Monarchy, had promiſed himſelf, that he ſhould ſettle and reſtore them abſolutely by the continuation of Peace, if God had been ſo merciful to him, as to make his Kingdom and Subjects worthy of it. Which, it appears, having been as ſoon feared, as foreſeen by thoſe, who at this preſent would ſtir up his Subjects to take Arms, but under colour of providing for both their points: They do alſo publiſh, that they have taken Armes to prevent thoſe troubles, which they ſay they feat will happen after the death of his Majeſty, about the eſtabliſhment of a Succeſſor, to the prejudice of the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion: being perſwaded (or at leaſt publiſhing that they are ſo) that

* Evocation is a transferring of cauſes from one Court to another.

* (And preſervers.) *Mem. de la Ligue.*

1585. that his Majeſty, or they that are near him, do favour the pretenſions of thoſe, who have alwayes ſhewed themſelves perſecutors of the ſaid Religion; a thing which his Majeſty prayes and admoniſhes his Subjects to believe he never ſo much as thought; for being yet (God be thanked) in the force and flower of his age, and in perfect health, as alſo the Queen his Wife, he hopes that God will give him iſſue, to the univerſal contentment of his good and loyal Subjects. And it ſeems unto his Majeſty to be too great a forcing of time and nature, and too great a diſtruſt of the mercy and goodneſs of God, of the health and life of his Majeſty, and of the fruitfulneſs of the Queen his Wife, to move ſuch a queſtion at this preſent, and after to go about to decide it by force of Arms. For, in ſtead of freeing, and curing this *Kingdome* of the evil, which they pretend to fear may one day come to paſs; for that cauſe, they go directly about to haſten the paines and mortal effects of it, by beginning a War now upon that occaſion: it being certain, that by means thereof, the *Kingdom* will be quickly filled with Forreign Forces, with Factions and endleſs diſcords, with blood, ſlaughter, and infinite murthers and robberies. And ſee now how the Catholick Religion will be eſtabliſhed, how the Clergy-man will be disburthened of Tenths, how the Gentleman will live in quiet and ſecurity in his own houſe, and how he will enjoy his Rights and Priviledges, how Cities, and the inhabitants in them will be exempt from Garriſons, and how the poor people will be free from the Taxes and Impoſitions that lie upon them. His Majeſty exhorts and admoniſhes his Subjects to open their eyes here, and not to perſwade themſelves that this War will end ſo eaſily as they give out; but to comprehend, and maturely conſider the inevitable conſequences of it, and not to ſuffer their reputation to be blemiſhed, and their Armes to ſerve for inſtruments of their Countries ruine, and the greatneſs of thoſe that are enemies of it*. For, whilſt blinded to our own good we ſhall fight againſt one another, ſuccoured in appearance, but in effect fomented by their aſſiſtance, they will reign happily, and eſtabliſh their own power. They complain alſo of the diſtribution of Offices and Honors in this Kingdom; ſaying, that thoſe are deprived of them, who have deſerved beſt in his Majeſties ſervice: a weak and diſhonourable foundation to build the ruine and ſubverſion of ſo flouriſhing a *Kingdom*, whoſe *Kings* were never conſtrained to make uſe of one more then of another, for there is no Law obliges them to do ſo, ſave that of the good of their own ſervice. Yet hath his Majeſty alwayes honoured and favoured the Princes of his Blood, as much as any of his Predeceſſors, and hath ſhewed a deſire to advance others in credit, honor, and reputation, by employing them in his ſervice: for every time his Majeſty hath raiſed Armies, or drawn Forces together, he hath committed the charge and conduct unto them, preferring them before all others; and if it be conſidered, who thoſe are that even now hold the greateſt and moſt honourable Offices in the *Kingdom*, it will be found, that they, who are ſaid to be the Authors of thoſe complaints, have more cauſe to acknowledge the goodneſs and favour of his Majeſty, than to murmur againſt him, and depart from him. But they ſay, they have onely the name of them, and that in effect they are deprived of the priviledges which belong unto their ſaid Offices, which are uſurped by others. Now, before we judge of the juſtneſs of ſuch a complaint, it would be neceſſary to ſee and touch the ground of the rights and preeminences attributed to every Office, and to conſider how, and by what perſons they have been uſed in the times of the Kings his Predeceſſors; a thing often propounded by His Majeſty, deſirous to regulate the Offices of every one, and which long ago would have been cleered and decided, if his good intention had been ſeconded and aſſiſted, as it ought to have been, by thoſe very men, that have intereſts in them. But, ſhall it be ſaid at this preſent, and left unto poſterity, that private intereſts and diſcontents were the occaſions of overturning a whole State, and of filling it with blood and deſolation? This is not the way that ought to be taken for the regulating of thoſe abuſes whereof they ſo much complain, having to deal with a moſt pious Prince, who will ever oppoſe that miſchief, and readily imbrace thoſe fitting convenient remedies which ſhall be propoſed unto him to provide againſt them.

[* Who onely will triumph, and make advantage of the publick miſeries and calamities.] *Mem de la Ligue.*

Wherefore, let Armes be laid down, let forreign Forces be ſent home to their own Countries, and let this Kingdom be free from that danger that it incurres by this Inſurrection and taking up of Armes; and, in ſtead of following that way, full of difficulties, and both publick and private miſeries and calamities, let that of reaſon and duty be ſought out, laid hold on, and followed; by means whereof the holy Church of God, an Enemy to all violence, will be more eaſily reſtored to its vigour and ſplendor,

dor, and the Nobility ſatisfied and contented as it ought to be. For which of the King's, His Majeſties Predeceſſors, hath ſhewed more love and favour to that Order then his Majeſty hath done? not having been contented to prefer it to the ancient and principal honours and dignities of the Kingdom; but hath alſo purpoſely erected and founded new ones, which he hath dedicated to the honour of the true Nobility, having excluded all other kinds of perſons from them. His Majeſty will alſo, at the ſame time, provide for the eaſe of his People, as he hath already very well begun to do, and deſireth to continue to the uttermoſt of his power. And although the Heads of this War do promiſe, that their Forces ſhall live in ſo good diſcipline, that every one ſhall commend them for it; and do alſo admoniſh the Inhabitants of Cities not to receive any Garriſons into them; yet it is already ſeen, how the Soldiers, which they have gathered together, do commit infinite outrages and villanies, and that they themſelves have put Forces into thoſe Cities and Places which they have taken, to govern and keep them at their own devotion. Beſides that, it is moſt certain, that many Vagabonds, which can do nothing but miſchief, will riſe up, as the cuſtome is, who, under the name and protection of either ſide, will commit infinite Robberies, Murthers and Sacriledges: ſo that in ſtead of putting an end to that danger, which threatens the ruine of Gods Service, and of good men, as they promiſe to do by this War, it will fill this Kingdom with all impiety and *diſſoluteneſs. They alſo publiſh, that their perſons and lives are in danger of Treachery, and that that is one of the cauſes that moves them to take up armes. None can believe ſuch an imputation can at all concern his Majeſty *by nature ſo far from any kind of Revenge, that the man is yet unborn, who can, with reaſon, make any ſuch complaint againſt him, notwithſtanding any offence whatſoever he hath received: There may eaſily be many found of this kind, who have proved the gentleneſs of his nature, and will ſerve for memorials of it to poſterity. Wherefore his Majeſty prayes, and exhorts the Heads of the ſaid Tumults and Commotions, preſently to disband their Forces, to ſend back ſtrangers, to ſeparate themſelves from all Leagues, and laying aſide all enterpriſes, as his Kinſmen and Servants, to take a perfect aſſurance of his friendſhip and good-will; which if they ſhall ſo do, he offers to continue to them, honouring them with his favour, and making them partakers of thoſe dignities which he was wont to confer upon thoſe of their quality; to reconcile and reunite themſelves with him, to provide duely and effectually for the reſtauration of Gods Service, and the publick good of his Subjects, by thoſe means which ſhall be thought moſt proper and convenient, which his Majeſty hath an infinite deſire to put in practice. He doth likewiſe admoniſh the Clergy and Gentry, his Subjects, maturely to weigh the conſequence of theſe commotions, ſincerely to embrace his intention, and to believe that his chief aim hath ever been, and ever ſhall be, to do good to all, but neither harm nor diſpleaſure to any; commanding them moſt ſtrictly, as alſo all his other Subjects, to ſeparate and withdraw themſelves from all Leagues and Aſſociations, and to reunite themſelves with him, as nature, their duty, and their own good and ſafety doth oblige them; to the end, that if theſe civil broils muſt paſs further (which he beſeeches Gods divine Goodneſs not to permit) he may be accompanied and ſupplied with their Counſel, Arms, and Aſſiſtance, for the preſervation of the Kingdom, to which is joyned that of the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Church; of their honour and Reputation, as likewiſe of their Perſons, Families and Eſtates: offering and promiſing them, if they ſhall ſo do, both the cotinuation of his favour, and reward of his ſervice and fidelity. 1585.

* Deſolation. *Mem. de la Ligue.*

* (As well by reaſon of the good and gracious uſage which they have ever received from him, as becauſe His ſaid Majeſty is,) &c. *Mem. de la Ligue.*

This was the Kings Declaration, publiſhed to anſwer that of the League; wherein he thinking it convenient, for the gravity of his Perſon, to ſum up buſineſſes in a few words, without deſcending to more particulars, endeavoured afterward to have the reaſons of the *Guiſes* punctually anſwered by perſons of great wiſdom, and no leſs eloquence, who having replied largely in writing, kindled matters in ſuch ſort, that it was much more neceſſary to come at laſt to action, then to multiply words any longer. The King endeavoured therefore, not onely to draw his Forces together in all parts, to reſiſt the attempts, and oppoſe the Army of the League that was ſo near; but alſo to diſunite, and fetch over ſome of thoſe which he thought moſt fit from the body of that Union: and becauſe the City of *Lions* was wonderfully neceſſary for his deſigns, that he might bring his Swiſſes in that way, who were excluded from *Bourgone* and *Champagne*, Provinces held by the League; he began

to

1585. to tempt the Sieur *de Mandelot*, to draw him over to his party, and had nearly engaged Secretary *Villeroy* in the business; for *Mandelot* having a Daughter both noble and very rich, there was a Treaty of Marriage begun between her and *Charles* Lord of *Alincourt*, Son to *Villeroy*, the King promising *Mandelot* the power of putting his Son-in-law into the Government of the City of *Lyons* after him; by which alliance he being freed from the suspition of being put out of his place by the Duke of *Espernon* to bring his Brother into it, and the demolishing of the Cittadel already destroyed being authorised and approved by the King, *Mandelot* seemed not to have any more occasion to adhere unto the League, being removed from those jealousies which had made him consent unto it: nor was this Treaty vain; for *Mandelot*, a man of a mild nature, and very desirous to have the alliance of one so powerful, consented to the match, and promised to give free passage to the Swisses, who were raised by the Sieur *de Fleury*, Uncle to the new Bride. The Kings perswasions prevailed also with *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, who failing of his hopes of the Government of *Provence* by the unsuccessful event of the business of *Marseilles*, but (as he said himself) seeing the Pope did not conclude to approve and protect the League, began to lend an ear to the perswasions of *Francisco Nuvo-loni* a Mantuan very conversant with him, who by *Pietro Abbot del Bene* (one very much trusted by the King) being moved with reason, and filled by his Patron with plentiful hopes, at last he resolved to write to the Duke of *Guise* and Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to renounce and take his leave of the League, alledging that he never saw the express consent and approbation of the Pope, and for all the treating that had been at *Rome* by means of Father *Mattei*, he had never been cleared in that scruple, that it was lawful in this business to take Arms against the King, who was a Catholick, legitimate and natural: by whose example many others being moved began to fall away, and particularly the Sieur *de Villers*, who having consented to the League chiefly for the veneration which he had ever born to the Catholick Religion, was unsatisfied to see that the principal aim of the Confederates was at the Kings own person; wherefore laying aside his distaste about the Castle of *Caen*, and being made amends by the Kings pardon, which he granted to him for the death of Monsieur *de Lizores*, slain by him in a single duel, he returned to the Kings obedience, and served him afterward constantly as long as he lived: but this was no more than the taking of a drop of water from the Sea; for the fury of the people was so headlong, and the concourse of the Clergy so great in favour of the League, that by continual proceedings it was more strengthened every hour. Nor were the Kings preparations of Arms very fortunate; for the Catholick Cantons of the Swisses, though at first they had consented to those Levies which were made there in the Kings Name, yet some of their Burgo-masters being corrupted with money by the League, and the rest being perswaded by the authority of *Spain*, had refused that the Levies should go forward: nay more, they had given leave to the Duke of *Guise* to raise six thousand Foot amongst them: and though the other Cantons had promised the Sieur *de Fleury* to make up the number of the ten thousand which were raising for the King, yet they desired to add this express condition, That they should only serve in their own defence, and not offend any body, being so perswaded by the rest that favoured the party of the Confederates, whereby the King foresaw, that with great expence and many difficulties he should receive but small fruit from the Levies of the Swisses, because they were restrained by those Commissions, and fought against others of the same Nation, which by so many proofs of former times he knew was always hazardous, and many times ruinous. The Forces also of the Kingdom that took his part, were very weak, because he had not that time that was requisite to effect his designs by leisure and dissimulation, and had been prevented by the sagacity and quickness of the *Guises*, wherefore, except his own dependents, and those of his Minions, all the rest were joined some to one Faction, some to the other, and those that did follow the Royal Authority, shewed themselves very slow and cold, their minds being amazed and affrighted by the bold attempt of the Confederates: nay, even some of those in whom the King confided, and that had been favoured and advanced by him, were (as we have already noted) revolted to the League, as the Sieur *de Entraques*, *St. Luc*, young *Lansac*, and many others; every one being displeased at the eminent favour and singular authority of *Espernon*. But that which more than any thing held him in suspence and trouble, was the fear of the City of *Paris*, the Head indeed of the Kingdom, but so great and so powerful an one, that which way soever it inclined, it had always pulled down the scale.

ſcale. This City was not only united with the Confederates, but in it there was alſo 1585.
a particular League practiſed by the Sieur *de Meneville*, Preſident *Nully*, *la Chapelle Martell*, the Sieur *de Buſſy*, *Hauteman*, and other Heads of the Citizens, whereby they had ſecretly armed the people, buying up Arms with great diligence from all parts, at any price, that the City might be able to revolt upon any occaſion; and moreover, if it were neceſſary, to take or ſtay the Kings own Perſon till the coming of the Army of the Confederates; toward the raiſing and maintaining whereof, particular men of the City contributed three hundred thouſand Crowns to the Duke of *Guiſe*. Theſe things being told the King by *Nicholas Poulain*, Lieutenant to the Provoſt of the Iſle of *France*, one of the Confederates, had put the King in very great perplexity of mind; for ſtaying in *Paris*, he was in great danger of receiving ſome affront by the inconſiderate raſhneſs of the people, who were poſſeſſed with a belief that he favoured and protected the King of *Navarre* and the Hugonots; and on the other ſide, going away from the City, he was certain of the revolt of it, which was hindred only by his preſence, and by the remedies which he applyed every hour; wherefore though he had called all the Souldiers of his Guards unto their colours, and choſen five and forty truſty Gentlemen, to each of which he allowed an hundred Crowns by the month, and their diet in the Court, who were always to be about his Perſon, yet lived he in very great doubt, fear and trouble, ſeeing himſelf upon ſuch an unbridled horſe as could not poſſibly be governed.

Theſe ſo weighty difficulties which on all ſides ſeemed impoſſible to be overcome, and the hope of drawing over many to the League in time unto his party, and of looſening by his wonted arts that bond which then ſeemed invincible by ſtrength, made the King reſolve to take the counſel of the Queen his Mother, and of *Bellieure*, and *Villeroy*, which was to procure delays as much as poſſibly he could; and in the end to give the League ſuch ſatisfaction as was neceſſary to divert the violence and force of the Confederates, and to endeavour by art and time to diſunite their Combination; experience having ſo often given certain proofs, that by fighting and reſiſtance, the forces and dangers both at home and abroad were increaſed; but that by yielding and complying thoſe hazards might be deferred, and thoſe imminent calamities and miſeries avoided. To this end the Queen undertook the charge of treating with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the other Princes of the League; and being attended by the Mareſchal *de Retz*, Monſieur *de Brulart* Secretary of State, and Monſieur *de Lanſac*, ſhe went to *Eſpernay* in *Champagne*, ten Leagues from *Chalons*, to confer with the Lords of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. Thither alſo came the Confederate Lords, and without further delay they began to treat of the means of an Accommodation. But the intentions of the parties were ſo different, that they could hardly come to any concluſion; for the Queen minded only the gaining of time, as well to give the King leiſure to arm and prepare himſelf, and the Swiſſes to draw near to *Paris*, as to give opportunity to thoſe engines which were ſecretly ſet on work to diſunite the League; whereas on the other ſide, the *Guiſes* taking very good heed to each of thoſe particulars, preſſed for ſpeedy expedition, either of an advantageous Agreement, or of a reſolute War: Wherefore though the Queen laboured very much both by her authority and perſwaſions, yet could ſhe obtain no more but a truce for four days, in which ſpace ſhe diſpatcht Monſieur *Myron* her chief Phyſitian to the King, to bring back his reſolution touching the Accommodation. The time of truce being expired, the Queen drew nearer, and advanced as far as *Charry*, a place belonging to the Biſhop of *Chalons*, whither the Confederate Lords came alſo to meet her: ſhe let them know, that the King by *Myron* the Phyſitian, had ſent her Order to aſſure them, that in matters of Religion he was of the ſame mind with them, and that he deſired the ſecurity of the Catholick Faith, the extirpation of Hereſie, and one only Religion and Belief in his Kingdom no leſs than they; but that to attain unto that end, he neither had ſufficient Forces, nor money enough to maintain the War in ſo many places; and that therefore they that ſhewed themſelves ſo zealous of it, ought to propound the means of gathering Armies together, and of providing for their pay and maintenance. The King hoped by this propoſition to put the Confederates in as great confuſion as he had done the Deputies at *Blois* in the ſame manner; for there was no doubt but the charges would neceſſarily fall on the Clergy, and upon the Commons, a thing contrary to the Propoſition of the League, which was to eaſe the grievances of the Kingdom; and in theſe Armies that were to be raiſed in ſeveral parts, it was neceſſary to imploy all the

1585. Nobility, to the burthen and obligation as well of their Eſtates as Perſons: wherefore it was not very eaſie for the Duke of *Guiſe* and the other Lords to reſolve this doubt, and thereupon to the great contentment of the Queen they took three days time to give their anſwer. After many conſultations, they determined at laſt to ſhun the encounter of thoſe means and advertiſements which the King required, leſt they ſhould diſcover expreſs falſhood in thoſe promiſes which they made at the propounding of the League, and draw upon themſelves the hatred of thoſe burthens and grievances which at that preſent lay upon the Kings own perſon; and therefore making uſe of both Force and Authority, they anſwered the Queen reſolutely, that it concerned not them to provide thoſe means; but that the King, who was conſcious to himſelf of his own Forces, ought to find them, and that without further delay they would preſently have a Declaration and an Edict againſt the Hugonots, ſecurity for themſelves, and a certainty that the War ſhould not be deferred; towards which they proffered thoſe Forces they had then in readineſs; or elſe they would make their Army to march whither they thought moſt convenient for the end of their enterpriſe: and indeed they diſpatched the Duke of *Mayenne* at that very inſtant with part of their Forces, and with Commiſſion to meet the Kings Swiſſes, and if he thought fit, to fight with them preſently. At this reſolute determination the Queen demanded eight days time to give the King notice of it, and to know his pleaſure; and the Duke of *Guiſe*, who had need to meet his German Souldiers, which (as he was informed) were near to *Verdun*, was eaſily perſwaded to conſent unto it. But whilſt he goes to meet them, and to take order for their coming in, the Queen watching all opportunities, imployed * *Luigi Davila* a Cyprian, who was a near attendent of hers, to work with *Franciſco Circarſſi* a Gentleman of the ſame Country, belonging to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to try if ſhe could by that means remove and ſeparate him from the combination of the Lords of *Guiſe*, which buſineſs being followed and redoubled many times whilſt the Treaty laſted, the old Sieur *de Lanſac* chief of the Queens Gentlemen was cunningly engaged in it; and on the Cardinals part, the Sieur *de Rubempre* himſelf, who being of a haughty mind, and not having that authority in the League which he thought he deſerved, began to apply his mind to a reconciliation with the King and his Party; and in the end Monſieur *de Lanſac* conferred with the Cardinal himſelf, under colour of a complemental viſit. They urged many reaſons to him; in ſubſtance, that he might take notice that he was not Head of the League, as befitted the quality of his Perſon, and the honour of his Blood, but a Subject and Vaſſal to the paſſions and affections of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the other Lords of his Family: that the buſineſs was not any intereſt at all of Religion, ſince the King having offered to give them all manner of ſatisfaction in matters of Faith, his offer was not accepted; but that it was now manifeſt and publick to all the World, that under colour of Religion they proſecuted their private ends and intereſts: that it was not fit for a man of ſo great zeal and integrity, and one that was placed in the moſt eminent dignities of the holy Church, to ſerve for a ſtale to the pretenſions of the Lords of *Lorain*, and to give colour to a moſt open Rebellion, againſt the Perſon of a King that was as well a Catholick, as legitimate and natural: But that it was much more unfit for him, being firſt Prince of the Blood, to be the inſtrument whereby the ancient Enemies of his Houſe ſhould extinguiſh the remainder of the Royal Family: That he ſhould conſider that he being old, and of an age not likely to have children, the Houſe of *Bourbon* would be quite extinct by the ſuppreſſion of his Nephews; that it ſeemed very ſtrange to every good man, that he who all the reſt of his life-time had been an Author of peace and concord, how having as it were one foot in the grave, ſhould make himſelf the Author of War, Blood, Diſcord and Inſurrection: That it would be much more acceptable to God, and much more commendable among men, that he being united with the King to the ſame holy end, ſhould endeavour to withdraw his Nephews from the way of perdition, and rather to reconcile them peaceably to the Church, than to ſuppreſs and bury them in the total ruine and deſtruction of the Kingdom: That he ſhould not doubt nor ſuſpect the reality of the Kings intentions, who both openly and privately was always a Catholick, and affectionate unto Religion; for as concerning the Hugonots, he would ſend him a blank to write what he would; ſo for his own particular, he would always honour and reſpect him as a Father, being wont to ſay, that amongſt all that great multitude of the Confederates, there was not one honeſt man but the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. Theſe Reaſons alledged and revolved in a mind full of

* *Luigi Davila* the Authors elder Brother, was favoured by the Queen-Mother, and eſteemed by the King, who made uſe of him in the managing of affairs, and of the War in thoſe times.

right

right intentions, and uncorrupted ends, were not far from effecting what they aimed at, nor from bringing him to a thought of re-uniting and reconciling himſelf to the King, by means of the Queen, whom he held in the higheſt veneration: but while he was in doubt, having as a man of no great reach nor policy, given ſome ſuſpition of it to the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, in the diſcourſes and conſultations that paſſed, the Duke of *Guiſe* was preſently recalled, whoſe ſpirit did animate the whole body, and move every member of that Union: and though by his authority he ſettled the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s reſolution; yet ſeeing that the Swiſſes advanced daily, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* had but ſmall Forces to oppoſe them, and conſidering that to make up the Pay of his German Souldiers great ſtore of money was neceſſary, to the furniſhing whereof, the Spaniards concurred not with that readineſs that he imagined; for being involved in the War of *Flanders*, they could hardly ſupply ſo vaſt an expence; and having found at laſt, that the diſuniting of the League was attempted by ſecret practices, the members whereof were already wavering, he judged that delay was his mortal Enemy as he had ever thought, and therefore deſiring to put a fair gloſs upon his taking up of Arms to juſtifie his ends, and to take away thoſe ſcruples which had been ſowed in the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s mind, and which already were not only divulged, but alſo had taken deep impreſſion in many others, he took a reſolution to propound a very plauſible offer, That he deſired nothing but an Edict againſt the Hugonots, that no other Religion but the Catholick ſhould be permitted in the Kingdom, that they ſhould be incapable of all Offices and Dignities of what kind ſoever; and that there might be an aſſurance they ſhould be perſecuted with Arms, renouncing all other ſecurity and conditions; and offering alſo himſelf to lay down all Offices and Governments poſſeſſed by him or any of his, to take away all ſuſpition of cavillous intereſts. This Propoſition wrought two wonderful effects to his advantage; one that it confirm'd the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, whoſe loſs would have taken away the greateſt foundation of the League; the other, that it brought the King to a neceſſity of accepting the Propoſition, leſt he ſhould manifeſtly put himſelf on the wrong ſide, and abſolutely alienate alſo the remaining part of the Catholicks, who were already ſomething miſtruſtful of him; and as concerning other ſecurities and advantages of his Family, he knew very well, if the King made War with the Hugonots, he muſt of neceſſity re-unite himſelf with the Catholicks, and with the Houſe of *Guiſe*, that had all the Forces in their hands; and that he muſt be ſo far from conſenting, that they ſhould lay down their Offices and Governments, that he ſhould be forced to give them yet others, and confer the chief Commands of the Armies upon them; and in concluſion, he ſaw that the whole perfection of his deſigns would neceſſarily follow upon the War with the Hugonots, and it was ſo true, that the War with the Hugonots and his Greatneſs were firmly linked together, that he was always able with marvellous opportunities to advance his own Enterprizes, in ſuch manner as no other intereſt ſhould appear outwardly, ſave that of Religion. So this laſt determination being ſet down in writing, they preſented it to the Queen the ninth day of *June*, ſubſcribed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Duke of *Guiſe*: the Queen was not much aſtoniſhed at it, having long ago foreſeen that the Heads of the League could not take a more expedient reſolution: but ſhe diſpatched away the aforeſaid *Myron* to the King with the ſame Declaration, giving him to underſtand, that it was neceſſary for him to conſent unto it in matter of Religion, to avoid the preſent danger, and to diſunite the Forces of the Confederates, for that in the execution there would afterwards be ſo many difficulties interpoſed, that time it ſelf would bring ſufficient oppoſition: but that by not conſenting to it, he ſhould aſſure himſelf, beſides the univerſal hatred and deteſtation, to be quickly oppreſſed and forced to harder conditions, ſince that the Duke of *Mayenne* was already gone to hinder the entry of the Swiſſes, and while they were retarded, the Duke of *Guiſe* making haſte to join with his Germans, would be upon his march towards *Paris* with thirty thouſand fighting men, where nothing elſe was to be expected, but the manifeſt Rebellion of the City, and the general Revolt of the whole Kingdom, which would conſtrain him to flee to thoſe places that were poſſeſſed by the Hugonots, of whoſe good will and Forces he could not aſſure himſelf. Thus the doubt of retarding the Swiſſes troubled both Parties; for on the one ſide the Queen feared the Duke of *Mayenne* would be able to ſtop them; and on the other, the Duke of *Guiſe* feared leſt he ſhould not be ſtrong enough to oppoſe them; which reciprocal fear perſwaded both Parties to conſent unto a Peace. The King having received the Declaration,

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Whilſt the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Head of the League, ſtands wavering to reconcile himſelf to the King, the Duke of *Guiſe* makes a ſpecious Propoſition of Agreement.

1585. ration, and the Council of the Queen, ſent Secretary *Villeroy* preſently unto her, and a little while after the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, to the end that the Agreement might be received and eſtabliſhed with the beſt conditions that could be. Wherefore the Queen being come to *Nemours* with the Princes of the League, they concluded upon theſe Conditions the ſeventh day of *July*.

That the King ſhould prohibit any other Religion in his Kingdom, except the Roman Catholick: That he ſhould baniſh all the Heretick Preachers out of his Confines: That he ſhould ordain that Hugonots ſhould be puniſhed with confiſcation of their Eſtates during life: That he ſhould with all ſpeed denounce a War againſt them, wherein ſuch men ſhould be made Commanders as the League could confide in: That he ſhould aboliſh thoſe Courts inſtituted in the Parliaments, and eſtabliſhed in favour of the Hugonots; and ſhould not permit that any ſhould be capable of any Place or publick Office, till he had firſt made profeſſion of his Faith, conformable to the Roman Religion: That the Duke of *Guiſe*, *Mayenne*, *Aumale*, *Mercure*, and *Elbeuf*, beſides their ordinary Government, ſhould keep the Cities of *Chalons*, *Thoul*, *Verdun*, *St. Deſire*, *Reims*, *Soiſſons*, *Dijon*, *Beaume*, *Rue* in *Picardy*, *Dinan*, and *Coneg* in *Bretagne*. That a certain number of * Harquebuzers on horſeback ſhould be paid, to be Guards for the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Guiſe*, and for the Dukes of *Guiſe*, *Mercure*, *Mayenne*, *Aumale*, and *Elbeuf*: That the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould have a hundred thouſand Crowns paid unto him, to build a Cittadel in *Verdun*; and that two Regiments of Infantry ſhould be paid which belonged to the League, under the commands of *Sacramoro Birago* and St. *Paul*: That two hundred thouſand Crowns ſhould be diſburſed to pay the German Forces raiſed by the League, with which they ſhould preſently be ſent away; and that they ſhould be forgiven and remitted one hundred and ten thouſand Ducats which they had taken of the Kings Revenue, and ſpent for the advancement of the Union. By which Capitulations it appeared plainly to thoſe that had any knowledge of the affairs that paſſed, that not compaſſion of the people to eaſe them of their Grievances had contracted the League, but the care the Great Ones had of their own ſecurity, and their deſire to ſee the party of their Enemies ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed; though the reſpect and colour of Religion was always ſtrictly joined with them; for that number of Cities and ſtrong places obtained for the ſecurity of the *Guiſes*, ſhewed plainly they had diſcovered the Kings ſecret intentions; and ſeeing that the Hugonots had their places of ſecurity, which hindred their deſtruction, they thought to obtain the like for their Party, to the end that it might be no leſs difficult to abaſe and ſuppreſs them, than it proved to be to bring the King of *Navarre* and the reſt of his party into ſubjection; and the War which they made to be reſolved on againſt the Hugonots, though it were chiefly procured to root out the Diviſions in Religion, did nevertheleſs contain alſo at the ſame time the ruine of the Princes of *Bourbon*, and of their friends and adherents.

*Theſe which the Author calls Harquebuziers on horſeback, differed from our Dragoons, in that they did ſerve both on foot and on horſeback; and it is conceived by men experienced in War, that they were the ſame with thoſe which they call Argolettiers.

The Agreement being concluded and eſtabliſhed, the Duke of *Guiſe*, with the Cardinal his Brother, and with the Cardinal of *Bourbon* went to the King to *S. More* near *Paris*, and the Conditions being confirmed, the Duke of *Guiſe*, after many demonſtrations of confidence, returned to his Governments.

Whilſt the Peace was negotiating between the King and the League, the King of *Navarre* was brought into a great perplexity, foreſeeing the certainty of that Accommodation, and that all the Forces of the Catholicks would be united together againſt him, to ſuppreſs and deſtroy his Party: He had from the firſt by means of the Sieurs *de Clervant* and *Chaſſincourt* his Agents at the Court, proffered his Forces to aſſiſt the King, exhorting him to join himſelf ſincerely with him, and to try the fidelity and readineſs of the Hugonots; and in the end had proteſted, that he could not ſtand lingring on that manner, to expect that thunderbolt of ruine which he foreſaw was provided againſt him: But the King by Letters under his own hand, and by many very effectual perſwaſions uſed to his Agents, had exhorted him to continue quiet, and not to make a greater diſturbance, aſſuring him, that he would never conſent to any thing that ſhould violate that Peace, or that could cauſe his ruine: and indeed, ſuch was the Kings intention at the firſt; but after neceſſity had brought him to ſeek for Peace with the Confederates, the King of *Navarre*, who was no unskilful Judge of buſineſſes, eaſily perceived that all that ſtorm would fall upon his Perſon and upon his Party: wherefore deſiring to make his cauſe plauſible, and his reaſons known for the furthering his other deſigns, he publiſhed a Declaration at *Bergerac* upon the tenth of *June*, wherein

The King of *Navarre*'s Declaration.

wherein bitterly complaining that he was called a relapſed Heretick, a Perſecutor of the Church, a Diſturber of the State, and a Capital Enemy of the Catholicks, to exclude him by thoſe names from the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom, he ſhewed he was conſtrained to ſatisfie the world, and particularly the Princes of Chriſtendom, but above all the King his Soveraign, and the people of *France*, that theſe were calumnies thrown upon him by his Enemies, who out of an ambition to exalt themſelves, had under pretence of taking Arms againſt him and the reſt of the Reformed Religion, proſecuted the way of bringing the State to miſerable confuſion, having in effect taken Arms againſt the King himſelf, and againſt the Crown, and contrary to the order of nature, and the Laws of the Kingdom of *France*, declared one to be firſt Prince of the Blood, and Succeſſor to the Crown, arrogating that authority to themſelves, which belonged to the States General of the Kingdom. That he could be no ways accounted a Relapſer, having never changed his opinion; for although out of a juſt fear, (which may fall into the breſt of the ſtouteſt man) and being forced by manifeſt violence, he had ſent an Ambaſſador to the Pope; yet as ſoon as ever he recovered his liberty, he had alſo declared that he had not changed his Religion; neither could he be called an Heretick, holding (by the example of many others) opinions not yet decided, and having ever offered, as he did likewiſe at the preſent, to ſubmit himſelf to the inſtructions of learned men, and to the determination of a Council lawfully aſſembled; that he was falſely ſlandered to have perſcuted the Catholicks, having always cheriſhed many of them; not only keeping them near his own Perſon, but making uſe of them in the principal Offices of his Eſtate and Family, and that he had left the Clergy-men in his own State, and in every other place where he commanded, in the peaceable enjoyment of their Revenues, and exerciſe of the Roman Religion. That if at ſeveral times he had taken Arms, he had done it without intention to diſturb the State, and always in a defenſive way, which Nature teacheth every body to do, having ſeen how inhumanely they were handled who had imbraced the Reformed Religion. That to oppoſe the perſecutions which were continually made ready againſt him, and not to treat a League againſt the King, he had ſent into *England*, *Denmark* and *Germany*, with no other aim, but to draw from thence ſome relief for the preſervation of his own liberty. That the reſolution not to give up the Fortreſſes (as they had lately been denied to the Duke of *Eſpernon*) was taken with the univerſal conſent of all his Party, becauſe not only thoſe ſuſpitions for which they were granted, were not taken away, but were at that time much increaſed, as well by the great preparations for War which were made by thoſe of the League, as by their particular earneſtneſs wherewith they demanded other ſtrong places of the King, beſides thoſe which they already held; not as they alledged to ſecure themſelves againſt thoſe of the contrary Religion, who would never have offended nor injured them, and could ſcarce defend themſelves from their evil uſage, not having ſo many places in their hands as thoſe of the Houſe of *Guiſe* had Provinces under their Government, who ſharing all the Kings favours and graces among themſelves, had commanded Armies, beſieged Cities, given Battel, diſtributed Offices at their pleaſure, and by that means had gained followers, revenged their own injuries, and managed their own intereſt at the charges of the Crown, and not with a pretext of Religion would attempt againſt the Kings Perſon, and govern the State; That every one might plainly know how unfitly they demanded new Fortreſſes for their ſecurity; yet to take away that pretence alſo from them, he and the Prince of *Conde* his Couſen, though they ought rather to endeavour to ſtrengthen, than go about to weaken themſelves, did both offer at that preſent to leave thoſe that were in their hands, as likewiſe the Governments which either of them held; provided the Lords of *Guiſe* would do the like by thoſe that they had taken, and alſo by their Governments, whereby he ſaid the opinion of that danger would be taken away, which his Enemies ſcattered abroad, that he with thoſe of the Religion would diſturb the State: But every one might eaſily judge whether it were more likely that Servants of the Family, or thoſe of the Blood ſhould have ends to diſturb it; and which of them were like to be more affectionate to their Prince; and whether Strangers could be better affected to the Kingdom of *France* than natural French-men; that whoſoever would know the difference which had ever been between his Family and that of *Guiſe*, touching the general good of the people, ſhould call to memory the things which each of them had done, and he ſhould find thoſe of the Houſe of *Bourbon* had never been Inventers of new *Gabelles*, had never injured the Nobility, nor wreſted and violated Juſtice, 1585.

1585. Juſtice, as the Predeceſſors of the Heads of the League had continually done, and with new taxes, with the ſale of Places, and with the confuſion of Offices, many whereof had been transferred into their own Houſe, others ſold in the time of *Henry* the Second, and *Francis* the Second; and with bringing in the alienation of the Temporal Revenues of Churches, had laboured to fulfil their own deſires under colour of making War for Religion. That he had never ſtirred up Wars as his Enemies had done; but had barely defended himſelf, and upon all occaſions had accepted ſuch conditions of Peace as the King had been pleaſed to give him; but that it was a thing worthy of more conſideration, that he had offered himſelf to follow the King in his important affairs, and particularly when he had been called to the Dominion of the States of *Flanders*; whereas the Heads of the League quite contrary had oppoſed the buſineſs, and had made an occaſion of ſo great glory be overſlipt, and an acquiſition of ſo great conſequence to be neglected. That though he could not with reaſon think of the Succeſſion of the Crown, becauſe of the Kings youth, to whom he wiſhed iſſue; yet could he not chuſe but be much troubled to ſee himſelf ſo unworthily dealt withal by his Enemies, who having moleſted him in his Governments, and ſeiſed upon Cities and Fortreſſes in the midſt of them, now turning themſelves againſt his Life and Honour, ceaſed not to perſecute him with malicious practiſes, to make an impreſſion in the minds of thoſe that were unexperienced, that he was unworthy and uncapable to ſucceed in the Crown; and to draw their deſigns to a concluſion, would (without taking any notice of the Kings youth) make unſeaſonable proviſion againſt thoſe accidents which they imagined might come to paſs after his death. At laſt he demanded leave of the King with all reſpect and ſubmiſſion, to give the *Lye* (as he did) to all thoſe that had injured and ſlandered him in their Declarations, excepting the Cardinal his Uncle, and offered himſelf to decide the quarrel with the Duke of *Guiſe*, he being the Head of that Party, by fighting with him ſingle, or two, ten, or twenty of a ſide, with more or leſs number, as the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf pleaſed, offering, if they were to be more than one, that his Couſin the Prince of *Conde* ſhould be with him, not deſiring in that caſe to ſtand upon any diſproportion between their qualities, ſince they were neither moved to that reſolution by ambition nor hatred, but only for the ſervice of God, to free their Lord the King and the people of *France* from thoſe miſeries which War doth neceſſarily produce, and by deciding that difference at once, to leave the Kingdom in peace, and the Kings mind in quiet, without diſturbing it any further. Wherefore he beſeeched the King to name the Field in any part of his Kingdom; and if the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould think all the Kingdom ſuſpected, he offered to go out of it into any place that might be ſecure to both parties, which the Duke himſelf might make choice of, and to end that controverſie with thoſe Weapons that were commonly uſed among Gentlemen of honour.

The King of *Navarre* endeavoured by this Declaration not only to juſtifie his Cauſe, and to blemiſh that of the Confederates; but alſo finding himſelf inferiour in ſtrength, though not at all in courage, he ſought to reduce the War to a private Duel; which if it took effect, he was ready to put himſelf upon the encounter, thereby reducing his fortune now half deſperate, by the oppoſition of ſo mighty Adverſaries, unto ſome equality: and if the offer was not accepted, he knew it would be but ſmall reputation for the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Forces of the League, and a means to draw the peoples inclination very much to him, who would praiſe his Generoſity in expoſing his own life to danger, to divert the general diſtractions of a War. But the Duke of *Guiſe* knowing the art of his Enemies, and aſpiring to deſtroy him by ſo much advantage of ſtrength, without being obliged to endanger his own life, would not anſwer the Declaration, leſt he ſhould be fain to accept or refuſe the Duel, but made ſome third perſons anſwer in many little Pamphlets, that no Lord of the Catholick party did profeſs enmity to the King of *Navarre* for private occaſions; but that what they did was for the ſafety of Religion, and their own Conſciences; wherefore it was not fit to reduce the publick Cauſe to a particular Duel, an effect very contrary to the end they had propounded to themſelves; and with other ſuch like reaſons they oppoſed thoſe alledged by the King of *Navarre*; who being advertiſed of the concluſion of peace between the King and the Lords of the League, writ Letters to the King, which were publiſhed in print, grievouſly complaining, that whilſt he to obey his Majeſties command, laid upon him by Letters under his own hand, had forborn to take Arms, or to undertake any new enterpriſe, an Agreement was eſtabliſhed with his Enemies,

with

with condition to break the Edicts of Peace already publiſhed, and (contrary to promiſe already made) again to begin the War againſt the Reformed Religion. That he earneſtly exhorted and beſought the King to conſider, that to comply with the paſſions of thoſe that rebelled againſt him, he took Arms againſt his good and faithful Subjects and Vaſſals, and that he ſhould foreſee how the deſtruction of his whole Kingdom was contained in that War which was preparing againſt him: but that if he did perſiſt to contrive his ruine, he could do no leſs by the Law of Nature than defend himſelf, and he hoped that God for the juſtneſs of his Cauſe would deliver and preſerve him from the perſecutions of men, and one day make his innocence manifeſt to the whole World. Beſides this, he writ other Letters to the Nobility, others to the People, and others to the Parliaments, excuſing himſelf, blaming the League, and labouring to make appear, that he having punctually obſerved the conditions of Peace, was now contrary to them unjuſtly aſſaulted After which Declarations, having called unto him the Prince of *Conde*, and the Mareſhal *d' Anville*, whom he knew to be no leſs perſecuted than the Hugonots, they eſtabliſhed with common conſent all that was to be done for their own defence, and the maintenance of thoſe places which they held of their party; and becauſe they already knew by ſo many proofs, that nothing was more available for their defence, than the ſupplies of men out of *Germany*, which diverted the power and forces of their Enemies into very remote places, they preſently made a diſpatch to the Proteſtant Princes, to treat and conclude a ſtrong Levy; and that charge was undertaken by the Duke of *Bouillon*, (who as in his own inheritance derived from his Anceſtors, had ſetled himſelf in *Sedan*, an exceeding ſtrong place upon the Confines of *Champagne* and *Lorain*) and by Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*, Son to the Admiral *de Coligny*, who was Governour of *Mompellier* for the Hugonots, and was now ſecretly gone out of *Languedoc* diſguiſed unto *Geneva*. 1585.

In the mean time the King, in private with his Mother and the Cabinet-Council, conſulted about the manner of executing the Agreement with the League; Secretary *Villeroy*, with whom *Bellieure* and *Ville-quier* concurred, was of opinion that the King had no better nor ſurer way to extinguiſh the combuſtions of his Kingdom, and fruſtrate the deſigns of the *Guiſes*, than ſincerely to imbrace the War with the Hugonots, to manifeſt to all the World his zeal toward the Catholick Religion, and the ill will he bore to the Calviniſts; to put Offices into the hands of the moſt flouriſhing Nobility of his Kingdom; to ſettle the form of Petitions, of granting favours, and of the diſpoſal of moneys after the old way obſerved by his Predeceſſors; and to ſatisfie their deſigns in particular, who were alienated from him out of diſcontent, becauſe they were not able to do any thing at Court: they ſhewed, that this was the way to diſfurniſh the League of all pretences, to draw the applauſe and love of the people to himſelf; who becauſe they ſaw him averſe from thoſe ends, did now adore and follow the Lords of *Guiſe* as Defenders of Religion, and Reſtorers of an indifferent equality, and of the general quietneſs; that it was neceſſary at laſt to take away that worſt Schiſm of diſcords, ſowed firſt and principally by the Hugonots, and to re-unite unto himſelf all his Subjects and Vaſſals in the ſame charity, in the ſame Religion, for the ſame unanimous univerſal end; and in concluſion, that he could neither more honourably, nor more eaſily ruine the League, than by doing well, carrying himſelf ſincerely, and ſhewing himſelf altogether contrary to what the Heads thereof had divulged of him: for by that upright manner of proceeding he might croſs more deſigns, and take away more followers from the *Guiſes* in one day, than he could do by cunning diſſimulation and politick inventions in the whole courſe of his life, though it ſhould laſt a hundred years. The Queen-Mother inclined, though warily, to this advice; for knowing her ſelf to be already reported a favourer of the *Guiſes*, and a perſecuter of the King of *Navarre*, for her Daughters ſake, ſhe would not ſhew her ſelf partial on the Catholick ſide; and being angry, though ſecretly, that the King, as it were not truſting her abſolutely, had ſent the Duke of *Eſpernon* to *Nemours*, for the concluſion of the buſineſs negotiated with the League, ſhe was very reſerved in ſhewing her opinion, perhaps doubting ſhe ſhould loſe her authority with her Son, or as ſome ſaid, deſiring to ſee him intangled in thoſe troubles, that he might once again acknowledge the helpful hand, wherewith ſhe aſſiſting in the Government with prudence and moderation, had ſo often withheld the imminent ruine of the Crown.

But the King was otherwiſe inclined, and utterly averſe from the opinion of his Councellors. The reaſons that perſwaded him to the contrary were two; one, that being

1585. being to make War in good earneſt againſt the Hugonots, it could not chuſe but be both long and difficult, it was neceſſary to put Offices into the hands of the *Guiſes*, which would increaſe their power, and gather them Dependents; beſides the glory of the Victory would be attributed to them, it being evident that they had conſtrained him by force to conſent unto the War; the other, that the Hugonot party being deſtroyed, which bridled their power, and hindred the exceſſive ſtrength of the *Guiſes*, he ſhould be left a prey unto their Force, which would then have no reſtraint; nor would they ever be without pretences to take up Arms, though that of Religion were taken away; it not being likely that ſuch ready wits, and ſuch daring ſpirits ſhould want other inventions. Theſe were the reaſons alledged by the King; but to them were ſecretly joined his moſt bitter hatred, nouriſhed a long time, and now much more incenſed againſt the Houſe of *Guiſe*, his inclination to his *Minions*, whoſe grace and power his heart would not ſuffer him to abaſe; his covetous deſire of diſpoſing the wealth and revenues of the Kingdom his own way, to ſatisfie the prodigality of his mind; and the continuation of his old reſolution to deſtroy both Factions in the end, by keeping them up againſt one another. Nor, to ſay the truth, was he much to be blamed; for having ſeen the boldneſs of the *Guiſes*, and of ſo many others their Abettors and Followers, he could not bring his mind to increaſe their Authority, and augment their Power again: and on the other ſide, to deprive himſelf of the uſe of thoſe he had bred up for his purpoſe, and of the aſſiſtance of his greateſt Confidents, with evident danger to be expoſed to their diſcretion, ſince they might eaſily find out other occaſions to proſecute the courſe of their deſigns already begun. Wherefore after ſome uncertainty, he leaned to the opinion of the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, the Marſhal *de Retz*, and the Abbot *del Bene*, (who being a Florentine by extraction, and Son to the Nurſe of *Charles* the Ninth, was by the quickneſs of his wit riſen to very great truſt and favour) reſolved in appearance to ſatisfie the Capitulations made with the League, but cunningly to interrupt and hinder the execution of them; for though he had formerly endeavoured to ſuppreſs the Hugonots, nor could their preſervation pleaſe him; yet now he would not ſeem to make War againſt them at the requeſt of others, and conſtrained by his own Vaſſals; nor ſuffer the honour and glory thereof to redound wholly to the Lords of *Guiſe*.

1 There ariſeth ſuch a diſcord between the Duke *d' Eſpernon* and Secretary *Villeroy*, as in proceſs of time produced many evil effects.

This Counſel had not only an unfortunate event, (as for the moſt part thoſe actions uſe to have, which go in the new deceitful paths of ſubtil inventions out of the beaten road) but it had alſo a difficult and unlucky beginning; for from it there preſently aroſe a difference and diſtruſt even amongſt the Kings Counſellours themſelves; the Duke of *Eſpernon* jealous of his Maſters favours, and deſirous to hold faſt his own greatneſs, beginning to hate and perſecute Monſieur *de Villeroy*, by whom he had his firſt beginnings and inſtructions in the Court, and with whom he had till then lived in very great friendſhip; taxing him to have been corrupted with money and promiſes by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and that he held ſecret intelligence with him, and therefore was author of that advice, which perſwaded the King to extirpate the Hugonots, to reduce matters of Government to their ancient form, and to re-unite himſelf ſincerely with the Catholicks of the League; which ſignified nothing elſe but the abaſing of the Greatneſs and Authority of the Favourites. And that diſtaſte indeed took birth from the time that the Duke had hindred the marriage of *Alincourt*, *Villeroy*'s Son, to *Madamoiſelle de Maure*, a very rich Heir of that Family, to match her with a Kinſman of his own called Monſieur *de Bellegarde*, Son to Monſieur *de Termes*; for which cauſe *Alincourt* being offended, ſided with the Duke *de Joyeuſe*, and by him was made Cornet of his Company of *Gens d' Arms*; and afterwards that diſcontent was continued in the Duke of *Eſpernon*, by having ſeen the King approve of the demoliſhing of the Citadel at *Lions*, at the perſwaſions of *Villeroy*, (as he ſaid) though indeed it was to draw the Sieur *de Mandelot* to his Party: Yet theſe reciprocal diſtaſtes had been but ſecret, and ſome hope there was they might wear away, till upon occaſion of this advice they began to diſcover themſelves, and it paſſed ſo far, that the Duke of *Eſpernon* not only began to hate the High Chancellour *Chyverny*, and the Sieur *de Ville-quier*, the Kings old Favourites, and well-deſerving Servants; but he began alſo to ſow ſuſpicions of the Queen-Mother, as though by ancient inclination ſhe were affectionate to the Lords of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and ſought by fomenting the Commotions of Civil War, to keep the liberty of her Son in a perpetual Wardſhip, that being forced by ſuch ſtreights and difficulties, he might make uſe of her for the Govern-

Government and maintenance of his Kingdom. Theſe jealouſies and that diſcord breaking forth in that conjuncture, which required union and concord, in proceſs of time made the King loſe a great part of his beſt and wiſeſt Servants, and neceſsitated a great many others to incline to favour the Duke of *Guiſe*, by reaſon of their hatred to *Eſpernon*, and their deſire to ſee him abaſed; and which imported moſt of all, they were the cauſe that the King gave not ſo much credit as he was wont to the Counſels of his Mother; and that made her often to hold her peace, and often to comply againſt her own opinion, leſt ſhe ſhould alienate her Son utterly from her. 1585.

The Kings Edict againſt the Hugonots.

But the King ſpinning on the thred of his deſign, appeared ſolemnly on the nineteenth of *July* in the Parliament, and cauſed a decree to be publiſhed, wherein, revoking all other Edicts, made at ſeveral times, in favour of the Hugonots, he prohibited any other Religion, except the Roman Catholick, in all Towns and places of his Kingdom; he baniſhed all the Preachers and Miniſters of the pretended reformed Religion out of his confines, within a moneth after the publication, and commanded, that all his Vaſſals ſhould, within the term of ſix moneths, conform themſelves to live according to the Rites of the holy Church, and to make publick profeſſion of the Catholick Faith; or if they would not do ſo, they ſhould depart the Kingdom, and be effectually gone out of his Confines within the ſaid term; which ſix moneths being expired, the Hugonots ſhould be proceeded againſt with capital puniſhments, and confiſcation of their Eſtates, as Hereticks and Enemies of the publick Peace; and thoſe of the aforeſaid Religion ſhould be declared incapable to attain to, or hold any Degree, Office, or Dignity in the Kingdom; that all *Chambres mi-parties* and *tri-parties* ſhould be taken away, which had been eſtabliſhed by the Edicts of Peace in their favour; and that they ſhould reſtore all places, granted to them for their ſecurity, and give them up without diſpute or delay into the Kings obedience; that all Princes, Peers, Officers of the Crown, Parliaments, Governors, and other Miniſters, ſhould be obliged to ſwear to the performance of this Decree, which ſhould be irrevocable, and perpetually to be obſerved. At the Kings coming out from the Parliament, he was received by the People with joyful cries, to ſhew their ſatisfaction and contentment at the Edict which had been publiſhed; but he, with a troubled countenance, ſeemed to take ſmall delight in thoſe Acclamations, which were made to flatter him out of ſeaſon; and it was obſerved by many, that contrary to his ordinary affability, he neither daigned to return any ſalutation to the *Provoſt des Merchands*, nor to the other Heads and Officers of the People of *Paris*; which he doing, to ſhew he cared little for their volubility and inconſtancy, and becauſe he would do nothing to comply with others, gave matter to the *Guiſards* to exclaim, that inwardly he favoured the Hugonots, and that by meer force he was drawn againſt his own *Genius*, by the zeal and induſtry of the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, to denounce War againſt them.

The Hugonots Anſwer to the Kings Edict.

The King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Mareſcal *d' Anville* being met together at St. *Paul*, anſwered the King's Edict with a new proteſtation; and ſhewed, that this was an unjuſt perſecution, cauſed by them who had ſo often diſturbed the Peace; and that it was neither the ſincere will of the King, nor of the Queen his Mother, whoſe clemency and upright intentions were known to all; and that the King having formerly declared all thoſe to be Rebels, who took up Arms without his Commiſſion; the Lords of *Guiſe* were fallen into that offence, having taken Cities, and done acts of hoſtility, not onely againſt the Orders, but even againſt the Perſon of the King himſelf; and that therefore they knowing them to be, and uſing them as Rebels, had taken Arms againſt them, their Adherents, and Accomplices, for the defence of their lawful King, and of the Crown, for the ſafety of their own lives, and liberty of their Conſciences, receiving all thoſe into their protection who would ſtay peaceably at their own houſes, without lending any conſent to that Conſpiracy, although they were of the Roman Religion.

I remember, that when this Proteſtation was brought unto the King, and divulged in *Paris*, *Louis* Sieur *de Lanſac*, an old Cavalier, full of experience of things paſt, diſcourſing in the *Louvre* of thoſe preſent affairs, with his wonted eloquence, and the curioſity of his hearers, ſaid openly, without any reſpect unto the League, That the Hugonots had at laſt gained the Victory: for whereas at firſt they were cryed out upon for diſturbers of the Kingdom, ſurprizers of Cities, ſtirrers up of the People, and Enemies of the ſupreme Prince; now they, with reaſon, did object the ſame things to the Catholicks, and convince them of the ſame crimes; which were ſo much the leſs ex-

1585. cuſable in the League, by how much they were wont, more then all others, to exclaim and make a noiſe about the Inſurrections and Conſpiracies of the Hugonots: and, if they deſerved to be blamed, for having contracted a League with the Engliſh, the perpetual Enemies of *France*; the Catholicks did not deſerve to be praiſed for having made a Confederacy with the Spaniards: That the King of *Navarre* was a better Penman then was neceſſary for a Soldier; but, that if to his preſent reaſons, he had added the declaring of himſelf a Catholick, he would have made the League be utterly condemned as rebellious and ſeditious.

But neither the King of *Navarr*'s Reaſons, nor the opinions of the wiſeſt men, did cool the univerſal ardor of the People, and particularly of the Pariſians, who were ſet upon the ruine of the Hugonots: rather they began to blame the King, ſaying, that the term of ſix months was too long and favourable, deſiring to ſee the War kindled, and begun without delay; which being known unto the King, who was deſirous to put them out of that fantaſtical humour, and make them ſee they labour'd for their own diſadvantage; upon the eleventh day of *Auguſt* he ſent for the *Prevoſt des Merchands*, the two firſt Preſidents of the Parliament, and the Dean of the Cathedral of *Paris* unto the *Louvre*, and particularly deſired the Cardinal of *Guiſe* to be there preſent. As ſoon as they were come together, he began openly to expreſs great joy and ſatisfaction, that he was ſo well adviſed; and that after having had patience ſo long time, at laſt, moved by the counſel of his ſervants, eſpecially of thoſe that were there preſent, he had recalled the Edict of Peace formerly eſtabliſhed with the Hugonots: but if he had been a great while reſolving, it had not been for want of affection toward the Catholick Religion; but becauſe having ſo often proved the difficulties of War, he could not, at the very firſt imagine, that this laſt reſolution could be more eaſily executed then the reſt; that that conſideration had ſo long withheld him, and did ſo ſtill, foreſeeing the great inconveniences this War would bring to the State in general, and to every one in particular. yet nevertheleſs ſeeing himſelf favoured and accompanied by ſo many perſons, of whoſe fidelity he was aſſured, and knowing they perſevered ſo cheerfully to the execution of that work, he rejoyced at it, and alſo gave them thanks, praying them to examine with him the beſt means of bringing that advice, which they themſelves had given him unto a happy iſſue; that therefore he repreſented unto them, what Forces he did intend to raiſe, and with what foundation that War ought to be begun; that he would have three Armies, one in *Guienne*, another near his own Perſon, and the third to hinder forreign Forces from entring into the Kingdom, which (whatſoever ſome would perſwade him) he knew certainly were already prepared to march: that it would not be time to think of the War, when the enemies were upon them, nor to make peace when they had made themſelves the ſtrongeſt; that he had alwayes had great difficulties in breaking the Edicts of Peace, but he found greater difficulties in beginning the War; and therefore, that every one ſhould think well what they had to do, and that it would be too late to cry out for Peace, when the Mills of *Paris* were on fire; that for his own part, though he had received the counſel of others, againſt his own opinion, yet was he reſolved to ſpare nothing that belonged to him, and that he was ready to ſtrip himſelf to the very ſhirt, for the maintenance of that War; that ſince they were not content with the Agreement of Peace, it was needful they ſhould aſſiſt him in the expences of the War; that he would not ruine himſelf alone, and that it was fit every private perſon ſhould bear his part of thoſe incommodities, which before he had felt alone; and turning toward the firſt Preſident, he commended him very much for his great affection toward the Catholick Religion, which he had well obſerved in a long eloquent Speech he made when the Edict was revoked, but that it was reaſonable, he and all his Company ſhould conſider the neceſſity of Affairs, which were ſuch, as being forced to extraordinary courſes, he muſt be fain to leave the ordinary ones; and therefore intreated them, there might be no more mention made to him of their penſions, which he ſhould not be able to pay as long as the War continued: then turning towards the *Prevoſt des Merchands*, he told him, that the people of his City of *Paris* had ſhewed him great demonſtrations of joy for the breaking of the Edict of Peace, that therefore it was fit they ſhould aſſiſt him in the execution of that, which they had made him to approve of; and commanded him to call a Councel of the Citizens the next day after, and there to tell the people, that they were not to expect the * Revenues of the Town ſhould be paid any more whilſt the War laſted, (that was a kind of Bank

The King calling the Heads of the City of *Paris* together, demands moneys for the War, which the Catholicks laboured for againſt the Hugonots.

* This particular is not in the French Original of the Kings Speech, which is in a Book called *Memoires de la Ligue.*

Bank which had been erected by the King in the late occurrences, to have money at the rate of ten in the Hundred; ) and more, that he ſhould lay an impoſition upon the City of Two hundred thouſand Crowns, which he ſaid he ſtood in need of to begin the firſt Month; for the maintenance of the War would amount to Four hundred thouſand Crowns a month. In the end, he turned toward the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, ſaying, with ſomething an angry countenance, that for the firſt moneth he hoped he ſhould be able to do well enough without the help of the Clergy, ſearching to the bottom of all particular mens purſes; but for the other moneths, as long as the War endured, he purpoſed to raiſe moneys upon the Church; and that in ſo doing he thought he ſhould not do any thing at all againſt his Conſcience, nor would ſtand upon any leave or authority from *Rome*, for they were the Heads of the Clergy who had put him upon that buſineſs; wherefore it was reaſonable they ſhould bear part of the charge; in concluſion, that he was reſolved every one ſhould bear his ſhare, the *Nobility* and the Kings Revenues having already been ſufficiently burthened. There he held his peace to hear their anſwers; and when he found they made ſome difficulty, he cried out with an angry voice, *It had been better then to have believed me, and to have enjoyed the benefits of peace and quietneſs, then ſtanding in a Shop, or in a Quire, to determine Councels of War: I am very much afraid, that going about to deſtroy the* * Preſche, *we ſhall put the* Maſs *in great danger: But howſoever deeds are more needful here than words.* And in that manner he retired into his Chamber, leaving them all in trouble for fear of their purſes, who had been promoters of that War.

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A ſaying of *Hen.* the third.

* The Hugonot Sermons.

But neither did this take off the edge of the people, ſtirred up continually by their Preachers; and the *Guiſes* being a far off, murmured that the War would never be begun, to recover thoſe places which were poſſeſſed by the Hugonots: Wherefore the King, leſt he ſhould deſtroy all that was built up, and be brought again to thoſe difficulties which he had overcome already, began to think of drawing an Army together to be ſent into *Guienne*. He was exceedingly vext and troubled in his mind, that he muſt be fain to chuſe Commanders for that enterpriſe at the pleaſure of the League; conſidering, that, beſides putting his own Forces into other hands, all the good ſucceſs of it would be publickly attributed to the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, who, without doubt, deſired to be Generals of thoſe Armies themſelves: but as a Prince, who, by the ſharpneſs of his wit, would alwayes find an evaſion in the hardeſt and moſt difficult buſineſſes, after he had, for many dayes, turned the matter on every ſide, he ſent *Guy* Sieur *de Lanſac* to the Duke of *Guiſe*, to know his intention about thoſe that were to command the Armies; who, after long conſultation, reſolved that the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother, ſhould command the Army that was to march into *Guienne* againſt the King of *Navarre*; and he reſerved to himſelf the charge of keeping the Confines, and hindring the paſſage of the Proteſtant forces of *Germany*, thinking that to be the more difficult enterpriſe, and it concerning him verymuch to be near the Court, to frame his reſolutions according to thoſe occurrences which are often wont to happen unexpectedly.

The King having had this anſwer, reſolved that the Mareſcal *de Matignon*, of whoſe fidelity he might confidently aſſure himſelf, ſhould command in *Guienne*, as Lieutenant of that Province, under the Duke of *Mayenne*; that the Mareſchal *de Byron* ſhould go with Forces to make War in *Xaintonge*; and that the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, with an Army, ſhould march into *Gaſcogne*, Provinces ſo near, that the Duke of *Mayenne* would be encompaſſed on every ſide by thoſe Armies; and becauſe about that very time happened the death of Monſieur *de Angouleſme* Grand Prior of *France*, the Kings Baſtard Brother, who was Governor of *Provence*, he conferred that Government upon the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and reſolved to ſend an Army thither with him againſt the Hugonots; deſigning, by that means, not onely to have many Armies on foot, commanded by his Confidents and Favourites; but alſo retarding the Duke of *Mayenne*'s progreſs, by making him want Money, Ammunition, and Victual, that the honor of thoſe actions might fall upon them that were neareſt to him. But not to give occaſion of new complaints and murmurings, the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Army was prepared firſt of all; and yet to delay the proceedings of it, he firſt ſent three Ambaſſadors to the King of *Navarre* to endeavour his converſion, which were the Cardinal *de Lenon-Court*, one antiently bred up in his Family, the Sieur *de Poigny* Knight of the *St. Eſprit*, and Preſident *Brulart*, who went but a few dayes before the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Army; whereupon the Dutcheſs of *Uzes*, a Lady of an excellent wit, taking occaſion to jeſt, told the King, that the ſtate of the King of *Navarre* was now at

Monſieur *Angouleſme* Grand Prior *France* being dead, the King confers the Government of *Provence* upon the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

1585. the very laſt gaſp, and that he would certainly be converted now for fear of dying without repentance, ſince that after the Ghoſtly Fathers, the Miniſter of Juſtice went to put the Sentence in execution.

The Ambaſſadors had Commiſſion to excuſe the breach of the Edict of Peace, with many ſpecious reaſons, to exhort the King of *Navarre* to return to the obedience of the Catholick Church, to move the reſtoring of thoſe places they held into the Kings hand, to come and live near his Perſon, and remove all occaſions of the preſent War; and all this onely to ſeek occaſions to delay the beginning of the War. The King of *Navarre* more reſolute then ever not to return to the Priſon of the Court (as he called it) whilſt the Lords of the Houſe of *Guiſe* had more Forces and Adherents then he had: and ſeeing himſelf in ſo weak a condition, that it was neceſſary for his defence to make ſhew of not being afraid, after having, with great ſubmiſſion, given the King thanks for the care he had of his Salvation, and after having modeſtly complained of the breach of the Edict, in a time, when he, in all reaſon, ſhould have believed, that Armes would rather have been imployed againſt the Seditious Abettors of the League, then againſt him who was moſt obſervant of the Kings commands, and of the Articles of Peace; he began very gravely, not onely to condemn the perverſe Ambition of the Heads of the League, in contending about the Kings Succeſſion during his life, but alſo the poorneſs of the Duke of *Guiſe*, in not accepting his Challenge, which might have ended the differences and enmities between them hand to hand, without troubling the King, and diſturbing the whole Kingdom: and concluded finally, that as he would ever willingly ſubmit himſelf unto a lawful Councel, and the inſtructions which ſhould be ſincerely given him by learned men; ſo neither did it ſtand with his Conſcience, nor with his honor, to be brought to Maſs by force, hoping that God would protect his innocence, as he had miraculouſly done in former times.

At the departure of the Ambaſſadors, the Army advanced to enter *Guienne*, the War beginning to grow hot in every place; for the Heads of the League, deſiring to ſee the deſtruction of the Hugonots, eſpecially of the Princes of *Bourbon*, made Spiritual Armes be joyned with Temporal ones, thinking, by that means, to haſten their utter ſuppreſſion. Pope *Gregory* the XIII^th^ died this year, who, of a gentle nature, and averſe from violent courſes, had never conſented either to the open protection of the League, or to the condemning of the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*: But being ſucceeded by *Felici Peretti*, a Frier of the Order of S. *Francis*, Cardinal of *Montalto*, called afterward *Sixtus Quintus*, a man of a fierce violent nature; the Cardinal of *Pelleve*, Father *Mattei*, and the other Agents of the League, ceaſed not to ſollicit and perſwade him to take the Confederates into open protection, and to Excommunicate the Princes of *Bourbon*; to which incitements he conſented eaſily, through his own inclinations, as one who having been an Inquiſitor a great part of his time, was, by cuſtom, grown a bitter enemy to thoſe, that were of different opinions from the Church of *Rome*; wherefore, in a Conſiſtory held this year on the ninth day of *September*, he declared the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* to be relapſed into Hereſie, excommunicated, and made incapable of any Succeſſion, eſpecially that of the Kingdom of *France*, and deprived them of the States they poſſeſſed, abſolving their Vaſſals from their Oath, and Excommunicating thoſe that ſhould obey them for the time to come. As this Declaration cauſed great joy in thoſe of the League, perſwading themſelves, that it had wholly excluded thoſe Princes from the Crown; ſo did it pierce the King very deeply, without whoſe privity it had been propoſed in the Conſiſtory, ſubſcribed by many Cardinals, poſted up and publiſhed. But moſt part of the French very much troubled at this unexpected Declaration, calling to mind what had been done by *Charles* the Ninth, when the *Monitory* was made to the Queen of *Navarre*, and doubting that the priviledges of the Gallique Church would be violated and trod under foot, ſtood expecting what the King would do; who, being tied up by the condition of preſent affairs, leſt he ſhould confirm that ſuſpition which was conceived of him, that he favoured the Hugonots, and gave new occaſions and new pretences to the Lords of *Guiſe*, reſolved to diſſemble the buſineſs, although all the Parliament together preſenting themſelves unto his Majeſty, were very earneſt to have the *Bull* torn in pieces, and thoſe puniſhed who had ſollicited and procured it; to which requeſt the King anſwering, that he would think upon it, the matter was paſt over in ſilence, and the *Bull* was neither accepted nor publiſhed

*Gregory* XIII. dies, in 1585. *Sixtus Quintus* ſucceedeth.

*Sixtus Quintus* on the ninth of *September* 1585. Excommunicates the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, declaring them incapable of ſucceſſion.

publiſhed in the Parliament, but onely divulged in many places of the Kingdom, by the Adherents of the League, and the Catholick Preachers.

The King of *Navarre* being advertiſed of the Popes Declaration, did not onely procure his Appeal to be poſted up in *Rome* it ſelf, as it was upon the ſixth of *November* in the night; but writ to all the States of the Kingdom of *France*, complaining to every one of them in particular of the injury which he reputed to have been done unto him, and exhorted them not to ſuffer the rights of the ſucceſſion of the Crown of *France* to be decided in the Conſiſtory of *Rome*. Many Volumes were written againſt, and in favour of this *Bull*, by the chiefeſt wits of *Europe*; the reaſons whereof would be too long to inſert into the compendious Narration of this Hiſtory; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the noiſe that aroſe from the thundering of theſe Spiritual Weapons, within a few dayes were drowned by the loud claſhings of temporal Arms.

The King of *Navarr* makes the Bull of *Sixtus* ainius to be anſwered, and the Anſwer ſet up in *Rome*.

*The End of the Seventh* BOOK.

THE

1585.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The EIGHTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*IN the Eighth Book is described the War against the Hugonots in* Guienne; *the defeat of the Prince of* Conde; *the weak proceedings of the Duke of* Mayenne *General of the Kings Army*; *the King of* Navar's *defence*; *the Mareschall* de Byron's *advancing into* Xaintogne *with another Army*; *the siege of* Maran. *The King sets forth two other Armies, one under the Duke of* Joyeuse *in* Auvergne, *the other under the Duke of* Espernon *in* Provence; *he himself goes to* Lyons. *The Protestant Princes of* Germany *raise a mighty Army to relieve the Hugonots*; *they send an Embassie unto the King of* France, *which increases their discontents, and hastens the taking up of Armes. The King resolves again to try if he can perswade the King of* Navarre *to turn Catholick, and come to Court*; *he sends the Queen-Mother into* Poictou *to treat with him about it: they of the League are displeased thereat, and murmur highly, and from that occasion the union of the Parisians is fomented, who provide and arm themselves secretly*; *they plot to surprise* Boulogne *in* Picardy, *but the business is discovered, and the Town saved, they think to seise upon the King himself, but dare not venture to do it*; *and he being informed of it looks to himself, they run for assistance to the Duke of* Mayenne *at his return to* Paris, *but he refuseth to consent to it, and departs. In the mean time, the Duke of* Guise *being up in Armes in* Bourgongne *and* Champagne, *takes* Ausonne, *and* Rocroy, *and besieges* Sedan. *The Queen-Mother meets with the King of* Navarre, *but without effect*; *whereupon she returns to* Paris. *The King seeing the obstinacy of that Prince, makes a new Protestation, not to tolerate the Hugonots any longer: He unites himself with the Catholick League, to oppose the German Army: He sends the Duke of* Joyeuse *into* Poictou *against the King of* Navarre, *who coming unexpectedly, cuts off two Regiments of the Hugonot Infantry. The Duke of* Guise *draws his Army together, to advance against the Germans in* Lorrain; *the King levies Swisses, and raises mighty Forces for the same purpose. The Count of* Soissons, *and*

*and the Prince of* Conty *go over to the King of* Navarr's *party. The Duke of* Lorain *united with the Duke of* Guiſe, *oppoſeth the Entry of the Germans into his Country; they meet at* Pont S. Vincent, *but give not Battel: the Germans paſs on into* France, *the Duke of* Guiſe *followeth them; and the King with his Army comes forward, to hinder them from joyning with the King of* Navarre, *who advancing in the mean time to meet the Duke of* Joueuſe, *paſſes the River* Drongne; *the Armies face one another at* Coutras, *and fight with all their Forces; the Duke of* Joyeuſe *loſeth the Battel and his life. On the other ſide, the Duke of* Guiſe *fights with the Germans at* Villemory *and* Auneau, *and makes a great ſlaughter of them; the King following the Victory comes up cloſe to the Enemies Army; the Swiſſes yield themſelves unto him, and the remainder of the Germas diſband, and betake themſelves to flight; they are followed and defeated in many places. The Duke of* Guiſe, *in revenge, deſtroys the County of* Mombelliart: *the Sieur* de la Valette, *and Colonel* Alfonſo Ornano *do great execution upon the Hugonots in* Dauphine. 1585.

GReat was the hope the Lords of *Guiſe* conceived, that the Princes of *Bourbon* proſecuted with ſo many plots, and ſo ſtreightly beſet on every ſide, would at laſt ſink under the perſecution of the League; and that the Hugonot party being deſtroyed, and brought to nothing, the Catholick Religion would be left alone in the Kingdom, and their old wonted power alone in the Court: but, no leſs was the conſtancy wherewith the King of *Navarre*, (unanimouſly followed by the other Lords of his party) ſtood upon his defence; and his condition, which before was wont to be hard and dejected, as it were gathering ſtrength from the aſſaults of the Enemies, ſeemed, in a manner, to riſe again, to correſpond at laſt with the greatneſs of his courage, and the eſtabliſhment of his deſigns. For his generous reſolution of challenging the head of the League to a duel, and of proffering, with the danger of himſelf, to end the miſeries of the Kingdom, had won him the general favour, and applauſe; and the excommunication at *Rome*, though in ſome ſort it had confirmed, and approved the League, which had never been openly received into Protection by Pope *Gregory*, and though it had encreaſed the ſcruples of many mindes; yet on the other ſide, it had wrought a reſentment in the Parliaments; and in many men of the *long Robe*: and which imported moſt, had alienated and diſpleaſed the minds of many Prelates; thoſe as jealous of the greatneſs of the Crown, the ſucceſſion whereof they held ought to be decided by the Aſſembly of the States-General of the Kingdom, and not to depend upon the Arbitrement of the Court of *Rome*; theſe, as defenders of thoſe Priviledges, which they pretend do belong unto the *Gallique Church*, preſerved (as they ſaid) with great conſtancy, by the care and diligence of their predeceſſors; ſo that the perſons of the Princes of *Bourbon*, were become more acceptable to many, and their reaſons leſs diſfavoured, which, in former times, were wont bitterly to be hated, and univerſally abhorred To theſe was added the favour of the Kings *Minions*, who, being ſharply perſecuted by the League, and open Enemies to the *Guiſes*, were forced, by neceſſity, to take part with the King of *Navarre*, and with their advice, counſel, and aſſiſtance, to withſtand his danger as much as they were able, and contrive many means to ſtrengthen and uphold him; Nor did he fail, either by Writings to juſtifie his Reaſons to all the ſeveral *Orders*, or by actions to prepare for his defence; but with an unwearied mind, and body, drew Forces from all parts, fortified his ſtrong places, and ſtored them plentifully with Victual, provided Artillery by all poſſible means, furniſhed himſelf with ammunition, gathered money, ſollicited the Nobility, armed, and exerciſed the Infantry, and, without taking any reſt, had his eye ſtill intent upon all thoſe things which were needful to ſuſtain the encounter of ſo great a power.

*De Robbe Longue.*

The Duke of *Mayenne* marched towards the River *Loire* with his Army, conſiſting of 500 *Gens d'Arms*, 1500 *Reiters*, 400 light Horſe, and 5000 Foot: the Mareſcal *de Byron*

1585. *Byron* moved alſo towards thoſe parts, (but by ſeveral wayes) with his Forces, which were appointed to make War about *Rochelle*; and *Claude* Sieur *de la Chaſtre*, with the Soldiers raiſed in *Berry*, and *Sologne*, came along the Bankes of the *Loire* to joyn with the Duke of *Mayenne*; but *Emanuel* Duke *de Mercœur* Governor of *Bretaign* was advanced before them all with 800 Horſe, and 1500 Foot of that Province, and entred already into thoſe parts which were held by the Hugonots in *Poictou*.

The War is begun again between the Catholicks and Hugonots.

On the other ſide, the King of *Navarre*, after he had conſulted with the Prince of *Conde*, and the Mareſcal *de Anville*, at *St. Paul de Cade-jous*, having drawn thoſe Forces that followed him into one body, had ſetled himſelf to defend *Guienne*, where the greateſt weight of affairs was like to fall, and had ſent the Prince of *Conde* into *Xaintonge*, that by means of his adherents in that Country, and the help of the Rochelers, he might endeavour to fortifie as many places as was poſſible, and take as many others as he could, to make the greater reſiſtance, and give the greater hinderance to the proceedings of the Enemy. With the Prince of *Conde* were the Duke *de la Tremouille*, who, of a voluble nature, was newly turned to the Religion, and party of the Hugonots, the Sieur *de Rohan*, a Lord of great note in *Bretaigne*, and a near Kinſman to the King of *Navarre*; the Count *de la Roche-fau-cault*, the Sieur *de Clermont* of *Amboiſe*, Monſieur *de St. Gelais*, who was Camp Maſter General; and many other Lords, and Gentlemen of thoſe parts, with whom he was ſcarce gone from *S. Jehan de Angely*, to viſit the places in *Poictou*, when he received intelligence, that the Duke of *Mercœur* was already paſt *Fountenay*, and came on towards him plundering and burning the Country; wherefore, deſirous in the firſt encounters of the War to ſhew his face to the Enemy, and to give a bold proſperous beginning to future things, he advanced preſently whither he was guided by the cry and flight of the poor Country people. But, the Duke of *Mercœur* being advertiſed from many places of the Prince's coming, and knowing himſelf too weak to venture further into the Enemies Country, which was all up in Arms againſt him, reſolved to retire to *Fountenay*, a place belonging to the Catholicks, and there, as in a ſecure ſtation, to ſtay for the Kings Armies, which were marching that way. But that intent of his was fruſtrated; for they that commanded *Fountenay*, being ill-affected to the League, excuſing themſelves that they had no Order from the King to receive him into the Town, ſhut the Gates againſt him at his arrival, and he, with great danger and incommodity, was forced to quarter in the Suburbs called *les Loges*, receiving no other relief from the Townſmen, but a very ſmall quantity of victual. Not many hours after the Prince came up, reſolved to fight, and ready to fall upon the Enemy; preſently they began to skirmiſh furiouſly, the Catholicks having the advantage of the place, and the Hugonots of number; but the fight having laſted till night, ſucceſsfully redoubled by the Hugonots, and no leſs conſtantly ſuſtained by the Catholicks; and the Duke *de Mercœur* conſidering, that not being aſſured of thoſe within the Town, he was in great danger of being defeated the next day, determined to ſave himſelf with expedition, and raiſing his Camp in the moſt ſilent time of the night, without giving any notice of it by Drum or Trumpet, began to march with all ſpeed toward the *Loire*, and that with ſuch a general diligence, that they would not allow themſelves time to eat that day, marching on ſtill in order to recover ſome ſecure place: and yet being purſued by the Prince with his Cavalry, he was fain to leave many of his Soldiers behind him, and not onely to abandon the booty they had taken, but alſo moſt part of their Carriages a prey unto the Enemy.

The Duke of *Mercœur* being chaſed away, as the Prince returned to thoſe places that were of his party, he had notice, that many Catholick Gentlemen united together, and not yet advertiſed of the ſucceſs, were coming up to joyn with the Duke; wherefore, without loſing time, or giving them leaſure to be informed of it, he haſted toward them with ſo great ſpeed, that being ſuddenly overtaken, they were not able to make much reſiſtance, but ſome of them were killed upon the place, and ſome being taken priſoners, freed themſelves afterwards, with a promiſe, not to bear Arms againſt the Princes for a certain time. The Prince encouraged with this happy ſucceſs, purpoſed to aſſault the Iſles and Caſtles near *Rochel*, to reduce all that quarter to his devotion, and have more Field-room to ſuſtain the War; wherein he had ſo proſperous a fortune, that having every where routed thoſe (with great ſlaughter) that came to oppoſe him, ſeiſing upon all the Forts that were near, and taking all the paſſes thereabouts, he was ſo much increaſed in courage, that he reſolved to beſiege *Bronage*, wherein was the Sieur

*de*

*de St. Luc*, one of the League, (with no contemptible number of Infantry) and some other Gentlemen of the Country. The Rochellers consented to this Enterprise, both for the profit and reputation which redounded by it; and having sent a great many Ships thither, besieged the Fortress by Sea, whilst the Prince having possessed that passage which is the only way to *Brouages* by Land, and having shut up the Defendants within the circuit of their walls, streightned the Siege very closely on that side. 1585.

The Castle of *Angiers* taken suddenly by the Hugonots.

But whilst fixing his mind wholly upon that business, he neglects no opportunity of blocking and incommodating the Town, a new accident happened that invited him to a more important deliberation: for the Sieur *de la Roche-morte*, Captain *du Halot*, and Captain *le Fresne*, secret Adherents to the King of *Navarre*, and Enemies to the Count *de Brissac* Governour of *Angiers*, having found means to enter as friends into the Castle of that City, one of the strongest and chiefest Fortresses in all *France*; suddenly killed the Governour of it with those few Souldiers that were there in Garison, and seised upon it without much difficulty; but whilst they sought also to make the Town revolt, they were besieged by the people, who taking Arms, had with trenches cut off the passage to the Castle; and they beginning to write to all parts, demanded present relief from the Prince of *Conde*, who was much nearer than the King of *Navarre*. *Angiers* is a City on this side the *Loire*, seated in a sweet, fertile, plentiful Country, very well peopled, famous for the study of the Law, and commodiously situated to fall into all the Provinces of *Gallia Celtica*, which invirons it on every side with a large spacious compass: wherefore the Prince accounting it a very great and an opportune occasion which offered it self unto him, not only to take so principal a City, but also to remove the War beyond the River *Loire*, (a thing always desired, and thought very advantageous for the Hugonots) applyed his mind to carry such speedy relief, that he might seise upon the Town by the help and inlet of the Castle, before it were streightned and shut up by the Catholicks. Indeed this was a very great and hopeful design, but opposed with no less difficulties; for to go over so broad a River without having any pass in his hands that could be maintained, to enter into the heart of those Provinces which held (without division) of the Catholick party, and put himself between two powerful Armies, which marched into those parts to meet him, considering his Forces, seemed rather a rash, than a generous attempt; and to quit the Siege of *Brouage*, which was reduced to an hard condition, and almost to a certainty of being taken, to venture upon so doubtful, so hazardous an enterprize, (for in the Castle of *Angiers* there were not above sixteen Souldiers, besides the Captains, and it was doubted whether they could hold out till relief came) seemed an unprofitable, dangerous resolution. Yet the Prince's mind inclined to hope for the revolt of *Angiers*, and it being of so great consequence, that more uncertain, more perillous hazards were not to be refused for the gaining of it, he resolved to follow the course of his fortune, the prosperity whereof did with wonderful beginnings in a manner assure him of a most happy conclusion: Wherefore leaving Monsieur *de St. Mesmes* with the Infantry and Artillery at the Siege of *Brouage*, and giving order that the Fleet should continue to block it up by Sea, he departed upon the eighth of *October* to relieve the Castle of *Angiers* with eight hundred Gentlemen, and one thousand four hundred Harquebuziers on Horseback. Nor was this enterprize (esteemed so rash by Souldiers of great experience) less prosperous in the beginning than his other actions; for though he neither had any Pass that held of his party, nor boats ready to cross the River, he got over nevertheless happily, and without much difficulty at *Rosiers*, having found certain boats there, which (laden with Wines) were rowing along the River, and accidentally came to that side of the Bank: Having passed the River, they found the Sieur *de Clermont* with about seven hundred Horse, who having gone before into the Country of *Maine* and the parts adjacent, to draw their friends together, being afterward informed of the business of *Angiers*, was come with great expedition to unite himself with the Prince for the same design; or missing of him there, to pass the River, and join with him at the Siege which was laid before *Brouage*. Their Forces being met with exceeding gladness, and the Sieur *de St. Gelais* marching before with two Troops of Horse, to discover the Country, and provide victual for the Army, upon the twentieth of *October* they quartered at *Beaufort* a place not far from *Angiers*, where they intended to rest themselves the day following, that they might come more fresh to the attempt of so great an enterprise.

1585. The Caſtle of *Angiers* is recovered by the Catholicks before it is relieved.

But the Caſtle was recovered by the Catholicks two days before; for the Townſmen having at firſt taken Captain *du Halet* priſoner, who was gone out to parley, and to perſwade them to turn unto his party, and having the next day killed Captain *le Freſne*, whilſt he treated at the Bridge of the Caſtle with certain Deputies about the preſent affairs, had generally ſet themſelves to beſiege the place; where on the one ſide, the Count *de Briſſac* Governour of the City being arrived; and on the other, *Henry de Joyeuſe*, Count *de Bou-chage* Governour of the Province; and not many days after the Duke of *Joyeuſe* himſelf, who came up with ſome number of Gentlemen to aſſiſt his Brother; and Monſieur *de la Roch-morte* being at laſt ſlain with two ſhots, whereof one took off his tongue, and the other went through his throat; the ſixteen Souldiers being left without a Captain to command them, and not agreeing very well among themſelves, ſome of them being Catholicks, and ſome Hugonots, had in the end capitulated to yield upon certain Conditions, wherewith upon the eighteenth of *October* being *Sunday*, they delivered up the Caſtle into the power of the Governour.

But the Prince of *Conde* believing that the Caſtle held ſtill for his party, having divided his forces into divers Squadrons, on the 21 in the morning about break of day, advanced towards *Angiers*, not by the great road which leadeth ſtraight to the gate of the Town; but by that way on the field ſide, which led to the Trenches made by the Catholicks to beſiege the Caſtle. Thoſe of the City having notice from all parts of the Princes coming, and finding themſelves already Maſters of the Fortreſs, retired into the Suburbs of the Town, and there with Trenches and Barricadoes, ſtood upon their defence, to receive the aſſault of the Hugonots with more ſecurity. At their firſt arrival it was eaſily known that the Caſtle held no longer of the Princes party; for in ſtead of ſhewing ſigns of joy for the coming of that relief which they had called for, they played with their Artillery very fiercely againſt the firſt Troops of the Army, who under the Sieur *de St. Gelais* were come within Cannon ſhot, by which token though the Commanders knew that the Caſtle was already yielded, yet in the heat of their firſt fury they fell moſt gallantly into the neareſt Suburbs of the Town, and fought ſtoutly for many hours, not without much blood on both ſides. This was one of the accuſtomed effects of a firſt onſet; but their ſpirits cooling, and the Prince, with the other Lords and Captains, knowing that to periſh obſtinately in that skirmiſh, was but to loſe men, time, and their labour; and that it was neceſſary to take another reſolution, they ſounded a retreat, the Sun not being yet near ſetting, and marched off to reſt their Souldiers in a Village hard by. There the conſideration of their preſent condition, changing their late gallantry into a great and reaſonable fear, they began to think what was then to be done for the ſafety of every one; wherein thoſe difficulties appearing impoſſible to be overcome, which the hope and deſire of getting the City of *Angiers*, had at firſt made to ſeem very light and eaſie, and not having any time to ſpare, leſt they ſhould give the Catholicks leiſure to fall upon them, they drew away without any determinate reſolution, and as it were leaving themſelves to fortune, began to march toward the River *Loire*, which they were neceſſitated to paſs, if they would ſave themſelves. But all the Country already beginning to riſe at the ringing of the *Toqueſaint*, and being informed that the people had with great diligence taken away the boats every where from the River ſide; that Monſieur *de la Chaſtre* marched along the bank to meet them; that the Duke of *Mayenne* having paſſed over at *Orleans* with all the Army, advanced towards them with all expedition; that on the other ſide the Mareſchal *de Byron* came up with his Forces, that the Count *Bou-chage* who was ſallied out of *Angiers*, drew together the gentry and common people, made trees to be cut down, ſpoiling the ways every where, and that the Duke *de Joyeuſe* with a great power was at their backs; they were forced to take a courſe very contrary to their firſt intention, and dividing their men into three ſquadrons, one commanded by *St. Gelais*, another by the Prince, and the third by the Sieur *de Rohan*, they thought beſt to deceive the Enemy, by turning from the River, and marching out of the great high-ways, to get between the Armies, into the moſt woody parts of that Province, and with a long compaſs ſtriking ſpeedily into the higher parts of *Beauſſe*, to paſs the River ſuddainly in ſome place where the favour of fortune, and their unexpected arrival might open the way for them, and give them opportunity. In this manner (the Commanders with exceeding care, and the Souldiers with wonderful terrour) they marched all that night, and the day following: but the event

ſhewed

1585. The enterprise of *Angiers* being vanished, the Hugonot Army encompassed by the Catholicks, and reduced to great streights disbands itself: and part of them with the Commanders save themselves by flight

shewed how hard that resolution was to be effected; for the whole Province being up round about them, they had neither leisure to rest, means to feed, nor way to get through those strange difficult passages, and the cry and concourse of the Country people, and the ringing of the *Toquesaint* whersoever they came, gave the Catholicks sufficient notice of the place where they were, and guided the Armies directly to encompass them, just like the tracing and hunting of wild beasts through the woods. Wherefore the Sieur *de Rohan*, who was nearer his own Country than the rest, the Confines of *Bretaigne* not being far off, gave the Prince to understand, that to continue still together would be the loss of all their men, and therefore advised him to divide his Forces into many small Troops to delude the Enemy, who would be called sometimes this way, sometimes that way by the tumult of the people, and by stealing secretly through the most remote hidden places, to endeavour the saving part of that whole, which being united could not possibly escape so great a danger. But the Prince standing in suspence because his courage would not suffer him to come to that resolution; the Sieur *de Rohan* saying that he would not perish for anothers obstinacy and want of experience, departed from him with his men; and having divided his Souldiers and Gentlemen into little parties of about ten or fifteen a piece, hiding themselves, and throwing away their arms, at last (though after many days) with infinite trouble and danger, thorow woods, and divers several ways, he recovered *Bretaigne*, and thence by other passages he got in the end to *Rochelle*. The Prince after he had marched with his Forces in one body another day, seeing that he could resist no longer, nor keep them together, took the same course, and disbanding all his men every one to his own industry, and the protection of Heaven, he himself with the Sieurs *d' Avantigny*, *de la Tremouille*, and some eight or ten more in company, took that way by chance which fortune presented to them. This division of the Army into so many parcels, made the Catholicks lose their way, for being called to several places by the tumults and advertisements of the people, they could not follow the trace of the Prince and his Commanders; and it so fell out that having surrounded and took certain small parties of private Souldiers, they could never light upon any person of note; so that the Prince crossing unknown as a Traveller through the Country of *Maine*, and being come to the uttermost parts of Lower *Normandy*, went to the Sea-side, and there finding by chance certain Ships laden with Merchandize, he embarked near *Auranches*, and passed first into the Isle of *Garnsey*, and after into *England*, where being honourably received by the Queen, he was not many months after conducted to *Rochel* with certain men of War. The Sieur *de St. Gelais* being got into the Forest of *Orleans*, and having made an uncertain intricate Voyage, coming at last near to *Gyen*, passed the River *Loire* in little boats belonging to certain Mills, leaving his Horses to the Enemy, and having hired others, went like a Traveller to those places that were of his party. The Sieur *de la Tiffardiere*, *Aubigny*, and others had hid themselves in the houses of their friends and kindred, which some of them had in one place, some in another; many changing their cloaths saved themselves on foot, many also fell into the hands of the Catholicks, and were by the Country people cruelly cut in pieces. This was the issue of the Prince of *Conde*'s enterprise, wherein all his Army was dispersed and scattered without fighting, exceedingly weakening the Forces of the Hugonots in a time of so great need.

Whilst the Prince and his Souldiers ran so adverse a fortune, the Sieur *de St. Mesmes*, who had been left at the Siege of *Brouage*, was forced about the same time to retire with very little better success; for the Mareschal *de Matignon* drawing near with great strength to relieve it, he seeing himself with the Infantry alone, and they frighted and discoureged with the news of the Prince's ill-fortune, thought it the best way to retreat, and not obstinately to hazard the remainder of the Army, which was so necessary for the defence of their own places; yet the report of the Prince's defeat being spread in the Camp, was so great a terrour to every one, and that no less to the Commanders and Gentlemen, than to the common Souldiers, that each man purposed to provide for his own safety; so that *St. Luc* sallying out of *Brouage*, and following those that were scattered several ways, made a great slaughter of them in many places; whereupon the Commanders despairing to rally the Army any more, got away as well as they could possibly, to secure their own strong holds. The same did *Henry de la Tour* Viscount of *Turenne*; for being entred very hopefully into *Limoges*, and having already struck a terrour into the people of those parts, the news of the Prince's

1585. overthrow coming to him, he judged it a ſafer way to retire, than alone to oppoſe the violence of ſo many Armies, which were marching into thoſe Quarters to deſtroy thoſe of his party.

But the Sieur *de Leſdiquiers*, Head of the Hugonots in *Dauphine*, having raiſed Foot and Horſe, and begun a ſharp War againſt Monſieur *de Maugiron* Lieutenant of that Province, and againſt Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, whereby raiſing all the Country, (the ſagacity and readineſs of the Commander ſupplying the inequality of Forces) the affairs of the Hugonots were brought into a very good condition: having taken many ſuch Towns and Caſtles, which though not very ſtrong, were very commodious; and with the hopes of booty drawn together a great number of old Souldiers, ſuch as were wont to live among the troubles of War.

In the mean time the Heads of the League being augmented in hopes and courage by the Prince of *Conde*'s ill ſucceſs, and the defeat of his Army, were exceeding earneſt with the King to ſhorten the term of ſix months prefixed by the late Edict, for the baniſhment of the Hugonots; urging, that ſince they had declared they would reſiſt his will by force, they were no longer to be ſuffered, but that their total extirpation was to be endeavoured with the greateſt ſpeed that might be; which thing the King knowing to conduce but little to the end of his deſigns, reſolved yet to ſatisfie them, and with a new Edict reduced the term of ſix months which had been granted to them, to the ſpace of but fifteen days; after which time, the other Provinces being quiet by reaſon of the ſmall number of Hugonots that were in them, they proſecuted the War as well in *Poiction* and *Guienne*, as in the Province of *Dauphine*. The other requeſt made to the King by a great many Prelates at the ſuggeſtion of the League, took not the ſame effect, being to publiſh and obſerve the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*; for not being willing to oblige or engage himſelf further in the League than he had already done, alledging that the demand was unſeaſonable, and excuſing himſelf by the troubles that encompaſſed him on every ſide, he referred a buſineſs of ſo great weight to a more quiet ſeaſon, wherein he might maturely deliberate and reſolve upon it.

With this face of things, all tending to the diſtractions of an obſtinate War, began
1586. the year 1586, full (contrary to the common belief) of exceeding greet machinations, but of very few and weak executions touching the War. The Duke of *Mayenne* in the end of the year before was come with his Army to *Chaſteau-neuf* in the confines of *Guienne*, whither the Mareſchal *de Matignon* Lieutenant of that Province was alſo come to conſult about the finiſhing of the War; who being privy to the Kings intentions and deſigns wherewith he deſired thoſe affairs ſhould be managed, demonſtrated the terrible ſharpneſs of the ſeaſon, and the condition of the Country, not only afflicted with a great dearth and [illegible]t of victual, but alſo with the violence of the Plague, which had already for many months been wonderfully ſpread in divers places: and conſidering that the chief Towns were ſo diligently mann'd and fortified by the King of *Navarre*, that it was vain to attempt them in that extremity of weather, and ſcarcity of proviſions, he counſelled to aſſault the leſſer places, and the more open parts of the Province, to reduce thoſe unto obedience, which not being ſtrengthened with any principal fortification, were yet rich and fertil, and from which the Hugonots by ordinary contributions drew means ſufficient to maintain themſelves. The Duke of *Mayenne*, though for his own honour, and for the credit and ſtrengthening of the League he deſired to make himſelf remarkable by ſome eminent enterpriſe, yet not ſuffering himſelf to be tranſported by the violence of his paſſion, or the wind of hopes to think of impoſſibilities, eaſily concurred in the ſame opinion, fearing he ſhould loſe much reputation, if attempting any principal Fortreſs he ſhould not be able to carry it; whereof he was the more doubtful, (beſides the reaſons alledged by *Matignon*) becauſe he had but a ſmall train of Artillery, conſiſting of but four pieces of Cannon, and two Culverins, with a very ſmall quantity of Ammunition: wherefore paſſing by *St. Jehan d' Angely*, (where nevertheleſs the Hugonots were in very great ſtreights and fears, as alſo all other places of the like condition) they reſolved with a joint conſent, though for divers ends, to divide the Army between them, and to buſie themſelves about taking in weaker places whilſt the ſharpneſs of the Winter laſted; and then re-uniting their Forces, to apply themſelves to that enterpriſe which time and opportunity ſhould preſent unto them. So the Mareſchal being returned to *Bourdeaux*, the Metropolis of that Province, with a part of the Army, and having commodiouſly, or rather

rather dilatorily refreſhed his men, and put them in order, laid ſiege to *Caſtels*, a place of ſmall conſideration, and with various ſucceſſes conſumed all the Winter in that expedition; in which time the Duke of *Mayenne* with the greater part of thoſe Forces attaquing the weakeſt places, took *Montignac*, *Beaulieu*, *Gaignac*, and other places of ſmall importance, and which only ſerved to keep the reputation of his Army alive. But in the budding of the Spring-time, advancing to join their Forces together, he felt ſuch bitter winds and extraordinary rains for many days, that the ſufferings of lying in the field all the Winter, being increaſed by thoſe of the dearth of victual, and contagion of the plague, which grew daily more rife in all thoſe parts, the Army began to be exceedingly infected, not only all the principal Lords and Commanders being ſick, but a very great number of the Souldiers dying continually, yet all theſe difficulties being overcome with infinite patience, he joined at laſt with *Matignon* in the beginning of *April*. At his coming first *Caſtels*, and then St. *Bazeile* yielded themſelves, and with ſome difficulty the Fort of *Montſegur*, and they would probably have proceeded further, and perchance have begun ſome more important enterpriſe, if the diſeaſes which annoyed the Army had not at laſt aſſailed the General: for the Duke of *Mayenne* being dangerouſly ſick of a Feaver, was forced to leave the Camp and retire to *Bourdeaux*. So the weight of all buſineſs being left to the Mareſchal, the expeditions of Arms went on but ſlowly; for the Kings intention (though ſecret) was, that the Clergy being wearied with the length of the War by contributions, the Nobility by toils and troubles, and the people by the oppreſſions of Souldiers and their multiplied grievances, ſhould all return with greater deſire to ask and long for Peace, which by the inſtigation of the Heads of the League they had cauſed to be broken, ſo that things coming about again to their former condition, the plots of his Enemies might be deluded, and the way might lie open to himſelf for the continuation of his deſigns. 1588.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* being (though late) recovered of his ſickneſs, and returned unto the Army, valiantly took *Chaſtillon*, a place of ſome moment held by the Baron *de Salignac*, and then *Puis Normand* another of no leſs importance, of which actions knowing that his Army was wonderfully weakned by many ſufferings, and divers accidents, that he had but ſmall ſtore of ammunition, and other neceſſaries for the taking in of places; and (which troubled him moſt) that he was not furniſhed with money from Court to maintain his Army, ſo that his Souldiers were many Pays behind, he diſpatched the Sieur *de Seſſaval* to inform the King of the ſtate of his affairs, and to demand new ſupplies of men and money, foreſeeing that if matters continued as they had begun, his Army (to his ſmall reputation) would be diſſolved of it ſelf, within a few months: for the King of *Navarre* knowing he had not ſtrength enough to reſiſt and keep the field, having diſcreetly fortified all his places, and ſtored them with abundance of all things, reſerved only two thouſand ſmall ſhot, and three hundred light Horſe, with a few Gentlemen that followed his name in the Province, with which forces, expert, ready, quick upon all occaſions, and not troubled with Artillery or Carriages, he ran up and down with great expedition, now this way, now that, providing all things neceſſary, relieving places that were in diſtreſs, and never ſuffering the Enemy to have any opportunity to fight with him; for by his skilfulneſs in the ways, and by the unwearied patience of his Souldiers, he appeared, and vaniſhed like lightning, being far off in the morning from thoſe parts where he had been ſeen the night before; by which conduct and ſpeed that was almoſt incredible, he made War againſt a great Army, though languiſhing by continual ſickneſs that diſtreſſed the Camp; and having to do with a Commander, who, grave and wary in his reſolutions, proceeded always with very great deliberation, he opportunely furniſhed and relieved the chiefeſt places, ſurpriſed many ſcattering Troops of the Army, cut off their paſſages of their victuals, and kept the Army in continual motion, and very great ſuſpicion; whereby the Duke of *Mayenne* perceived that his Forces continually waſting and decaying, and wanting money and ammunition, if he were not ſpeedily ſuccoured with freſh men, and other neceſſaries, he ſhould come off with diſhonour from that War, wherein never ſeeing the face of the Enemy, he ſhould be fain to conſume his Army in aſſaulting, not the weakeſt places, for they were all taken already; but ſtrong Towns excellently fortified, and provided with all things, which though he ſhould take at laſt, yet would it be with the leſſening and deſtroying of his own Forces, and that afterwards he ſhould be expoſed to the King of *Navarre*'s valour

1586. valour and celerity, wherewith he (though invironed with a thouſand difficulties) knew very well how to lay hold of his opportunities.

While the War is managed in *Guienne* on this new manner, the Prince of *Conde* having got together a good Body of men in the quarters about *Rochel*, had taken and ſacked the Caſtle of *Dompierre*, made himſelf Maſter of *Soubize* and *Mornac*, and kept in awe the whole Country; for the quieting whereof the Sieur *de St. Luc* being iſſued out of *Brouage* with a like number, they met near the Iſle of *Oleron*, where they fought with various ſucceſs a whole day, though with ſome interruptions, and with almoſt equal loſs on both ſides: for though the Catholicks loſt the Regiment of Colonel *Turcelin* with about five hundred Firelocks; yet on the Hugonots ſide almoſt all the Lords and chief Commanders were killed or wounded, particularly *Rieux* and *Suilly*, (the Sons of *Andelot* already deceaſed) who died both within a while after; nor was it long before they were followed by *Guy de Laval* their elder Brother, who in the flower of his age, waſted by continual toil and action, died of a Burning Feaver about that very time, as alſo Monſieur *de Rohan*, who died at *Rochel* of the ſame diſeaſe.

Yet did not the heat and troubles of the War take off the Prince of *Conde* from other thoughts: for being deſirous by a particular bond to tie and engage the Duke *de la Tremouille* to himſelf, who was newly come over to his party; and beſides that, to make ſome additions to his own fortune, and it may be alſo deſirous of iſſue, he about that time took to Wife *Charlotte Catherine* the Dukes Siſter, who with her excellent Beauty had alſo a conſiderable Dowry, as being a ſharer in the Inheritance of the ancient and once moſt flouriſhing Houſe of *la Tremouille*. But neither the pleaſures of Marriage, nor the delights of his new Wife did at all ſlacken the Princes warlike fierceneſs, who full of courage, and a deſpiſer of the moſt evident dangers, did valiantly embrace all occaſions of fighting, nor would at all yield to the violence of his Enemies, notwithſtanding the tenderneſs of his own Forces.

In this condition were the affairs of War when the Mareſchal *de Byron* arrived in *Xaintonge* with another Army, who deſiring to do ſome exploit, not ſo much to damnifie the Hugonots, as out of an emulation to the Duke of *Mayenne*, reſolved to lay ſiege to *Maran*, a place very convenient to block up *Rochel* by Land, and to cut off the Traffick and Commerce of the Inhabitants, with the Iſles and Cities adjacent, for which the Rochellers and all the Hugonot party were very much perplexed: wherefore the King of *Navarre* ſeeing the Forces of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Army weakned, and the ſharpneſs of their firſt fury abated, left the Viſcount of *Turenne* in *Guienne*, to follow the War in the ſame manner as he had done, and went ſuddenly with three hundred Horſe to *Rochel*, doubting that the Princes too much boldneſs might run into ſome great errour in thoſe parts; for being a prudent Judge of his own ſtrength he reſolved with himſelf, and had given abſolute Order to his Commanders, that managing their affairs with wiſdom and celerity, and poſſeſſing themſelves always of ſecure advantageous places, they ſhould ſpin the War out in length, and not give their Enemies any new occaſion of proſperity; which not ſuting well with the Princes nature, who ſince the death of Monſieur *de Rohan*, remained ſole Head in *Xaintonge*, the King of *Navarre* intended by his preſence to eſtabliſh that reſolution, and to order the Government and managery of the War himſelf. But being come to *Rochel*, and finding the Citizens there in great confuſion by reaſon of the Mareſchal *de Byron*'s deſign of beſieging *Maran*, he ſtayed no longer than while he was informed of the preſent ſtate of things; but knowing his arrival to be very opportune, becauſe the Rochellers durſt not leſſen their Gariſon to ſtrengthen that of *Maran*, he went perſonally thither, and the ſame day having conſidered the ſituation of it on every ſide, he began without delay to make Trenches, and to raiſe Redoubts and Batteries for the defence of it; and that with ſo much diligence, that aſſiſting in the work unweariedly his own ſelf, not in the ſpace of many days, but hours, he brought it to perfection.

*Maran* is a great Town, and of great importance, ſeated by the Ocean Sea, in a low fenny place, as it were in a *Peninſula*, and ſo encompaſſed on every ſide with Mooriſh watry grounds, that there is no acceſs to the works thereof but by very few, and thoſe narrow paſſages. Theſe the King of *Navarre* made to be ſhut up with Trenches, raiſing a Fort at the end of every Avenue, which full of ſmall Artillery, and defended by a competent number of Musketiers, might hinder the Enemies approaches, having in the

the reſt of the Fenn that was not very deep, cauſed many planks to be ſunk, which ſtuck full of great nails, and other inſtruments proper to do miſchief, might do harm to thoſe that ſhould have the boldneſs to enter and paſs over to the Dry Land. 1586.

On the other ſide, the Mareſchal *de Byron* having drawn his Forces together, and made a review of them at *Niort*, about the midſt of *June* marched towards *Maran*, where having by their Sallies proved the courage of the Defenders, who truſting to the advantage of their Situation, iſſued out boldly to skirmiſh, and fell ſo hotly upon his firſt Squadrons, that he himſelf was ingaged in the action, whence he came off lightly wounded in the left hand; he took a reſolution to proceed warily in the buſineſs, and raiſing certain Forts againſt thoſe of the Defendents, as the quality of the ground required, all his hopes of gaining that place were reduced only to the length of the Siege. *Maran* beſieged by the Catholicks.

In the mean time the Court was buſied in ſetting forth new Armies, and making new warlike preparations, for the King not willing to ſuffer that the increaſe of ſtrength, reputation and adherents, ſhould redound unto the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*, and the followers of the League, was reſolved to put other Armies into the hands of his truſty Favourites, and to keep up their reputation with new Expeditions, and new Governments of Provinces, which he knew would ſucceed to his own greatneſs and advantage againſt the power of the Lords of *Guiſe*. By this advice he obtained alſo another end, which was to tire out the Catholick party by the maintenance of ſo many ſeveral Armies, and bring them all again to intercede for Peace, which was ſo neceſſary for the effecting of his deſigns. Wherefore beſides a million and two hundred thouſand Crowns which he had gotten by Tenths from the Clergy, he urged at *Rome* for licence to alienate one hundred thouſand Crowns *per annum* of Church Revenues; and the people oppreſſed in ſo many places, and almoſt in every Province by the inſolence of Souldiers, though they were far from the places poſſeſſed by the Hugonots, felt nevertheleſs the calamities and miſeries of War. Two ſeveral Armies were making ready, one under the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, to go into *Auvergne*, and thence into *Languedoc* to recover places which the Hugonots held in thoſe parts; the other under the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to go into *Provence*, and take poſſeſſion of that Country, which the King ſince the death of the Grand Prior had conferred upon him. The preparations of theſe Armies to the diſadvantage and open diſpleaſure of the *Guiſes*, kept all the Nobility and Martial men of the Kingdom in imployment; for every one deſiring to gain the favour and protection of the Kings Minions, who in the diſpoſing of gifts and honours carried all things at their own pleaſure, ran all voluntarily to to their Colours, and with great trains and coſtly preparations of Warlike Ornaments endeavoured to win the affections, ſome of the one, ſome of the other of theſe Lords, who through the Kings ſecret inſtigations, were intent to draw all men by their liberality and oſtentation of rewards, to follow the courſe of their fortunes; ſo that not only ſuch as were Neuters came from all parts to ſerve them; but alſo ſuch as had been reſolved to follow the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Heads in the War of *Guienne*, leaving their firſt intentions, determined to follow the fortune of thoſe that had moſt power. To this was added, that the King to moderate by his preſence, and with his own counſels the Wars managed by his Favourites, and to augment their reputation, was reſolved to go to *Lyons*, both Armies being to march the ſame way, ſo that by the moving of his own perſon he drew after him great numbers of men of eminent quality, and the expences were ſtill encreaſed without end. Whereby with new Impoſitions, with erecting new Magiſtrates, with inventions of new Taxes, and with the diſpoſing of new Offices, the people was every where wonderfully burthened and oppreſſed; the King being ſtill conſtant to his own opinion, that by how much the greater were the miſeries and oppreſſions of War, by ſo much the ſooner would they extort an univerſal conſent to the neceſſity of Peace, and make the authors of thoſe diſcords odious and deteſtable, rendring diſavoured unto all the formerly ſo much favoured endeavours of the League; wherein his inclination agreeing with the ſplendour and ſubtilty of his deſign, it was impoſſible by any reaſons in the World to alter that determination.

But whilſt the King is infinite buſie, and the Courtiers moſt ardently ſtudious in ordering theſe affairs, a moſt powerful Army was preparing in *Germany* for the relief of the Hugonots; for the King of *Navarre* having long foreſeen, that the King would eaſily

1586. eaſily be brought to an agreement with the League to his diſadvantage, and having learned, by former experience, that all the hopes of his party, conſiſting in the aid of the Germans, which the union of the Proteſtant Princes was wont to afford unto the Hugonots, had ſent the Sieur *de Pardaillan* thither (a wiſe man, and by long travel verſed in their ſeveral cuſtoms) who treating confidently, and particularly with every Prince, and every *Hanſ-town*, might ſhew them the danger of their common Religion, aggravate the hatred of the *Guiſes* to the Proteſtant party, and exhort them to continue the aſsiſtance formerly lent unto the Hugonots againſt the perſecutions of their Enemies; which buſineſs being excellently managed by *Pardaillan*, had not only ſtirred up the minds of thoſe Princes in favour of the Hugonots, but had alſo much raiſed the hopes of the King of *Navarre*, ſo that having turned his thoughts that way, at the beginning of the War, he had diſpatched the Sieur *de Clervant* into *Germany*, to ripen the fruits of that ſeed, which had before been opportunely ſown by *Pardaillon*. And becauſe both the Princes and people of thoſe parts (very great honourers of that Religion, which they hold to be the true one, and alſo of an eaſie mind, and flexible nature to the urgency of entreaties, and efficacy of reaſons) might more eaſily be moved to conſent unto it; *Theodore Beza*, a moſt eloquent Preacher of the *Hugonots*, went to the ſame effect from *Geneva*, into *Germany* and *Swiſſerland*, who, by his authority and diſcourſes, ſtirred up every one of the chief men, to imbrace the enterpriſe in favour of thoſe, who were of the ſame, or at leaſt a very little different Religion. The Queen of *England* endeavoured the ſame, not onely by countenancing it, and by words, but alſo by her actions; for, keeping in priſon *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, Couſin to the *Guiſes*, who was obſtinately linked to their faction, ſhe deſired that the League, and the Houſe of *Loraine*, ſhould be utterly ſuppreſſed, or at leaſt ſo buſied in *France*, that ſhe might have free power to diſpoſe of her life, and of the affairs of *Scotland* and *England*: Wherefore ſhe not onely aſſiſted the King of *Navarre* with her authority, which was very great in *Germany*, but had alſo depoſited a good ſum of Money, to be laid out in raiſing of Soldiers there. To the Negotiation of *Clevant*, to the exhortation of *Beza*, and to the money of *England*, the Duke of *Bouillon* added alſo his aſsiſtance, who, holding *Sedan*, a very ſtrong place, and other Towns and Caſtles about the Confines of *France* and *Germany*, that were of the Hugonots Religion, and in their Counſels united to the King of *Navarre*, was a fit inſtrument for the expedition, and Levyes of the German Soldiers; for the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Wittembergh*, and the Proteſtant Cantons of the Swiſſes conſenting; and the King of *Denmark* concurring; but above all, the Count *de Mombelliard*, a Lord bordering upon *Bourgongne*, labouring in the buſineſs, there began to be raiſed the moſt powerful Army, that ever had come out of that Country, to relieve the Hugonots. But, becauſe the Princes knew they had no occaſion at all to offend the King of *France*, and to enter in a hoſtile manner into his Country, they reſolved, before the Army (which was preparing againſt the next ſpring) to ſend this year, for a colour, a numerous Embaſſy, to complain, in the Names of them all, of the breach of that Peace, and violation of that Faith, which had been given unto the Hugonots, with whom they were intereſſed and united in Religion, and to demand of the King a ceſſation of Armes, and a confirmation of thoſe Edicts ſo often granted to his Subjects, for the Liberty of Conſcience: foreſeeing well, that if the King conſented to their demands, the Hugonots would be relieved without further noiſe of Armes, and if he ſhould perſiſt, and deny them, they might thereby make a fair pretence for the War, and take an occaſion, not altogether unreaſonable, to raiſe thoſe Forces they intended.

Great Forces are prepared in *Germany* in favour of the Hugonots.

*Mary* Qu. of *Scots*, Couſen to the *Guiſes*, impriſoned by *Elizabeth* Qu. of *England*.

This determination of the Germans did very much diſquiet the King of *France*, being not onely diſpleaſed that others ſhould preſume to meddle with the affairs of his Kingdom, but alſo terrified with the fear of forrain forces; who, with perillous commotions, uſed to deſtroy Provinces, ruine the People, diſturb all things both Divine and Humane, and to put the ſtate of the Crown into extreme danger. But, as a Prince accuſtomed to govern himſelf by the ſubtilty of his wit, to whom (though oftentimes very unſucceſsfully) probable appearances of cunning inventions, did alwayes repreſent themſelves; he began to think with himſelf, that from that evil he might draw another good, and might uſe the coming of the *Germans* for the ſpeedy execution of his deſigns: for ſeeing the King of *Navarre* reduced to ſuch a weakneſs, that though he made fearleſs reſiſtance, he was yet brought to the laſt extremity of his fortune;

and

and being himſelf every day more out of hope to have iſſue, ſince by a continued incurable *Gonorrhea*, and by infinite other proofs, he knew himſelf unable to get children, he thought it beſt to unite himſelf, by all means, ſtreightly and ſincerely with the King of *Navarre*, as the lawful Succeſſor of the Crown, to draw him to the Court near unto his own Perſon, to make him partaker in matter of Government, and by his means to make uſe of that forreign Army, for the utter ſuppreſſion of the *Guiſes*, and the factions of the League, which being unexpectedly overwhelmed between his Forces and the approaching ſtorme of the German Soldiers, could not poſſibly be able to make reſiſtance, but would preſently be quite extinguiſhed and diſſipated. Two things amongſt the reſt were principal hinderances of this intention; one, the King of *Navarr*'s Religion, being reſolved (for the ſatisfaction of his own Conſcience, and to avoid the ſcandal that would arrive from thence) not to reconcile himſelf unto him, unleſs he would firſt return into the boſome of the Church; the other was that of his Siſter Queen *Margaret*, Wife to the King of *Navarre*, who having given her ſelf over to a licentious life, for fear of her Husbands anger, was fled from him; but, being taken by his order, and the Commiſſion of the King her Brother, ſhe was put as a priſoner into the Caſtle of *Carlat* in *Auvergne*, and from thence a while after removed to *Uſſon* in the ſame Province, under the cuſtody of the Marqueſs *de Canillac*, who (as it was reported) being become captive to his priſoner, had ſet her at liberty; ſo ſhe paſſing her time in certain houſes of her own (yet in *Auvergne*) and continuing the ſame manner of life, was a very great obſtacle to thoſe agreements which might have been concluded between her Husband and her Brother. To overcome theſe important difficulties, having imported his deſign to the Queen his Mother, who was wont to ripen buſineſſes of greateſt conſequence, and to find out remedies for all the hardeſt impediments, they determined at laſt, that the perſon of the Lady *Margaret* was no more to be regarded, and that having made her ſelf unworthy to be acknowledged by them, either for a Siſter or a Daughter, (ſince the diſpenſation obtained from the Pope, at the time of their Marriage, being defective, did afford a colour and pretence for the breaking of it) they would make a Divorce; and give *Chriſtienne* (Daughter to the Duke of *Loraine*, by *Claudia* the Kings Siſter) to Wife to the King of *Navarre*, who, of a very pleaſing behaviour, and of an age already Marriageable, was brought up in the degree and quality of a Daughter, by the Queen mother: and as for the King of *Navarr*'s Religion, they reſolved to endeavour, by urging the great good that would reſult from it, and by ſo important benefit, as the aſſuring himſelf of the ſucceſſion of the Crown of *France* (which was brought in queſtion) to ſoften and bend his mind to turn Catholick, giving him ſuch ſecurities and ſatisfactions which ſhould be thought moſt fit to ſettle and confirm him. But becauſe all others were either ſuſpected, or unable to manage a buſineſs of ſo great difficulty and importance, the King intreated the Queen his Mother that ſhe would take the pains to go into *Poictou* and *Xaintonge*, to confer with the King of *Navarre*, making her ſelf for the preſent, as ſhe had ever been in times paſt, the Author and Mediatrix of the good and quiet of the Kingdom.

1586.

*Hen.* the Third deſpairing of iſſue, reſolves to further the King of *Navars* right to the Crown, and to unite himſelf with him for the deſtruction of the *Guiſes*.

By reaſon of the licentious life of *Margaret* wife to the K. of *Navarre*, the King and Q. Mother reſolve to break the Match, and to give *Chriſtianne* the daughter of the Duke of *Lorain*, who after married *Ferdinando de Medici* Great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

The Queen takes upon her the charge of this buſineſs, though much burthened with years, and exceedingly tormented with the Gout; and therefore the Abbot *Guievan-Baptiſta Guadagni* was diſpatched to the Mareſchal *de Byron*, to give order for a ceſſation of Arms on that ſide, and to appoint a meeting between the Queen and the King of *Navarre*. The Mareſchal following the inſtinct of his old inclination, and being near the King of *Navarre*, at the ſiege which he had newly laid to *Maran*, obeyed the Kings command without delay; and they came to this agreement, That *Maran* ſhould ſtand neuter, and that both parts ſhould have free commerce thither; yet, that the Governor ſhould be put in by the King of *Navarre*, and that the Garriſon ſhould equally protect the Catholicks as well as the Hugonots; that the Mareſcal ſhould withdraw his Forces beyond the *Charente* (a River in thoſe parts) and that the King of *Navarre*, after having furniſhed all things neceſſary for *Rochel*, ſhould go to meet the Queen-Mother in *Poictou*.

An accommodation treated with the Hugonots by the Queen-Mother, and much diſliked by thoſe of the League.

This Treaty did much diſpleaſe the *Guiſes*, and all thoſe that adhered ſincerely to the League; ſo that on the one ſide, the Popes Nuncio made grievous complaint thereof unto the King himſelf; and on the other ſide, the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was at his Government in *Champagne*, made it be ſpoken of to the Queen-Mother by his Agents, and the People of *Paris* began commonly to murmur, that the Cauſe of Religion was

1586. betrayed, that the Hugonots were openly favoured, that the courſe of the War was interrupted, which was like to come preſently to an happy concluſion, that the King ſhewed openly that his mind was averſe to the Catholick party, and that he deſired, by all means, to cheriſh and maintain Hereſie: for, though the Kings deſign and intention was yet unknown to every one, the very name of Peace had wrought a jealouſie in the quick apprehenſion of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and given occaſion of talk to the common people. The King anſwered the Nuncio reſentingly, that the backwardneſs which the Clergy ſhewed, in ſubmitting themſelves to the vaſt expences of the War, and the difficulty which the Pope had made in granting licence to alienate the Hundred thouſand Crowns *per annum* of the Church Revenue, had made him incline to the Counſels of Peace; and that he thought he neither did any thing againſt his conſcience, nor againſt the Office of a Chriſtian Prince, if he laboured to reſtore peace and tranquility to the people of his Kingdom, already waſted and undone by the calamities of War: That it was a fine thing to ſtand a farr off, and intermeddle in the Government of others with words and Paper-expeditions; but that a good Father of the Family ought to have more regard to the evident good of his own houſe, then to any diſcourſes of ſtrangers. Yet the Nuncio having replied, that the true way to give his Kingdom Peace, was to extirpate the very roots of Hereſie, that the ſafety of the Soul was to be preferred before temporal reſpects; that the laſt end and aim of the War begun with the Hugonots, was quietneſs and tranquility, which, by reaſon of the weakneſs of the excommunicate Princes, was not very hard to be compaſſed by perſeverance; that the Prelates of *France* had never withdrawn themſelves from the equal burden of expences, nor would they at all refuſe it for the time to come; and finally, that he had certain hopes from *Rome*, of the grant of that Licenſe which his Majeſty deſired: the King, moderating his diſcourſe, began to ſhew him the great danger, and evil conſequences, which the inundation of Forreigners that was preparing, would bring along with it; for the diverting whereof, it was neceſſary to feign and diſſemble many things; and that he ſhould aſſure the Pope he would never conclude any thing which could prejudice the Catholick Religion, or the good and honor of the holy Church.

The ſame things in ſubſtance were urged to the Duke of *Guiſe* from the Queen-Mother: but he more particularly was moved to conſider, that this being done to hinder, and by delay to divert the coming of the Germans, did all redound to the particular ſervice of the League, and his own private benefit: for he that was placed in the confines of the Kingdom, on that ſide by which they thought to enter, was more liable then any other to the danger of their incurſions: That he knew the weakneſs of the Kings Forces, the want of Money, and on the contrary, the great ſtrength of the Army which was raiſing in *Germany*; and therefore it was neceſſary he ſhould ſuffer the Counſels that were begun to be managed with dexterity, which did all reſult at laſt unto the ſame end.

It was needful, by means of their Confidents, to inſtil the ſame things into the people of *Paris*, which already began unbridledly to mutiny: and it was neceſſary to affirm them with ſo much efficacy, that being gathered up in divers places by thoſe that favoured the Hugonots, (which ſecretly were many) and told unto the King of *Navarre*, filled his mind with great jealouſie and ſuſpicion, to the exceeding prejudice of the Treaty undertaken by the Queen, who being gone to *Chinonceaux*, a place of pleaſure, built by Madame *Valentine*, and at that time in her poſſeſſion, expected till the Abbot *Guadagni*, and the Sieur *de Rambouillet*, who were gone to treat about it, had appointed the place of interview between her and the King of *Navarre*, about which there aroſe many difficulties, by reaſon of the deep ſuſpicion he was fallen into, that they ſought to deceive him; whereupon, he refuſed to go beyond thoſe places which were held by his party, and without being accompanied by ſuch Forces, as were needful for the Guard and ſecurity of his own perſon. On the other ſide, it was very unfit, and very unſafe for the Queen, to put her ſelf into the power and forces of the Hugonots; and the buſineſs was ſuch, as could not in a few houres be treated and reſolved on in the Field. But the Kings Letters and Meſſages were ſo frequent, and his deſire was ſo great to have that Interview brought about, that though the King of *Navarre*, being raiſed by the near approach of the German Ambaſſadors, and by the hope of forreign Forces, either cared little for that Meeting with the Queen, or would make it with his own perfect ſecurity and entire reputation, and therefore

therefore would not consent to go out of the confines of the Country possessed by him; yet she, at last, resolved to satisfie him, and to go into the farthest parts of *Poictou*, bordering upon *Xaintonge*; and, having caused the Mareschal *de Byrons* Army to draw backward, she agreed to come as far as *St. Bris*, a place very near the King of *Navarrs* Garrisons, and encompassed with the Forces of the Hugonots. 1586.

In the mean time, the King, to give leasure to this Meeting, and to defer the Audience of the German Ambassadors, till he knew the issue of that Treaty, began his journey towards *Lyons*, as he had appointed, leaving order, that the Ambassadors should be received and entertained with great Honors and Feastings, till his return to *Paris*.

The Dukes of *Espernon* and *Joyeuse* began to move with their Forces at the same time, upon occasion of the Kings departure; yet they marched divers wayes, and with divers intentions: For the Duke of *Espernon*, neerly united to the Kings designs, distrustful of the League, an enemy to the *Guises*, and inclined to favour and uphold the King of *Navarre*, proceeded in *Provence* with a desire to reunite it, and reduce it wholly to his obedience; but neither to foment the designs of the League, nor to persecute the party of the Hugonots. But, the Duke of *Joyeuse*, transported with hopes, and spurred on by the emulation of *Espernon*, had partly forgot the interests of the King, the Author of his greatness, and onely root of his so sudden growth, and being allied unto the House of *Lorain*, by his marriage with the Kings sister-in-law, began partly to second the counsels of the *Guises*; and, desirous of glory, was ready to employ his Arms vigorously against the Hugonots: for which cause, being departed from the Baths in *Bourbonois* (where he had stayed a few dayes, to cure some indisposition that troubled him) he drove the Lord of *Chastillon* from the siege of *Compierre*, which he had beleaguered with certain Forces, drawn together in the quarters about *Languedoc*, took *Malaises*, *la Pierre*, *Marvegoes*, and *Salvagnac*, all places of consideration in that Province; and entering *Languedoc*, no less full of pride then warlike boasting, would make the greatness of his fortune appear distinctly to his own father, and draw his Army to a *Randezvous* within sight of the City of *Thoulouse*, where (his father commanding as the Kings Lieutenant) he had been bred up in the first years of his infancy. But the Duke of *Espernon* with a great Army, and Forces better ordered, accompanied by the Sieur *de la Valette* his brother, who was appointed his Lieutenant in *Provence*, entered there, to make himself be received Governor by the Parliament, just at the very time when *Lesdiguieres*, being come thither from *Dauphine*, had, with a great slaughter, routed Monsieur *de Vins*, the chief adherent of the League in those parts, and had reduced the Catholick affairs to a hard condition. This conjuncture was not unfavourable to *Espernon*, for the followers of the League did already plot how to exclude him from the Government; and Monsieur *de Vins* had laboured to make some places refuse to accept him. But he being arrived in a time when they were yet dismayed, by the defeat they had newly received, though *Lesdiguieres* was forced to retire again into *Dauphine*, yet *Vins* had neither strength nor occasion to oppose him openly; and the Duke having taken *Seine*, commonly called *La Grande-Tour*, and many other lesser places, in a few weeks brought the whole Province under the obedience of his government; there having left his brother with the charge of the Army, he returned speedily to Court; his interests of ruling the Kings *Genius*, and moderating his deliberations, not suffering him to be far from thence.

At the same time the German Embassie arrived at *Paris*, wherein, besides a select number of honourable personages, were the Count *de Mombelliard*, and the Count of *Isembourg*, in person, Lords, for the nobleness of their blood, and the quality of their power, of very high estimation, and who ardently favoured and managed the German Levies. These being entertained at the Kings charge, and with all the highest sorts of honors, seemed yet unsatisfied at his so far distance, and the delay which was interposed of their negotiating with him, interpreting that to French pride and disdain, which depended upon more secret and remote occasions: so that the two Counts thinking they should take off from their own reputation, by staying longer to wait for him, full of hidden anger, and of so much greater favour to the Hugonots, returned home, leaving the charge of the business to the other Ambassadors. The King having, by redoubled messengers, received the news of their departure, and the distaste which the rest shewed openly, began to return, with small dayes journeys, towards *Paris*, expecting still to hear, that the Queen, having overcome all difficulties, had, at last,

1586. conferred with the King of *Navarre*; But, all delayes being already ſpent, and the buſineſs of that Interview proceeding extraordinary ſlowly, he was, in the end, neceſſitated to ſtay at *St. Germains*, and give audience to the Ambaſſadors, but, with a countenance no leſs doubtful and uncertain, then his mind was perplexed and unreſolved; which yet nevertheleſs became preſently free and reſolute: for, Prince *Caſimir's* Ambaſſador having ſpoken, in the name of all the reſt, with bold terms and high words, no leſs full of tacite threatnings then open contempt; the King, as a Prince of a tender ſenſe, offended at that proud manner of proceeding with him, was kindled with ſo great indignation, that, contrary to his wonted cuſtom, and firſt deſign, he anſwered the Ambaſſadors of himſelf, with ſo much ſharpneſs and reſentment, that inſtantly they were wonderfully daſhed, and the next day after, without other audience, with ſmall honor, and as little ſatisfaction, they were diſmiſſed. The diſcourſe of the Ambaſſadors in ſubſtance contained a long complaint, That the King, to ſatisfie the unjuſt deſire, and perverſe ambition of the Pope, and of certain Princes and Communalties of his Kingdom, had broken his word with thoſe of the Reformed Religion, and taken away that Liberty of Conſcience, which he had formerly granted and eſtabliſhed by ſo many Decrees: That therefore the Princes of *Germany*, who were intereſſed and united in the ſame Religion, intreated him to put an end to the War and diſturbance of Armes, granting both Temporal and Spiritual peace to all his Subjects, whereby he might eſcape the juſt wrath of God due to ſuch as break their word, and might alſo give them occaſion to preſerve their ancient friendſhip with the Crown; notwithſtanding which, they were ſtreightly obliged to provide for the ſafety of thoſe who (without fault of theirs) being in diſtreſs, did implore the aid of thoſe Princes that agreed with them in the confeſſion of the ſame Faith. On the other ſide, the King's Anſwer contained, That having been called and choſen by God to the juſt profeſſion of his Crown, he had alſo authority not depending upon any body, to eſtabliſh Laws, publiſh Decrees, grant Licenſes, and make fitting Proviſions, according to the qualities of times, and the need of his Subjects, and therefore might alſo revoke, change, alter, and retract them at his pleaſure, as he was beſt directed by his Divine Majeſty: wherefore he did give the lie to whoſoever went about to tax him to be a breaker of his word, if for the intereſt of his Subjects, and good of his Kingdom, he had revoked a liberty, granted conditionally, and but for a time; and that as he had formerly done, ſo he would raign freely for the future, marvelling that any ſhould preſume to interpoſe and meddle in the Government of his People, and in the Authority of his Perſon: That this was his laſt reſolution, neither was it needful for them to ſtay any longer, to hear any other particulars from him. The Ambaſſadors urging, to have that Anſwer given them in writing, he angerly refuſed to do it; and giving order, that they ſhould be conducted to lodge at *Poiſſy*, went the next day after (being the ninth of *September*) to the City of *Paris*.

The Ambaſſadors of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* being come to *Paris* to treat in favour of the Hugonots, having ſpoken highly to the King, are ſharply anſwered, and depart unſatisfied from the Court.

There, notwithſtanding the reſolute anſwer given to the Proteſtant Princes, already divulged every where, and the progreſs of the War againſt the Hugonots, already kindled in ſo many places, the mindes of the common people were more then ever enflamed againſt his perſon and proceedings, which were publickly inveighed againſt in Pulpits, and particularly ſlandered in private meetings; for it being already ſpread abroad, by the Preachers and Heads of the League, and rooted in the minds of the Pariſians, that the King favoured the King of *Navarre* and the Hugonot party, and ſought, by under-hand means, at the ſute of his *Minions*, to bring him to the ſucceſſion of the Crown, and to eſtabliſh them in the free profeſſion of their Faith; the hatred conceived upon this occaſion, was afterwards increaſed, by the frequency of Taxes and Impoſitions, and the continued exalting of the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, and the other Favourites, who not only were highly ſuſpected, but extremely hated by the greateſt part of the Citizens. Wherefore, beſides the ſuggeſtions of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who kept the Sieur *de Meneville* perpetually in the City for that purpoſe, the chief of the people being (in favour of the League, kindled of themſelves, to conſpire both againſt the Actions and Perſon of the King, had framed a Counſel of ſuch as were moſt intereſſed, conſiſting of ſixteen perſons (becauſe the chief Wards, or as they call them, the *Quarters* of the City were ſo many) which was to rule and moderate the progreſs of that buſineſs, and the mindes of the common people. *La Chapelle Martel*, *Jehan le Clerc* Sieur *de Buſſy*, Preſident *Nully*, and *Charles Hotman*, were from the beginning as Heads and Preſidents of this Councel, and all * Trades were brought into it, by means

The Pariſians, by the ſuggeſtions of their Heads of the League, being ſet againſt the King, frame a Councel of 16 principal perſons, by whom they were governed, receiving their Orders and reſolutions.

* Or Companies.

means of certain men chosen by them, one of each profession, who being admitted to this Councel, made their relations, and received their orders, concerning whatsoever was resolved by the *Sixteen*, as well for the defence of the City, as the service of the League, and to oppose themselves against the designs of the King and his Favourites. The meetings of this Councel was at first in the Colledge of *Fortet*, commonly called the * *Cradle of the League*, afterward they assembled themselves in the Covent of the Dominicans, or Jacobines; and at last, for fear of being suspected and discovered, they met not any more together in any certain determinate place; but sometimes in one private house, sometimes in another, with wonderful secrecy. 1586.

* *Le berceau de la Ligue.*

But nevertheless all these things were known unto the King, by the relation of *Nicholas Poulain*, who, (as we have said before) moved, either by hope of reward, or by the sting of conscience, made the King acquainted with every particular, by means of Monsieur *d'O* and the High-Chancellor; for, as a chief instrument in the Union of the Parisians, he knew the most hidden counsels that were plotted in that Congregation. But they of the League, not yet finding that their practises were discovered, and being fomented and swelled with promises by the Duke of *Guise*, and Don *Bernardino Mendozza* the Spanish Lieger at *Paris*, their boldness passed so far, that besides having possessed the whole scope of the City, listed secretly those men that were fit to bear Armes, and made great provisions to arm them, they had also begun to communicate with other principal Cities of the Kingdom, to raise and unite them in the same Conspiracy, which being by inveterate use and custome grown to an unbounded liberty, they began already to think, not onely of seising upon strong Towns and Fortresses, but went so far, as to dare conspire against the Kings own Person, that they might be able afterwards to order the affairs of the Kingdom at their pleasure, and as the League should think fit.

*Nicholas Poulain* discovers all the Plots of the League unto the King.

It happened, that this counsel of the League being held one day in the Jesuites Colledge, a Proposition was made by the Confederates, in the name of the Spanish Ambassador, to surprise the Town of *Boulogne*, a Fortress in *Picardy*, seated upon the Shore of the * Ocean Sea, then under the Government of the Duke of *Espernon*, and in his name kept by the Sieur *de Bernay*, with the Authority of Governor. The Proposers alledged, that the Catholick King being about to set forth a mighty Fleet to go for *England*, was content, that (using his Forces in favour of that League) they should land in *France* at their first arrival, provided they might be furnished with a strong, large, and convenient Harbour, where they might securely enter; that there was no place more fit then *Boulogne*, seated in those parts which were nearest the City of *Paris*, placed right against *England*, hard by *Flanders*, to receive supplies from thence; the Duke of *Parma* being there, raising a very great Army, to join with the Forces of the Fleet: They shewed, that the Enterprise was not difficult; for the Provost *Vetus*, a faithful instrument of the League, using every three months to ride his circuit, and visit those parts, with fifty of his * Archers, which were commonly wont to go along with him, might surprise one of the Gates of the Town at his entry, and keep it till he were relcived by the Duke of *Aumale* with the Forces of the Province, at whose coming, those few Soldiers which were there in the Garrison being cut off, it was most easie to make themselves Masters of the place; which being a very principal one, was greatly desired also by the Duke of *Aumale* himself, who never having been able to attain to the absolute Government of *Picardy*, tried all wayes and plots, though bold and dangerous, to compass it. This attempt of *Boulogne* did very much please the Confederates, hoping that all the Spanish Forces would turn unexpectedly in favour of their designs; but, it was no less hopeful to the intents of the Ambassador *Mendozza*, considering the great benefit the Navy would receive by so important a place, and so large, so commodious an Harbour, as well in the prosecution of the Enterprise upon *England*, as if it should be imployed in the affairs of *France*: wherefore the common opinion concurring to the same end, it was resolved in the Councel, that the business should be attempted, and the Provost being informed thereof, who was most ready to undertake it, the fitting assignation was given to the Duke of *Aumale*, who, by reason of his wonderful inclination to the affairs of the League, and his desire to make himself absolute in the Government of *Picardy*, did, with as much readiness, put himself in order for the design. But, Lieutenant *Poulain* was no less sollicitous then they, to give the King intelligence of all the business, by means of the High Chancellor: so that Monsieur *de Bernay* being advertised, and carefully

They of the League plot to surprise *Boulogne* by the Spanish Fleet, which is revealed by *Poulain*.

* The Author in many places calls that the Ocean Sea, which we call the Brittish Sea.

* Attendants, or guard; so called, because in old time they went with Bowes and Arrowes.

1585. fully prepared, received the Provoſt in ſo dextrous a manner, that in the entry of the Gate, between the Draw-bridge and the Perculliſe, he was taken Priſoner with the greateſt part of his men: and the Duke of *Aumale* appearing a while after under the Walls, was, by the fury of the Canon ſhot forced to retire.

Yet, for all the failing of this Enterpriſe, did not the Confederates find, that their ſecret Conſultations were laid open to the Kings knowledge; but, aſcribing the ſucceſleſs event of that attempt to chance, and to the wonted diligence of the Sieur *de Bernay*; they continued their accuſtomed inclinations with ſo much ardour, that they conſulted of taking the King himſelf, returning with a ſlender Guard (as he was wont to do) from the *Boys de Vincennes*, whither he retiring himſelf from time to time to the exerciſe of his devotions (or as his detracters ſaid, of his debauches) at his return entred by the *Porte S. Antoine*, the fartheſt part of all the City from the *Louvre*, where his Guards were, and about which the Court was lodged. But they themſelves had not courage to proſecute that attempt, not having any Head of the Confederate Princes there preſent, and the King having notice of it by the ſame means, began to take better heed to himſelf, and to go with more caution thorough the City, and the places about it, cauſing himſelf alwayes to be attended by the Captains of his Guards, and by a good number of his moſt truſty Gentlemen, not ſuffering the five and forty, appointed for that ſervice particularly, to ſtir far from his Perſon. He was oftentimes thinking to chaſtiſe their temerity, and to revenge himſelf, as well of the contempt which the Preachers ſhewed, ſpeaking publickly againſt him, as of the conſpiracies of thoſe ſtirers up of the people, which had cauſed the greateſt and moſt important City of his Kingdom to revolt againſt him; but many things withheld him from it; the Treaty begun with the King of *Navarre*, the end whereof he deſired to ſee before he gave any new diſturbance to the League; the neer coming in of the forreign Army, to oppoſe the violence whereof, if he ſhould not agree with the King of *Navarre*, he was neceſſitated to make uſe of the Forces of the League, and keep united with the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*; much leſs was that a fit conjuncture to break out into open War with them, by puniſhing the Pariſians, the ſo numerous Forces of ſuch a populous City alone requiring many preparations to ſubdue them, and the abſence of the Queen his Mother, without whoſe advice he was not wont to take any reſolutions of ſuch conſequence as concerned the whole ſumm of his affairs To theſe weighty reſpects, and the unfitneſs of the time, was added the Office alſo of Monſieur *de Villequier*, who, being Governor of *Paris*, either out of a certain propenſion, which men have to defend and excuſe thoſe that are under their command, or out of a belief that they conſpired, not immediately againſt the King, but onely for the good of the Catholick party, and againſt the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, or elſe diſdaining, that in his Government, others ſhould know more of the ſecret affairs of that People, than he himſelf, and ſhould, in a manner, tax him of negligence, laboured to make them appear lyers, and ſatisfied the King, by aſſuring him, that the people did not bear him ill will, and that they plotted not any thing at all againſt him, and finally, endeavoured, by ſeveral meanes, to perſwade him to diſſemble, and bear with ſome indiſcretions of the People, who were jealous of their Religion. In which opinion Secretary *Villeroy* did often alſo concurr; being intent, by all wayes poſſible, to hinder the further greatneſs of *Eſpernon*.

They of the League conſult about taking the King, as he returned from hunting.

Thus the King, by diſſembling, increaſed the popular boldneſs and temerity: ſo that the Duke of *Mayenne* being about this time returned to *Paris* (who ſeeing his Army deſtroyed by toil and ſickneſs in *Guienne*, and not having been able to obtain from the King, either recruits of men, or ſupplies of money, was come perſonally to Court, after the taking of *Chaſtillon*) the Heads of the Pariſians were ready to make their addreſſes to him, aſpiring to bring their deſigns about, under the protection and conduct of his authority. *Hot-man*, *Buſſy*, *la Chapelle Mortel*, Preſident *Nully*, *Prevoſt* the Curate of S. *Severine*, and the Preacher *Vinceſtre*, went ſecretly by night unto him, and made him acquainted with their Forces, the union of the people, the Armes already gathered, and with the intention they had, not only to reduce the City under the power of the League, but alſo to ſeize upon the Kings perſon, and put his Favourites to death, who gave him ſuch wicked Counſel in favour of the Hugonots. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who, becauſe he had ever been of a contrary opinion to his Brothers, was not fully informed of theſe particular practices, managed by the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal, and who, by nature, was averſe from too bold precipitate Councels, ſtood a while

The Deſign of taking the *Baſtile*, *Arcenal*, *Paris*, and the *Louvre*, and to cut in pieces the Minions and the Kings adherents, and to take the King himſelf priſoner, revealed, and not effected.

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in doubt, and took time to reſolve till the night following: which being come, and the ſame Deputies of the *Union* being come unto him, he deſired them to inform him more diſtinctly of their intentions, of their Forces, and of the Plots to which they truſted, being not diſpoſed to undertake any thing which was not ſure to be effected. The Deputies preſently did ſo, and related to him, That firſt of all they meant to make themſelves maſters of all the chief places of the City, and that they had laid the Deſign in this manner: That to get the *Baſtille*, they would go by night to the houſe of the *Chevalier du* Guet*, who dwelt in St. *Catherines*, a very remote place, and by one of the Archers which are wont to wait upon him, who was privy to the Plot, cauſe him to be told, that the King asked for him; at which, he opening his houſe to go out, an hundred armed men ſhould enter, and having taken him, ſhould force him to open the Gate of the *Baſtille*: That, at the ſame time, certain Archers and Serjeants, with whom they had agreed, ſhould cauſe the * *Chaſtelet* to be opened, under pretence of bringing certain priſoners thither, as it often happened, and ruſhing in, armed men ſhould make themſelves maſters of it: That the gate of the * *Arcenal*, where there was no Guard, ſhould be opened unto them by the two founders of Ordnance, whom they had dealt withal, and who dwelling within there, had promiſed to open it when they pleaſed: Which things being performed, they would preſently run to the houſes of the High Chancellor, of the firſt Preſident of the Parliament, of *La Gueſle* the * *Procureur-General*, and of the Kings Councellors, who, being taken unexpectedly in their beds, might eaſily be cut in pieces without reſiſtance. Which things being done, they would barricado all the ſtreets with barrels full of earth and dirt, and with Chains, Bars, and other things, to the end that none might be able to relieve the City, or draw men in Armes together, every Ward ſtanding upon the defence of their own quarter; and eight thouſand armed men choſen amongſt them all, under the command of ſome expert Leader, or of the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf, if he pleaſed to be there, ſhould beſet the *Louvre*, where there being only the ordinary Guards, and the retinue of Courtiers, it would be eaſie to enter it by force, or conſtrain all thoſe that were there to yield by Famine, having no proviſion of victuals within it: which being done, all the Kings *Minions*, and other Counſellors ſhould be cut in pieces, and the King himſelf put in a Monaſtery, till the Princes of the League had reſolved of a future Forme of Government: the Duke of *Mayenne* being to go preſently with new Forces into *Guienne*, and the Catholick King ſending in a mighty Army over the Pirenean mountains, to deſtroy the King of *Navarre* and the Hugonot party. At theſe propoſals, the Duke of *Mayenne*, a ſtayed man, was in much greater ſuſpence then before, both for the cruelty of the fact, and becauſe he thought it not ſecure to attempt ſuch things upon the onely foundation of the common people, who, for the moſt part, are deceitful; and therefore anſwered the Deputies, That they ſhould think better of the ordering that enterpiſe, and that he alſo would think upon it, and provide Commanders and other neceſſary means for the execution, if he reſolved to meddle in it: And indeed, either doubtful in mind, or to have more convenience to think upon a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence, he fained himſelf not well, and neither ſtirred abroad, nor admitted any to viſit him.

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* Captain of the ordinary VVatch of *Paris*.

* A Court of Juſtice in *Paris*, as *Guildhall* in *London*, where alſo many are impriſoned.
* The Magazine of Arms.
* Attorney-General.

But, in the mean time, *Poulain*, who knew all the buſineſs, was not ſlow in going to the High Chancellor the next morning betimes, to make him acquainted with the whole deſign; but he found him going out of his lodging ſooner then ordinary to Counſel, wherefore ſeeing much company with him, he was reſolved to defer the diſcovery till the afternoon. It happened, that he being very much in debt, ſome Creditors of his having got leave to arreſt him, lighted upon him that morning, and cauſed him to be led priſoner to the *Chaſtelet*, where, ſeeing himſelf ſhut up, he, by a private note, let the High-Chancellor know of the diſaſter that had befallen him, and how neceſſary it was that he ſhould ſpeak with him about things of infinite importance: whereupon the Chancellor cauſing him to be brought bound before him, took him into his cloſet, pretending to examine the occaſion why he was impriſoned, and there he was fully informed by him, of all that had been propoſed to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and of all the deſigns and attempts of the Pariſians; but, to deceive the ſtanders by, ſeeming to be very angry with him, and that he would have him ſell his Office to ſatisfie his Creditors, he ſent him bound to Secretary *Villeroy*, who ſet down his whole relation in writing; and, to cover the buſineſs, ſo that thoſe of the *Union* might not have the leaſt ſuſpicion, he, with an angry countenance, and more angry words, commanded him to be carried back to Priſon, from whence, by a feigned ſecurity, which the King himſelf cauſed him

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1586. to give, he was ſet at liberty a few days after. But the King being informed of the conſpiracy of the Pariſians, (though Monſieur *de Ville-quier* continued to aſſure him, and to cry out they were but lyes and inventions, *Poulain* being often rebuked and villified by him, as one who brought to deſpair by his own evil life, tryed by this calumny to make his profit) commanded nevertheleſs that the *Chevalier du Guet* ſhould remove and lodge in the *Baſtile*; cauſed the Founders of Ordnance to be put out of the Arcenal, and put in the Provoſt *Papin* with his Archers for a Guard; ſtrengthened the Guards at the entry of the *Louvre*, and drew ſome of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s Horſe and Foot within a mile of the Town, which in time of need might be brought in by the Garden of the * *Tuilleryes*, at a back gate opening into the fields.

* The Garden of the *Louvre*.

They of the Union were much aſtoniſhed, finding all their ſecrets were diſcovered, but they knew not upon whom to lay the fault, nor could they miſtruſt *Poulain*, becauſe the accident of his impriſonment had excellently diſguiſed his intelligence. But the Duke of *Mayenne* was much more diſcontented at it; who having never conſented abſolutely to the conſpiracy of the Pariſians, ſaw himſelf yet included in their errour, and as it were engaged within the Kings power, by whom he might very eaſily have been taken, had it not been for thoſe reſpects which made him proceed warily, and diſſemble all things to attain to the end of his deſigns: wherefore if he had before feigned himſelf ſick, that he might have more conveniency to ripen his determination; now he was neceſſitated to do the ſame for fear of being taken and put to death by the King if he ſhould go to the *Louvre*. But when after the ſpace of many days it was known that the King made no greater preparations, being ſatisfied with having ſecured himſelf; the Duke of *Mayenne* recovering courage, reſolved to leave the City, and retire to his Government of *Bourgongne*; whereupon going to the *Louvre*, he made as if it had been neceſſary for him to go into the Country by reaſon of his want of health, and asked the King leave; who for all his diſſimulation could not forbear to ſay, *How now Duke? will you forſake your League?* whereat the Duke feigning not to underſtand him, and ſaying, That he knew not what his Majeſty meant, departed without further delay; the King rejoycing no leſs to ſee him go, and leave the Pariſians without a Head, and without any ſetled reſolution; then he to be out of that danger, and to have eſcaped the Kings Forces without hazard of his life or reputation.

The Duke of *Guiſe* took it very ill, that the Pariſians had revealed their deſigns to his Brother, as well becauſe knowing himſelf to have a freer courage and a more ſubtil ſprightly wit, he deſired in all things to be the man that ſhould give the firſt motion and beginning, and that ſhould order the courſe of all enterpriſes; as becauſe he knew the nature and actions of the Duke of *Mayenne* were not altogether conformable to the aims of his intents: but the Pariſians excuſed themſelves, that they ſuſpected their counſels were already diſcovered; whereupon their fear leſt the King ſhould prevent them, had cauſed the determination of imparting it to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that they might execute the buſineſs without delay, having alſo believed, that the having recourſe to one Brother more than to another was of no great importance, ſince one was preſent, and the other far off, and imployed in other affairs: Wherefore the Duke of *Guiſe*, not to be idle in the midſt of ſo many buſineſſes, and not to let his reputation grow ſtale and decay, had upon ſlight occaſions begun a War voluntarily with the Duke of *Bouillon*, who poſſeſſing *Sedan* and *Jamets*, very ſtrong and important Towns, with other leſs places upon the Confines of *Lorain* and *Champagne*, did by them keep open the paſſage for the German Army which came in favour of the Hugonots to enter *France*; wherefore the Duke of *Guiſe*, who deſired to ſhut up that way by trying to drive the Duke of *Bouillon* from thence, having made a great complaint, that the Gariſons placed in thoſe Towns which were under *Sedan*, (where great ſtore of Hugonots were gathered together) did much harm to the villages joining upon *Champagne*, he aſſaulted ſuddenly and took *Donzi*, a place in that territory very commodious to block up the principal City, as he preſently would have done, if another enterpriſe had not diverted him.

The Governour of *Auſſone*, a very principal Town in the Dutchy of *Bourgongne*, denied to yield it up to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to whom it had been particularly aſſigned, being encouraged by his ſo far diſtance, and his having been imployed ſo long with the Army in *Guienne*; and the * *Grand Eſquier* Lieutenant of that Province, a man

* Maſter of the Horſe.

man meerly depending upon the King, though he made ſhew of deſiring to force that place, did yet cunningly defer to do ſo, nor could he find the way to bring him to his due obedience: Wherefore the Duke of *Guiſe*, who would endure no ſuch affronts in the Provinces held and governed by his Family, and particularly in *Bourgongne*, cloſely united with *Champagne*, and ſtanding upon the Confines of the Kingdom, and jealous of his Brothers reputation, and of his own, laying aſide the enterpriſe of *Sedan*, came ſuddenly into *Bourgongne* with all the Forces of the League, and without other leave from the King, unexpectedly beſieged *Auſſone*, which having a ſufficient Gariſon, the Defendents ſhewed themſelves ſo courageous, that in their firſt ſally they defeated Colonel St. *Paul's* Regiment of Foot, killing ſix Captains and three hundred Souldiers, and in the following aſſaults which were fiercely given unto the wall, beat back the Aſſailants oftentimes with much loſs; but being ſtreightned by the continual battery of three and twenty Cannon, the greateſt part borrowed from the Duke of *Lorain*, and diſtreſſed with Mines, Eſcalodoes, and redoubled aſſaults, and expecting no relief from any place, becauſe ſome few Foot and Horſe raiſed in *Mombelliard*, (which State borders upon *Bourgongne*) and in *Geneva* by Monſieur *de Clervant*, were defeated by Monſieur *de Rhoſne* Camp-Maſter to the Duke of *Guiſe*, they capitulated in the end to yield themſelves, and having leave from the Duke to go to *Sedan* and *Jamets*, upon the eighteenth of *Auguſt* they delivered up the place to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who having made the Baron *de Seneſay* Governour, returned preſently to the Government of *Champagne*, and from thence went to *Soiſſons*, where in a Diet of the principal Heads of the League, it was reſolved, that the War with the Duke of *Bouillon* ſhould be continued; wherefore as he was reſolute in his determinations, and moſt quick in the execution, having in a few days put his Army in order, he attaqued *Rocroy*, a place fortified after the modern way, and conſtantly defended by the Sieur *de Monmore*. But in that multiplicity of aſſaults and variety of attempts, wherein the art of the Duke of *Guiſe* was admirable, and his valour no leſs, the having no hope of relief conſtrained the Defendents to yield at laſt; amongſt which, one called *Perſevalle*, and two other Captains corrupted with money and promiſes by the Duke, feigned to retire to *Sedan*, and *Jamets*, giving him aſſurance they would deliver up a Gate of each of thoſe Cities, when it ſhould be their turn to have the guard of them; upon which hopes, though with forces inferiour to what was requiſite for the beſieging a place of ſo great moment, he quartered at *Moucon*, a Town near *Sedan*, and reſolved under colour of ſtreightning it, to expect the performance of thoſe promiſes.

1586.

*Auſſone* a ſtrong place in the Dutchy of *Bourgongne* beſieged and taken by the Duke of *Guiſe*.

But while the Duke of *Guiſe* does theſe things in *Champagne*, the Queen-Mother (the place of interview with the King of *Navarre* being appointed) was come to *Cognac*, attended by *Ludovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, (who having left the League, had put himſelf wholly under her protection) by the Mareſchal *de Retz*, the Sieurs *d' Abin*, and *de Rambouillet*, by the Abbot *Guadagni*, Secretary *Pinart*, Monſieur *de Lanſac*, and divers other perſonages, who for quality and wiſdom were of great eſteem.

On the other ſide, the King of *Navarre* was come to *Jarnac*, with the Viſcount *de Turenne*, the Sieur *de la Force*, and *Monguidon*, the Baron *de Salignac*, and many other Lords of his party; but with ſo great a ſtrength, (having with him eight hundred Horſe, and few leſs than two thouſand Foot) as at the firſt notice of them, put the Queen-Mother into very great ſuſpicion, there not wanting thoſe who doubted, and who ſpread abroad a report, that ſhe was come with an intention to take her, and carry her away by force to *Rochel*. But after it was known that the King of *Navarre* was come in that manner for his own ſecurity, as one who by reaſon of his own weakneſs, and the uſage he had received at other times, was in doubt of being deceived; and that the ingenuity of his nature, and the abſurdity of that buſineſs had taken away all jealouſies, they met at laſt upon the eighteenth of *October* at St. *Bris*, equally diſtant from the places whence they came, there being on the Queens part beſides her ordinary Court, only the Captain of her Guard with fifty Horſe, and on the King of *Navarre's* Captain *Lomelle* with as many. The Gates were guarded by two Companies of Foot, one of the one party, and the other of the other, and in the field the Cavalry of both ſides, in two ſeveral Squadrons; the King of *Navarre's* commanded by the Count *de la Vall*, and Monſieur *de la Noue*; and the Queen-Mother's by the Sieur *de Malicorne* and other Gentlemen of the Country.

The interview between the Queen-mother and the King of *Navarre* at S. *Bris*, wherein nothing was concluded.

1586. Their publick diſcourſes paſſed in complaints on both ſides; the King lamenting that the King of *Navarre*'s obſtinacy not to change his Religion, and to keep ſo far from Court, put the King upon a neceſſity of making War: and on the other ſide, the King of *Navarre* complained, that whilſt he ſtood ſtill obedient to the Kings commands, and moſt obſervant of the Edicts, he to ſatisfie the Lords of *Guiſe*, and other Enemies to quietneſs, had broke the Peace. But being come to ſecret conference, the Queen laid open the conditions which the King propounded of the divorce of Queen *Margaret*, and of the Marriage with the Princeſs of *Lorain*, who was there preſent, and being of an age already marriageable, ſhewed tokens of moſt noble education and diſcreet modeſty. To this Match the Queen told him, that a Manifeſt ſhould be added to declare him firſt Prince of the Blood, and lawful Succeſſor to the Crown; and alledged, that from thence would neceſſarily reſult the diſuniting of the Duke of *Lorain*, Father to the Princeſs, from the League, and from the Lords of *Guiſe*, who loſing ſo principal a foundation, either would become quiet of their own accord, or if they did not ſubmit themſelves freely to the Kings will, they might with help of the German Army, which was upon the point of entring the Confines, be eaſily ruined and ſuppreſſed. That to attain ſo great a good, nothing elſe was required from the King of *Navarre*, but only his converſion to the Catholick Religion, and his return to Court; for as concerning the Excommunication of *Rome*, and the Popes Declaration of his incapacity to ſucceed in the Crown, as ſoon as he ſhould be a real Catholick, the perſecution of the *Guiſes* being taken away, and the League deſtroyed, the revocation of it would without difficulty be obtained; for the facilitating whereof, the King, who at firſt was diſpleaſed that *Fabio Mirto* a Neapolitan Archbiſhop of *Nazaret*, had been declared Nuncio for *France* in the place of *Girolamo Ragazzoni* Biſhop of *Bergamo* a Venetian, and had refuſed to accept of him, was ſince perſwaded to receive him; and beſides, Monſieur *de* St. *Goart*, Marqueſs of *Piſani*, his ordinary Ambaſſador to the Pope, he had alſo appointed the Duke of *Luxembourg* for extraordinary Ambaſſador, both men of ſuch worth and prudence as would eaſily know how to overcome the greateſt difficulties they ſhould find in that Court.

This indeed was the beſt reſolution and the moſt powerful to deſtroy the Lords of *Guiſe*, and the League; to reſtore the firſt authority, and Majeſty to the Kings perſon, and to put the affairs of *France* into a ſecure quietneſs; and the King of *Navarre* himſelf was of opinion that it was ſo, whereupon he took only two days time to conſider of it. But it was decreed that things ſhould go in another manner, and that not peace and accommodation, but war and ruine ſhould make way for the King of *Navarre*'s exaltation; for on the one ſide his thoughts repreſented ſuch a fear of being catched again, and deceived, by the bitter memory of St. *Bartholomew*'s day; and on the other ſo weak hopes of his ſucceſſion to the Crown, by reaſon of the youth of the King and Queen, and an infinite number of accidents which might croſs it in length of time, that the ſhame of forſaking the Hugonot party, from which he acknowledged his preſent condition, and of having (to the ſcandal of his name) changed his Religion ſo often, condemning himſelf not only of inconſtancy, but even of Atheiſm, if it ſhould be known that he ſwayed his Faith to the intereſt of State, he reſolved not to conſent to the Queens Propoſitions, but to ſee if by another way there might be any means to obtain the ſame ends.

With this determination he returned to the ſecond Conference in the ſame place, where after the ſame complaints, to conceal what was treated of between them, they came to ſecret diſcourſes, wherein he ſhewed that the foreign Forces might altogether as well be united with the Kings, and turn with his to deſtroy the League, and eaſily to ſuppreſs the Houſe of *Lorain*, without his being obliged to change his Religion, or come to Court: That the King in former times had plainly known the ingenuity of his Nature, and the deſire he had, not only to obey him, but alſo to make him to be obeyed by thoſe ſtiff-necked Rebels, againſt whom he would imploy not only the German Army, but all his own forces, friends and adherents, and his very life: That he was ready to give the King all poſſible aſſurance, and hoped that in a ſhort time his actions would of themſelves give teſtimony of his faith and ſincerity: That therefore it was now ſuperfluous to treat of changing his Religion, a thing of ſo great moment, and to be reſolved upon with very mature deliberation, and with thoſe circumſtances of counſels, inſtructions, and other particulars, which might ſatisfie his Conſcience, and give juſt pretences to his reſolutions: That it was alſo out of ſeaſon to preſs his coming

coming to Court, where he could not ſecure himſelf he ſhould ſtay without danger, till the *Guiſes* were utterly ſuppreſſed, whoſe power would never ſuffer his mind to reſt in quiet till he ſaw them made unable to practiſe their wonted machinations: and with what heart, with what courage could he return to live in *Paris*, where the power of the League was ſo mighty, and the minds of the people ſo cruel, unleſs the Incendiaries and Stirrers up of tumultuous conſpiracies were taken out of the World? that the King therefore ſhould take what the nature of things would permit in that preſent condition, and become certain (with reaſon) that their common Enemies being the ſame, and the ſame intereſts pleading for them both, he would labour with that candour and that efficacy which the exigency of the matter required. 1586.

To theſe reaſons the Queen anſwered, That as his Converſion was eaſie, ſo neither could it want juſt pretences; for if the King ſhould make a League with him while he was diſobedient to the Catholick Church, and openly excommunicated, beſides the infamy which his name would incur, (by mingling in a conjunction not only abhorred, and never ſo much as in thought conſented to by any other of the moſt Chriſtian Kings, but alſo immediately contrary to the Vow and Oath taken ſolemnly at his Conſecration) he ſhould moreover give colour to the complaints, and juſtifie the practices of the League; and which was of very great conſideration, he ſhould ſtir up all other Catholick Princes of the World againſt him. That upon their agreement would preſently enſue the revolt of the City of *Paris*, (already in an uproar with but ſeeing that they treated with him) and the rebellion of many other chief Cities, as alſo the alienation of all the Catholick Nobility, and the greater part of the Kingdom: that this was the way to facilitate the King of *Spain*'s aſſiſtance of the League, who would preſently be forced to turn thoſe preparations into *France* which were made againſt *England*. That at the firſt news of it, the Pope, of an angry haſty nature, would run precipitately to *Excommunications* and *Interdictions*, would preſently diſpatch great Supplies in favour of the League, and ſtir up all the Italian Princes to unite themſelves with him for the defence of Religion. That the Duke of *Lorain* would not conſent the marriage of his Daughter ſhould be conſummate whilſt he was an alien from the Church, nor would the States endure he ſhould be declared the lawful Succeſſor of the Crown whilſt he held the Faith of the Hugonots. In concluſion, that his perſeverance was accompanied with all manner of difficulties and impediments; but his converſion did wonderfully facilitate and lay open the way to all his hopes, neither doubtful nor uncertain, but well grounded and ſecure.

The King of *Navarre* excuſed himſelf, ſometimes with the indecency of changing, ſometimes with his Conſcience, ſometimes diſcovering his fear of being brought into the net again; but in his excuſes the perplexity of his mind, and the force of the Queens reaſons appeared; whereupon new time was taken, and another Conference appointed within two or three days, wherein to facilitate the buſineſs, the Duke of *Nevers* was admitted on the Queens ſide, and the Viſcount *de Turenne* on the King of of *Navarre*'s; but they (contrary to expectation) did rather increaſe the difficulties, than open the way to any reſolution: for the Duke of *Nevers* deſiring to ſhew his Eloquence and Learning as he was wont to do, wrought greater doubts in the mind of the King of *Navarre*, to whom the Italian arts were ſuſpected; and the Viſcount, a man no leſs wiſe and cunning, than ſtout and valiant, though he ſhewed a great inclination to favour the Queens reaſons, yet the common opinion was, that for fear of being abandoned with the Duke of *Momorancy*, (ſo they called the Mareſchal *d' Anville* after the death of his Brother) and of loſing thoſe great hopes which he had of power and command in the Hugonot party, neither deſired Peace, nor the King of *Navarre*'s Converſion; and that therefore he ſecretly diſſwaded him from it: wherefore neither in this third Conference could they conclude any thing; but at the very time the King of *Navarre* had warning given him to take heed of the artifices of the King and Queen, who at the ſame inſtant while they treated with him, did aſſure the Popes Nuncio, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the people of *Paris*, that whatſoever was done was in favour of the League; and that the end would juſtifie, that this Treaty included ſuch a deſign as would at laſt break forth for the good of Religion; whereby his jealouſie increaſing, not thinking it ſafe to truſt either the Kings inconſtancy, or the Queens too much cunning, he reſolved in the end to follow the fortune of the Hugonots, and not to truſt the Court; neither would he come to the Conference any more himſelf in perſon, but continued to ſend the Viſcount of *Turenne*,

1586. who treating very dexterouſly with the Queen, would never come to any concluſion at all.

1587. With theſe Negotiations began the year 1587; upon the firſt day whereof the King celebrating the Ceremonies of the Knights of the St. *Eſprit* in *Paris*, ſwore ſolemnly not to ſuffer any other Religion than the Roman Catholick. This Oath of his, as it was ſudden and inconſiderate, ſo both then, and many times after, it was blamed, as abſurd, and contrary to his own deſigns: for, to treat of an Agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and vow the extirpation of the Hugonots, did immediately contradict one another. But neither they that ſpake of it then, nor they that looking upon things afar off, reprehended it, did ſo afterwards, when they knew either the Kings intention, or the contents of what was ſecretly treated with the King of *Navarre*: for Monſieur *de Rambouillet* being come poſt from *Poictou*, and arrived already at Court upon the 27 of *December*, with Letters from the Queen, and with a Relation of all that had paſſed with the King of *Navarre*, whereby the King was certified that it was impoſſible to conclude any thing, he ſtanding averſe from changing his Religion, and propoſing an Agreement without ſpeaking any thing about matters of Faith; the King, to take away that hope from the King of *Navarre*, and to make him conſent to be converted; or if he would not change his mind, being reſolved, or rather neceſſitated to join with the League to oppoſe the German Army, made this Proteſtation very opportunely, whereby he at once beat down all the complaints and calumnies of the Heads of the League, and appeaſed in great part (at leaſt for a time) the minds of the Pariſians, who (as the commotions of the people are wont) varied their thoughts and inclinations with the breath of every the ſlighteſt accident; whereupon he was afterward able to ſtir to gather an Army, and turn againſt the foreign Forces, without being moleſted by the Pariſians; though the wonted Incendiaries did not fail to ſtrive to raiſe them more than once. The Kings inclination was clearly ſeen in this, That when the courſe of affairs did neceſſarily force him to treat of any thing in favour of the Hugonots, he conſented to it very ſlowly, ambiguouſly, and after long conſideration: But if the buſineſs were to favour or unite himſelf to the Catholick party, he concurred in that with ſo much readineſs and reſolution, that his motion to the benefit to the benefit of the Catholick Faith plainly appeared to be natural, but the other produced by neceſſity, and violently conſtrained.

The Solemn Oath of *Henry* the Third.

And as for the King of *Navarre*, the news of the Kings Proteſtation being ſpeedily come unto his ear, and he complaining that the proceedings were contrary to what was treated with him; the Duke of *Nevers* anſwered him opportunely, That if he called to mind all the late Treaties, he ſhould not find that ever the King had offered to tolerate or embrace the Hugonot Religion, but that indeed he had tried all poſſible means to make him forſake it, and turn to the Catholick, in which the King was ſo fully reſolved to live and die, that no accident, how averſe ſoever it might be, could ever be able to draw him from it. However it were, this is certain, that the Queen having by Monſieur *de Rambouillet* given the King account of the King of *Navarre*'s laſt reſolution, received Commiſſion at his return to change her diſcourſe in that Treaty, and in ſtead of the propounded League between them, to try if ſhe could procure a Truce for ſome few months, to gain time to make preparations againſt the Army of the Germans. But neither did this take effect: for though the Viſcount of *Turenne* came often to the Queen, and that the Duke of *Nevers* and the Mareſchal *de Byron* went often to the King of *Navarre*; yet they concluded nothing but a ſuſpenſion of Arms for ſo few days, that the King did not care to ratifie it; and the King of *Navarre*, not willing to retard the coming of the Germans, broke off the Treaty, and went away to *Rochel*; as alſo the Queen, with the ſame ſpeed, beyond her age, or the ſeaſon of the year, returned to *Paris*; where all the late Treaties being repeated and diſcuſſed, chiefly by the counſel of Monſieur *de Villeroy* it was concluded neceſſary for the King to unite himſelf to the Heads of the League betimes, and with their Forces together to oppoſe the German Army, ſo that the King of *Navarre* might not by any means poſſible be able to join with them, ſince they ſaw his mind could not be brought by any compoſition to an agreement with the King, and that the firmneſs of his reſolution could not be broken by any largeneſs of conditions: wherefore nothing remained, but to follow the old way, trodden by ſo many other Kings, till ſome other occaſion ſhould make an overture of new reſolutions, and to reſiſt the violence of the Hugonot Army, that the Kingdom might not be left a prey to the fury of

ſtrangers,

ſtrangers, that the Royal Majeſty might not utterly be abaſed and made contemptible, and that he might not be ruined while he was unarmed, and an Enemy to, or at leaſt diſtruſtful of both the Factions. 1587.

Monſieur *de Villeroy* argued, that eaſe and want of Arms had taken away the ſplendour and reputation from the Kings perſon: That the Taxes and Impoſitions exceſſively increaſed, had rendered it odious; and that therefore taking Arms again himſelf with a mighty Army, ſhewing his wonted valour and greatneſs of courage, and putting an end to the calamities of War by an abſolute Victory, he might recover his former Majeſty, make the ſhadows of ſo many contrived powers of his Subjects vaniſh with the Sun-ſhine of his greatneſs, and ſtrike fear and terrour into thoſe who thought to force him to conſent to their own wills: He ſhewed that this was the true way to diſſipate and fruſtrate the ſtrength of the League; for that when he ſhould once command his own Armies, the Nobility and Souldiery would much more willingly follow his Standard than the Enſigns of the Lords of *Guiſe*, and that every one would rather draw water from the fountain (if they might) than from the brook. He alſo alledged that by his Declaration in favour of the Catholicks (which his actions would ſhew to be ſincere) he might aſſure himſelf of the Popiſh and Spaniſh Forces, ſince neither of them would ever dare to ſtir againſt him, when the pretence of Religion was taken away: and that it was already known how the Pope, forced by the truth and evidence of reaſon, had anſwered Cardinal *Pelle-ve*, urging him for aſſiſtance in favour of the League, that he knew not how to take Arms againſt a lawful Catholick and religious King, unleſs firſt they could make it plainly appear that he favoured the eſtabliſhment of the Hugonots; and the King of *Spain* not having the courage to declare himſelf openly, had gathered his Forces together under pretence of making War with *England*, waiting for an opportunity to turn againſt him, but not otherwiſe than the cloak of Religion might give him occaſion. Moreover, he affirmed that all other counſels were but politick ſubtilties and inventions, new ways, difficult knots, impoſſible *Chimæra*'s, and deceitful ſhadows: That this only was the great high-way and beaten road that led to victory and repoſe; after which, lightning the weight of their loads and burdens, he might give breath and quiet to the common people, and get the love and affection of all his Subjects. In ſum, he concluded with his wonted Maxim, That the King could no way more eaſily deſtroy the League, than by carrying himſelf plainly and ſincerely, as the other Kings his glorious Predeceſſors had done: for by taking away the foundation of pretences and complaints, the fabrick of all thoſe plotted deſigns would fall to ruine of it ſelf.

Theſe reaſons, or rather evident neceſſity, made the King reſolve to unite himſelf with the League, and to oppoſe the Army of the Germans; and therefore he preſently diſpatched *Myron* the Phyſician to the Duke of *Guiſe*, to let him know that he had endeavoured by the Queen his Mothers late Interview, to draw the buſineſs out in length, and to procure a ſuſpenſion of Arms with the King of *Navarre*, thereby to divert the entry of the Germans, and make them fall aſunder by delays, as he had proſperouſly done ſo many other times, without indangering the whole ſum of affairs; but having found the King of *Navarre*'s propoſitions were very hard, and the time of the coming of the Germans ſtill drawing on, he was reſolved to oppoſe them by force: That he would diſpatch the Sieur *de Sancy* to the Cantons of the Swiſſes, to make ſtrong Levies: That he was preparing an Army commanded by the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, to be ſent againſt the King of *Navarre*, to the end that being kept in play, he might not be able to paſs the *Loyre*, and come to join with the Germans: That he would make another ready to march where need ſhould require, but that the Germans being firſt to come into *Lorain*, and then into *Champagne* and *Bourgongne*, Provinces governed by him and the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother, it was alſo neceſſary that they ſhould take Arms, and calling in all their friends and dependents, ſhould make up a Body of an Army, able to wait upon and diſtreſs that of the Hugonots in their entry. *Myron* the Phyſician found the Duke of *Guiſe* at *Moncon* near *Sedan*, where, with the Forces he had, by ſlight inconſiderable enterpriſes, he endeavoured to ſtreighten that place, expecting that *Perſeval* and the others that went out of *Rocroy* being corrupted by money and his promiſes, ſhould give him ſome opportunity to ſurpriſe either *Jamets* or *Sedan* it ſelf: for one of them was in one City, and the other two in the other. *Myron* delivered what the King had given him in charge, adding the Queen-Mothers Exhortations, accompanied with kind Letters, expreſſing a confidence

1587. dence in him; and without difficulty (becauſe the neceſſity of oppoſing the Enemies was reciprocal) carried back word from the Duke of *Guiſe*, that he would obey his Majeſties commands, and that drawing together the friends and dependents of his houſe, he would not fail of thoſe endeavours which he had always been wont to lend in the exigencies of the Crown; beſeeching his Majeſty that he would but once free himſelf of the ſtubbornneſs of the Hugonots, and give way that his Kingdom might be purged from the deadly poiſon of Hereſie.

But this liberty of framing an Army to oppoſe the Germans being given to the Duke of *Guiſe*, (which howſoever he would have taken of himſelf) the King was ſtill in wonderful great difficulties which way he ſhould carry himſelf, both to hold the King of *Navarre* in play, and make war with ſo great an Army, as was ready to invade his Kingdom: for as when the wills of his Subjects were unanimous, and well united with him to the ſame end, the French Nation was ſo warlike, that it needed little to fear the force of any foreign Enemy; ſo now having not only a very great number of Hugonots in every Province, but (which at the preſent raiſed greater difficulties) the Intentions and Forces of the Catholicks being divided by ſeveral ends, the event of things was by that diſcord made very doubtful and uncertain: Nor did the Victory of the Duke of *Guiſe* repreſent it ſelf unto the Kings mind with leſs terrour than that of the King of *Navarre* and the Germans, not being able which way ſoever the event ſucceeded, to promiſe himſelf any thing but infinite dangers, and greater troubles than he had ever had in times paſt: which afflicted him ſo much the more, becauſe, being a Prince of exceeding providence and quick foreſight, he had all difficulties and future encounters as it were ever preſent before him; whereby he was not only taken off from his wonted entertainments, but watching whole nights in moſt deep conſiderations, he went often out of his Chamber in the moſt ſilent hours, and coming into the lodgings of the Queen his Mother, held long conſultations there: to which were called (as more truſted than any others) ſometimes the Mareſchal *de Retz*, ſometimes the Abbot *del Bene:* for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, though moſt beloved by the King, and maſter of his favour, was yet an open Enemy to the *Guiſes*; and *Villeroy* on the other ſide, who for his wiſdom and experience in matters of Government was highly in eſteem, was yet ſuſpected in this buſineſs, by reaſon of his enmity with the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and all the men of greateſt credit depended nearly upon one of theſe two, nor (though he fained the contrary) did the King much like or eſteem the Duke of *Nevers*, becauſe he thought with his wiſdom to rule in all things as an Oracle. Thus all the ſecret conſultations were reduced only to four perſons, unleſs the Widow Dutcheſs of *Uzes*, a Lady of great worth, and excellent wit, and who, as it is believed, had alſo in her younger days been very acceptable to the King, did participate in the counſels of ſome affairs, though not of the moſt ſecret and intimate ones. To theſe the Sieur *de Rambouillet* was often joined, who, of a ſubtil nature, powerful eloquence, and profound learning, began to riſe in credit near the King and the Queen-Mother; but he was not yet made a ſecure Confident, and therefore all ſecret buſineſſes did not appear unmasked to him. Thus all the preſent difficulties and future doubts being exactly ſifted among theſe, and the opinions of the other Cabinet-Counſellors being heard upon ſome particulars, the Kings determination was ſhut up within theſe limits: That the Duke of *Joyeuſe* with competent Forces ſhould go againſt the King of *Navarre*, but that *Jehan* Sieur *de Lavardin*, of whoſe endeavours the King was very confident, ſhould go along with him as his Lieutenant and Moderator, to the end that the King of *Navarre* might be held in action, but not ſuppreſſed; it being ſufficient to keep him ſo in play, that he might not get looſe to join himſelf with the German Army. That the care of hindering the entry, and oppoſing the firſt violence of the foreign Army ſhould be left to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the other Lords of his Family, being certain that the Duke for the haughtineſs of his mind, the defence of his own eſtate, and the encreaſing of his reputation, a thing ſo neceſſary for the Heads of popular Factions, would paſs by no occaſion which ſhould offer it ſelf of fighting with the Germans, from which Battel an equal joy and benefit would reſult which way ſoever the event ſucceeded; for the Conquerours and the Conquered would be equally routed and deſtroyed: or rather, it was very probable, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, being much inferiour in ſtrength, would either in one or many encounters be defeated, and by conſequence the League broken to pieces; but that to prevent the Conquerours from having free paſſage to run on, and do their pleaſure to the ruine of the Kingdom, the King

ſhould

should make up a mighty Army with Swisse-Infantry, and with the greatest number of Nobility that he could, to be ready to withstand all dangers, and give the Law as he pleased to both the Conquered and Conquerors; a thought for the speciousness of it so imprinted in the Kings mind, that as he walked alone he was often heard to break forth into these words, *DE INIMICIS MEIS VINDICABO INIMICOS MEOS.* 1587.

A saying of *Henry* the III.

With this resolution he presently dispatched Monsieur *de Sancy* to the Swisses to raise eight thousand Foot of that Nation, and the Army was begun to be prepared wherewith the Duke of *Joyeuse* was to march into *Poictou* and *Xaintonge*, where the King of *Navarre*, since the Queen-Mothers departure, not losing a minute of time, had taken *Chisay* upon composition, and *Sansay* by assault, stormed St. *Messant*, and forced *Fontenay* to yield, surprised *Mouleon*, and having made himself Master of all those Quarters, gathered all possible Forces, called in his dependents and adherents, raised new Infantry, and set all his endeavours on work to draw together a competent Army, wherewith he might march to receive his Germans; to perfect which business, it being necessary to return to *Rochel* to gather money, and furnish himself with ammunition, he left two Regiments of Foot to keep those places he had gotten under the command of *de Bory*, and *Charboniere*, Colonels, or as they are now commonly called, * Camp-Masters.

* *Maistres de Camp.*

But the fame of the King of *Navarre*'s Successes, and the complaints of the Catholicks, who exclaimed in a manner publickly, that the Country near unto him had been left without an Army, purposely to give him opportunity to augment his Forces, constrained the King to hasten the dispatch of the Duke *de Joyeuse*, who with a great number of the Nobility, (whose favour he had exceedingly won by his courtesie and liberality) and with between seven and eight thousand Foot and light Horse, was almost ready to begin his march. Before his departure the King calling to him in private Monsieur *de Lavardin*, (chosen Lieutenant-General of that Army, a man by reason of his ancient dependencies not ill-affected to the King of *Navarre*'s party) informed him of his intentions, and how necessary it was for him to proceed with such moderation in that War, that the Hugonots might be kept in action without putting the whole sum of affairs in hazard; it not being fit in the difficulty of that present conjuncture, to engage the Catholick Forces, nor venture them in such sort as might prejudice those businesses that were in agitation: then after long instructions, he filled him with great hopes and promises, if he could order matters according to the informations he had received. But *Lavardin*, either not sufficiently informed in a short discourse or two, or perchance not being able for want of capacity to discern the Kings intention, which was, that affairs should be kept in equal balance; or else drawn by some interessed dependents upon the King of *Navarre*, was imprudently afterwards in a manner the instrument of ruining that Army, which was not taken notice of by the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who (full of high generous spirits, and puffed up with the great abundance of Nobility that served under him) having hastily passed the *Loire*, fell so unexpectedly, into the Hugonots quarters, that the Regiments of *de Bory* and *Charboniere*, which over-ran the Country every where, were not able to make their retreat, but being both surrounded in the Town of St. *Eloy*, thought they made very gallant resistance for many hours, yet were they at last taken by force, and cut in pieces to the very last man. The Sieur *de Bory* was left prisoner, and *Charboniere* saved himself by flight at St. *Messant*, which Town being besieged, and terribly battered, in the heat of that Victory was fain to yield within a few days, and was unfortunately sacked by the violence of the Souldiers; and with the same fury the Abby of *Maillezais* and *Thonne-Carente* were also taken. But the Sieur *de Lavardin* not being able to resist the will of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, (who desirous of glory, not averse from the designs of the League, and (as he said himself) desirous that the Preachers of *Paris* might have occasion to magnifie his actions, and make his name famous, aspired by his enterprises to confirm that greatness to which fortune had raised him) began to attempt that by policy, as he thought, which he could not openly bring to pass; and by slackening the discipline of his men, and by giving the common Souldiers frequent opportunity of spoil and plunder, was the occasion that many ran away, (for most of them sought to get home and save what they had gotten) to which the sicknesses and diseases being added, in part caused by hard duty, but much more by ill government, the Army was strangely diminished in a short time; which being known and certified by their musters, the

The King sends an Army against the King of *Navarre*, and gives secret order to *Lavardin* to oppose, but not suppress him.

1587. the Commanders, and *Lavardine* among the firſt, began to adviſe the Duke not to proceed further till his Infantry were recruited, without which it was impoſſible for him either to take in any Towns, or to make War in the incloſed Fenny places of *Xaintonge*; this counſel, and the news that came daily from Court of the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s greatneſs and authority, which pierced the Duke of *Joyeuſe* very deeply, made him reſolve to take Poſt, and go to the Court in perſon, as well to keep himſelf freſh in the Kings memory, as to obtain a new addition to his Forces. But his coming thither cauſed him more diſcontent than his abſence had done before; for he found that the Wife of his Brother *Henry* Count *de Bouchage* was newly dead, who was Siſter to the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, and had maintained that friendſhip (at leaſt in appearance) which by their emulation was wholly blotted out of their hearts: to which misfortune was added, that the Count either out of extream ſorrow for his Wives death, whom he moſt dearly loved, or out of a ſatiety of worldly things, or (as it was reported) becauſe he had ſo promiſed his Lady in her life time, took the habit of a Capuchin, making himſelf be called Frier *Ange de Joyeuſe*, to the infinite grief of his Brother: nor did the adverſeneſs of his affairs end there; but at the ſame time he ſaw the marriage concluded between the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the Counteſs of *Candale*, Heir of that moſt noble, wealthy Family; which Wedding the King did not honour ſo much with the vanity of Pomps and Ceremonies, as he had done that of the Duke *de Joyeuſe*, but with preſents of infinite value, and with the additions of ineſtimable riches, whereof the Duke of *Eſpernon* was a very careful manager. To theſe ſerious buſineſſes the Courtiers added alſo light youthful diſcourſes; for the Duke of *Eſpernon* loving Madamoiſelle *Stavay* one of the Queens Gentlewomen, and the Duke of *Joyeuſe* Madamoiſelle *de Vitry*, another of the ſame Court, whom they were wont to preſent with very rich gifts: they ſaid that the Duke of *Joyeuſe* at his return found he had alſo quite loſt the heart of Madamoiſelle *de Vitry*; for being won by the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s preſents, or the hopes of marrying Monſieur *de S. Goart*, who depended upon him; with a womaniſh inconſtancy ſhe was turned to that ſide, which either for the love he bore her, or for envy and emulation, did wonderfully afflict him. Theſe things ſtriking deeply into the mind of *Joyeuſe*, but much more the leſſening of the Kings favour, which he knew to be much abated, (having publickly told him that the Court reckoned of him as a *Poltron*, and that he was not able to wipe off that blemiſh) he returned to the Army with thoſe few forces that were granted him, and (as the cuſtom is) preſent paſſion having more power with him than former benefits, he reſolved with himſelf to adhere wholly to the League, to wreak the hatred which he bore to his Corrival, and preſently to give battel to the King of *Navarre*, hoping by a famous Victory to confirm his own fortune, and make himſelf equal to the Duke of *Guiſe*, both in the Catholick party, and in the air of the common peoples applauſe.

The Count *de Bouchage* Brother to the Duke of *Joyeuſe* turns Capuchin after the death of his wife, whom he dearly loved.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* marries the Counteſs of *Candale*, a rich Heir; the King honours the wedding with great preſents.

But it was in vain for him to pretend at one flight to reach ſo high a pitch, to which the *Guiſes* by long patience and many years endeavour, had attained by little and little; and he by ſtriving precipitately to force the nature of things, did haſtily procure his own ruine; to which, whilſt he runs on the one ſide with an unbridled fury, the King of *Navarre* proceeding with more circumſpection, was intent in gathering Forces from all parts to enable himſelf to move towards the *Loire*, and meet the German Army. To him were joined the Prince of *Conde*, the Viſcount *de Turenne*, the Duke *de la Tremouille*, the Count *de Montgomery*, and the Marqueſs *de Gallerande*, the Baron *de Salignac*, and a good number of Horſe and Foot under many Gentlemen of note, and old experienced Commanders; ſo that his Army was not ſo numerous as reſolute and valiant. About this time, by the means of his ordinary Confidents, he had ſollicited *Charles* Count of *Soiſſons*, and *Francis* Prince of *Conty* Brother to the Prince of *Conde*, who till then had perſevered in the Catholick Faith, and continued near the Kings perſon in the Court; urging to them, that the buſineſs now in hand did no longer concern Religion, but the defence of their Family, and the inheritance and ſucceſſion of the Crown, to which not only He was called, but ſucceſſively the whole Houſe of *Bourbon*; and that it was therefore fit in that common cauſe and reciprocal intereſt, they ſhould all unite themſelves, to make the greater reſiſtance againſt thoſe who went about to exclude and ruine them; and that they ſhould take example by their Enemies, among which the Duke of *Mercœur* and his Brothers, though they were the Kings Brothers-in-law, and had from him received ſo much honour,

honour and ſo many benefits, yet becauſe they were of the Houſe of *Lorain* kept united with the Duke of *Guiſe* and the reſt of their Family, and ſtood out againſt their own Sifter and Brother in-law: That if it were lawful for them to do ſo for the execution of new, unjuſt deſigns, much more was it lawful for them of the Houſe of *Bourbon* to unite themſelves all together, for the defence of their moſt juſt, ancient Prerogatives, which were due unto them by the legal univerſal conſent of the French Nation: That they need not fear they ſhould ſuffer any violence in their Conſciences: for he that laboured for the liberty of others, would never take it away from thoſe that were ſo near himſelf, but that they ſhould take example by ſo many Catholick Lords and Gentlemen which followed the fortune of his party. By which reaſons theſe two Princes being moved, as alſo becauſe they ſaw themſelves kept under, and little valued at the Court, reſolved to go over to his party, and determined that the Prince of *Conty* ſhould join with the Army of the *Reiters* as ſoon as they were come into *France*, and that the Count *de Soiſſons* ſhould go to the Hugonot Camp in *Xaintonge*; which that he might ſecurely do, the King of *Navarre* gave order to the Sieurs *de Colombiere* and *Sancte Marye du Mont*, who had raiſed ſome Forces in *Normandy* in favour of his party, that they ſhould conduct him to the paſſage of the *Loyre*, whither he had ſent the Viſcount of *Turenne* with eight hundred Horſe to meet him; and it fell out ſo luckily, that the Count and the Norman Forces went cloſe by the Duke of *Joyeuſe* his Army without receiving any damage at all, and united themſelves with very great joy to the Army of the King of *Navarre*, who highly incenſed at the inhumanity uſed to his two Regiments which were cut in pieces in *Poictou*, being wary, yet reſolved to take revenge, advanced ſtill forward, while the Duke of *Joyeuſe* as it were aſſured of the Victory, came on careleſly to meet him. 1587

In the mean time the German Army was upon the point of marching towards *Lorain*: for the Proteſtant Princes Ambaſſadors being returned home with the angry anſwer of the King of *France*, the King of *Denmark*, *Chriſtian* Duke of *Saxony*, the Marqueſs of *Brandenbourgh*, Prince *Caſimir*, the Proteſtant Cantons of *Swiſſerland*, with other Lords of the ſame Religion, at the importunity of the King of *Navarre*'s Agents, but much more at the exhortations of *Theodore Beza*, gave reſolute order for the raiſing of that Army; toward which, beſides the money gathered publickly in the Proteſtant Churches, and put into the hands of Prince *Caſimir*, there were alſo ſixty thouſand Ducats added by the Queen of *England*. With this money, and the conſent and endeavour of all the Proteſtant Lords in *Germany*, it was eaſie to raiſe an Army in that populous warlike Nation; ſo that in the beginning of *July* there met in *Alſatia*, under the conduct of Prince *Caſimir*, upon whom that charge had been conferred by the reſt, twelve thouſand *Reiters*, four thouſand German Foot, and ſixteen thouſand Swiſſes; for the other four thouſand went into *Dauphine* apart. *Fabian* Baron *d' Onaw*, born in *Pruſſia*, commanded as Prince *Caſimir*'s Lieutenant-General; a man of private condition, but riſen to high eſteem by the favour of the King of *Denmark* and of the Count *Palatine*, and accounted a man of very great boldneſs and courage; but of neither wiſdom nor experience proportionable to an employment of ſo great weight: and though in the beginning of *Auguſt*, *Guillaume de la Marke* Duke of *Bouillon* came up with two thouſand Foot and three hundred French Horſe, and by Commiſſion from the King of *Navarre* was to have been General of that Army; and though at his arrival he diſplayed the white Cornet, (a mark due to the Supreme Commander) yet retaining only the name, he left the command wholly to the Baron *d' Onaw*, both for his age, and becauſe he was of the Nation, as alſo out of reſpect to Prince *Caſimir*. With the Duke of *Bouillon* were *Robert* Count *de la Mark* his Brother, the Sieurs *de Guitry*, *de Monluet*, *de la Nocle*, and many other French Gentlemen; to whom the Sieurs *de Mouy* and *Cormons*, with many other of their Adherents, came from *Geneva* with two hundred Horſe and eight hundred Foot; and every day the Army increaſed with the number of thoſe who ran thither from *Dauphine*, and the other Confines of *France*: ſo that before it moved out of *Alſatia*, it amounted to the number of Forty thouſand fighting men.

The Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, moved at the King of *France* his anſwer to their Ambaſſadors, raiſe an Army under the conduct of Prince *Caſimir*; which being come into *Alſatia*, was forty thouſand men, led by the Baron *d' Onaw*, Lieutenant-General to Prince *Caſimir*.

Before this Army marched, there came an Edict from the Emperour *Rodolphus Secundus*, ſent to the Baron *d' Onaw*, which contained, That he having without his Licenſe, and without the Letters Patents of the Empire, cauſed that Army to be raiſed to diſband the Army raiſed without his leave, and to deſiſt from the buſineſs upon pain of the Imperial baniſhment: Baron anſwers with excuſes that he ought not to deſiſt.

*Rodolphus* the Second the Emperor commands the Baron *d' Onaw* by a publick Edict to which the

1587. to invade the Kingdom of *France* ſhould preſently disband it, and deſiſt from the Enterpriſe, under pain of baniſhment out of the Empire, both to himſelf and thoſe that ſhould follow him. To which threatning the Baron *d' Onaw* anſwered in writing, That the Enterpriſe being neither his, nor againſt the Empire, nor againſt the Kingdom of *France*, but for the relief of the oppreſſed Confederates of the Proteſtant Princes: and the German Nation having ever had that liberty to enter themſelves into pay under whom they pleaſed, ſo that it were not againſt the Emperour nor his Juriſdiction, he neither thought himſelf obliged to deſiſt, nor to disband the Army, but that without offence to the Emperour he would continue the buſineſs begun by Commiſſion from his Princes. Thus the Emperour making no reply, nor proceeding to any other new Prohibition, about the middle of *Auguſt* the Army was ready to begin to march. And to the end that buſineſſes might proſper under the conduct of the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Baron *d' Onaw*, the Count *de la Marck* was appointed to lead the Van: the command of the German Cavalry was given to the Baron *de Bonck* an expert Souldier of that Nation; that of the Swiſſe Infantry, to *Claude Anthony* Sieur *de Clervant*; to *Mouy* the command of the French Foot; the Sieur *de Guitry* a French man, and *Lodovick Romf* a German, being Marſhals of the Field.

Againſt all theſe preparations, the Duke of *Lorain* (who in all the other Wars had ever ſtood Neuter, and now had declared himſelf in favour of the League, and of the Lords of his Family) being firſt at the Frontiers, was in a very great fear, finding he had not ſufficient force to make reſiſtance, and with Letters and Meſſages ſollicited the Duke of *Guiſe*, and all his Friends and Confederates, that ſince they had drawn him into ſo much danger, they would alſo be ready and ſpeedy to help him out. He had raiſed two thouſand *Reiters* out of the Territories of the Catholick Princes of *Germany*, under the command of the Baron of *Swartzembourgh*; eight hundred other Horſe, ſome * Albanians, ſome Italians, and four thouſand Foot of his own State; to which Forces the Prince of *Parma* Governour of the Low-Countries, in performance of the League with the Catholick King, had added eight hundred Bourguignon Horſe, under the Command of the Marqueſs *de Havray*, and two thouſand Foot, all Walloons, under the command of the Marqueſs *de Varambone*. But it being neceſſary to put a Gariſon in *Nancy* the chief City of *Lorain*, and many other leſſer Towns, he had neither Force enough left to hinder the paſſage of the Germans, nor to defend his Country from their Incurſions; and therefore the Duke of *Guiſe*, the very Soul and Life of his Party, and upon whom the Foundation of all the Affairs of the League was ſetled, drew Friends and Forces together from all parts to aſſiſt and defend the Duke of *Lorain*.

* Or, *Croates.*

Nor did the King of *France* make leſs preparations than the reſt; but being reſolved to ſhew his face, and make himſelf Arbitratour of Affairs, he drew all his Forces together: for beſides eight thouſand Swiſſe Foot raiſed under the publick colour of the Catholick Cantons, he alſo levied fourteen thouſand French Foot, ſummoned all the Souldiery, called all the Nobility to attend him, having determined to command his Army himſelf in perſon; wherein he received no other hinderance, but the unquietneſs of the Pariſians; for the Preachers and the Council of *Sixteen* ceaſed not to ſtir up the people, and to make frequent tumults in the City, inſomuch as the Authority of the King and his Magiſtrates was deſpiſed and trodden under Foot, with very great danger of an open change deſired and procured by them. Nor durſt the King in that preſent condition puniſh the authors of thoſe tumults, for fear of cauſing an abſolute revolt, and in a conjuncture of ſo great danger, deprive himſelf of that City, which had ever been the *Baſis* and Foundation of his Party; this encouraged them with more boldneſs to multiply their deſigns, which would have produced the event aimed at by the Heads of the League, if firſt the imminent fear of the German Army, and then the Kings Oath taken againſt the Hugonots, and the promiſe wherewith he took Arms for the common defence, had not reſtrained and withheld the people, who out of fear, and ſome certain reſpects of duty, were not very forward to embrace ſeditious counſels. But the King having with great dexterity and patience often quieted thoſe uproars raiſed without occaſions, full of ill-will towards the Heads of Sedition, though cunningly diſſembling it, having left the Queen-Mother as Regent in *Paris*, and Monſieur *de Villequier* as Governour, departed from the City about the end of *July*, and went to *Meaux* ten leagues from thence, about which place he had cauſed Quarters to be taken up for his Army. Thither the Duke of *Guiſe* came

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unto him, *Meaux* being a Town under his command, and they met together with shews of exceeding kindness and respect, but thoughts very different from the outward appearance. The division of both Horse and Foot was made in the Duke of *Guise*'s presence, the King having appointed twenty Cornets of Horse, and four Regiments of Foot for the Duke, reserving all the rest for the Army which he was to lead himself; but almost all the Horse were withheld afterward with several excuses, and the Duke of *Guise* had only those Foot left him, which were brought by his dependents; for in their meetings and discourses, suspicions being rather increased, than former hearts-burning taken away, the King was so much the more firmly setled in his intention, to beware no less of the Duke of *Guise*, than of the foreign Army; and to leave him weak, that he might be the more easily cut off, since that whether his Forces were many or few, he could do no less than draw near the Enemy, and fall upon him either in the State of the Duke of *Lorain*, or in the Confines of his own Government. 1587.

After two days the Duke of *Guise* departed, and making his Rendezvous at St. *Florentine*, a place near *Troye*, with seven hundred Cuiraſſiers of Gentlemen that were his dependents, six hundred Light-horse, part Albanians, part Italians, and part sent by the Sieur *de Balony* Governour of *Cambray*, and with two thousand French Foot led by the Sieurs *de Joannes*, *de Clusseau*, *de Gies*, and *de St. Paul*, his old Colonels, he marched streight toward *Lorain*. All the Lords of that Family were met together at *Nancy*, where the Duke commonly resides, and there fell to consult which way they should oppose the German Army. The opinions were different, or rather oppositely contrary: for the French Lords, among which the Duke of *Guise* was the chief, would have made the seat of the War in the State of the Duke of *Lorain*, a streight narrow Country, and by reason of the abundance of Rivers, fit for some great enterprise, keeping the Germans busied in a place where they could not hope to join with the King of *Navarre*, and where being near their own Country, they would easily disband and run home upon every small occasion or disorder that might arise: nor did the greatness of the foreign Army at all dismay the Duke of *Guise*, a man of a resolute undaunted courage; but despising the number of raw untrained men newly raised in haste, he thought himself able to accomplish any thing with his old tried Souldiers. But the Duke of *Lorain* was of a contrary opinion, who with the Marques *du Pont* his eldest Son, the Count *de Saulme* his principal Minister, the Count *de Chaligny* one of the King of *France* his Brothers in law, and with the Sieurs *de Ossonville*, and *Bassompierre*, thought not fit to submit his Country to all the dangers and miseries of the War, and thought he had done too much, in declaring himself for the French Lords of his Family, and in being at so great charges, and in undergoing so many dangers to satisfie them: wherefore he desiring the Germans might not be hindred in their passage, but that keeping all the principal Towns well provided, and waiting upon them with a flying Army, to the end they might have less opportunity to hurt the Country, that impetuous torrent might be suffered to make an inundation in those parts to which it naturally tended: and by how much the more he saw the Duke of *Guise* ready and desirous to put the event of businesses opportunely to the hazard of a day, so much the more did he fear that danger. Wherefore because the opinions differed, he concluded freely, that he would not have them to play his State at that Game; and that if the Duke of *Guise* and the French Lords had an humour to fight, they should reserve themselves till the Enemy were entred into *France*, it satisfying him to preserve his own with as little loss as possibly he could, considering the greatness of the Enemies Army. With this resolution all the guards were recalled from the Confines, to quarter in strong places, and the Sieur *de Ossonville* General of the Duke of *Lorains* Forces, rode thorow all the State, causing the Mills and Ovens to be destroyed, and the victuals to be carried away from all places, to the end that the German Army finding scarcity of provisions, might resolve to pass on without delay: and because the Duke of *Guises* forwardness made the Duke of *Lorain* suspect, that against his will, he would with inferiour Forces, and without necessity put it to a Battel, he himself, though far in years, would command the Army; and to honour the Duke of *Guise*, gave him only the charge of the Van-guard.

Care taken by the Duke of *Lorain* that the German Army might not stay in his Country

The same divisions were in the German Army; for the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Count *de la Mark* desired to make the seat of that War in *Lorain*, not only to have conveniency of victual, and to garison *Sedan* and *Jamets*, their own Towns, which bordered upon that State, but also to ruine and undo the Duke of *Lorain*, whose

1587. neighbourhood was ſuſpected by them, believing that he aſpired to their poſſeſſions, the truth whereof they had ſeen in the War made upon them by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and knew much more evidently afterwards. On the other ſide, Monſieur *de Monglas* the King of *Navarre*'s Agent lately come from him, and the Sieurs *de Muoy*, *de Clervant*, *de l' Anguiere*, and almoſt all the French preſſed to have them go forward, and entring into *France* without delay, to take the ſhorteſt cut that might bring them to join with the King of *Navarre*, whom they affirmed to be upon his march, to come as far as he could to meet them. There wanted not ſome among the Germans who were much pleaſed with the nearneſs of their own Country, and with a War that was like to be ſo eaſie, by reaſon of the inequality of Force; but the Baron *d' Onaw*, intent to execute the Commiſſions he had received from Prince *Caſimir*, reſolved at laſt to go into *France*, without making any longer ſtay in the State of *Lorain* than what was neceſſarily requiſite, yet purpoſing to do as much miſchief there as the brevity of the time would permit, without going about to take in any Towns: with this intention, but with little correſpondence among the Commanders, and as little Government among the Souldiers, (there being no man whoſe authority and experience was proportionable to ſo weighty a buſineſs) the German Army began to move, and upon the 26 of *Auguſt* came in the Confines of *Lorain*.

Already were the Guards withdrawn, which at firſt had been placed at the principal paſſes of that State, and the Forces being retreated into their walled Towns, had left all the ways free; wherefore the Germans began to plunder all the Country without any reſiſtance; not forbearing murthers, firing of Towns, nor any kind of hoſtile act whatſoever, though the harm were much the leſs, becauſe the people had had convenient time to abſent themſelves, to drive away their cattel, and hide their goods in ſecret places, and what they could not carry away they had ſpoiled and burned. But it was not long before the Germans felt the Forces of the League; for the Duke of *Guiſe* deſirous to diſcover their ſtrength, and to try their valour and diſcipline, ſent forth the Sieur *de Rhoſne* and the Baron of *Swartzembourgh* with two hundred *Reiters*, and three hundred French Horſe, to beat up their neareſt quarters. Theſe two Commanders being come upon the thirtieth of *Auguſt* where the Enemy lay, fell upon the quarter of the Baron *de Bouck*, and at firſt put them into great confuſion: and though they were driven back at laſt by ſo much a greater number, yet they brought away a Cornet with them, which the Duke of *Lorain* ſent preſently to the King of *France*, as a token that to their coſt the German Army was come already into his Country. Yet did the Army continue in the ſame confuſion, in quartering, in keeping their Guards, in riſing, and in marching: for the great abundance of men bred tumult and diſorder of it ſelf, and there was no Commander able to govern a Body compoſed of ſo many ſeveral Nations mixt together, and of a different manner of diſcipline. The Duke of *Bouillon* a young Lord, and though of great courage, yet of little or no experience, was not very much obeyed by the Germans. The Baron *d' Onaw*, whom they obeyed, might rather be counted in the number of valiant Souldiers, than of Commanders who for birth and wiſdom were fit for ſuch an employment; and the other inferiour Officers being of ſeveral Nations and different diſpoſitions, did rather increaſe than leſſen that confuſion.

The firſt aſſault given by thoſe of the League to the Germans in *Lorain*.

Theſe things being known to the Duke of *Guiſe*, he deſired to meet handſomly with them, either as their Army was about to quarter, or to riſe, before time or experience ſhould inform the Commanders of their errour. But the Duke of *Lorain* perſiſted in the ſame opinion, nor would upon any terms ſuffer them to come to a Battel within his Territories; and the Duke of *Guiſe* was neceſſitated to comply with him, both becauſe of his age, and becauſe he was in his own Country, as alſo by reaſon of the inequality of the Forces: So the *Reiters* paſſed on without any lett or impediment, as far as *Pont* St. *Vincent*, a great Town ſeated upon the declining of a Hill, at the foot whereof the River *Meuſe* paſſeth under a ſpacious Bridge of ancient building. There Monſieur *de Rhoſne*, and an hundred Harquebuziers on horſeback, being quartered with three hundred Light-Horſe, the Duke of *Guiſe* came up to view the place, having reſolved to lodge the Vanguard there, to make the paſſage of the River more ſuſpected to the Enemies, and to make them a little more wary in pillaging the Country: but at the very time of his arrival, the German Army was eſpied from the top of the Hill marching in their diviſions directly toward the Bridge, thorow a little Plain that ſpreads it ſelf from the bottom of the Hill: whereupon the Duke of *Guiſe*, deſirous to diſcover

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the quality and order of the Enemy, having commanded out the three hundred Light-Horſe, drawn them up without the Town, and ſpread the hundred Harquebuziers along the bank of the River, he himſelf unarmed as he was, with the Sieurs *de la Chaſtre*, *Baſſompierre* and *Dunes*, and two Gentlemen of his Attendents, all ſix in number, paſſed over the Bridge, hoping to get up to ſome high place, from whence they might conveniently diſcern the motions, and diſtinctly perceive the number and order of the Germans; but he was hardly come to the other ſide of the bank, when he was charged by two Troops of *Reiters* who marched before the Army to diſcover the Country; to avoid whoſe fury, he was fain to retreat over the Bridge again at a good round Trot. The Enemies Horſe being come to the bank of the River, and ſeeing it defended by the Harquebuziers, and that the Duke of *Guiſe* with five and twenty Gentlemen that were come up to him, ſtood firm at the entry of the Bridge, they made a halt to ſtay for the firſt Troops of the Army, and in the mean time one of them (which was a very remarkable thing) being come to the very brink of the River, lighted from his Horſe, ſpanned his Carabine very leiſurely, and taking aim, gave fire with wonderful ſecurity; and though above two hundred ſhot were made at him in the mean time, he was not only untouched, but not ſo much as daunted at all; ſo that he got on horſe-back again with the ſame gravity, and retreated ſafely a foot-pace to his fellows. 1587.

A bold act of a German Trooper.

In this interim, the Sieur *de Guitry* Mareſchal of the Field arrived upon the bank of the River with four hundred other Horſe, who with the two firſt Troops of *Reiters* came directly forward to poſſeſs the Bridge: But the Duke of *Guiſe* finding himſelf much weaker than was requiſite to defend the Paſs, and that not only the Duke of *Lorain*'s Army was a great way from him, but alſo his own Van-guard which had been left far behind, he cauſed the Harquebuziers to retire and put themſelves again in the Body of Monſieur *de Rhoſne*'s Cavalry; and having diſpatched *Baſſompierre* and *la Chaſtre* with order to put the Army in readineſs to receive him, in caſe he ſhould be ſtreightned and followed by the Enemies, he began to retreat, skirmiſhing himſelf in the laſt ranks, and very gallantly ſuſtaining the Charge of the *Reiters*, who having paſſed the Bridge without further reſiſtance, followed him cloſe at the heels, *caracolling* and giving fire continually with their Piſtols: but being come to the bottom of the Hill, which had a ſteep troubleſom aſcent, the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Light Horſe, and he himſelf with his Gentlemen, who were bravely mounted, got up quickly; whereas on the other ſide the *Reiters* with their great Friezeland-Horſes, were much longer about it, and after they were at the top of the Hill, were fain to make a ſtand to give their Horſes breath; which time he opportunely making uſe of, paſſed over another ſmall River that was before him, and without any ſhew of flight arrived ſafely where the Field-Marſhals had with excellent order ſet the whole Army in *Battalia*; which being drawn out between three Hills in form of a Half-Moon, with the Cavalry on each Wing, and Foot placed within the banks and ditches, by the High-ways, and among the ſtakes in the Vineyards defended by the Cannon planted upon a little Mount, made ſo gallant a ſhew, that the German Commanders being come up to face them with the firſt Troops of their Forces, judged that in reſpect of the ſtrength of that ſituation, the Battel was not to be hazarded, being they could by no means make the *Lorain*-Army diſlodge from their poſt, nor fight with it there, without too evident and almoſt inſuperable diſadvantage.

Wherefore retiring to the main Body, they quartered in the Villages near St. *Vincent*, in the Caſtle whereof the Sieur *de la Chaſtre* entred that ſame night with ſix hundred Muſquetiers, that it might not be left in the Enemies power: and the Duke of *Lorain*, who ſaw that contrary to his deſires the Duke of *Guiſe* by his boldneſs, and to diſengage himſelf from the *Reiters*, had like to have put his State in very great hazard, to avoid the ſame danger, removed a great many miles from thence, leaving them free paſſage to continue the voyage, which with pillaging and burning they had begun; and quartering his Army in the chiefeſt places, that the Enemy might not have opportunity to take and ſack them, with very great care and circumſpection ſtood barely upon his defence.

At laſt, upon the eighteenth of *September* the Germans arrived upon the Confines of *France*, and took up their firſt quarters at St. *Urbin*; which Town being of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s patrimony, was by them in a hoſtile manner burned; yet to put themſelves in order, and by reaſon of the extraordinary rains that fell, they ſtayed there four days,

in

1587. in which time *Francois* Sieur *de Chaſtillon* came up with a hundred Cuiraſſiers, and eight hundred Harquebuziers on horſe-back, who with wonderful great difficulty had from the fartheſt parts of *Languedoc* paſſed by the way of *Dauphine*, and the Confines of *Savoy*, as far as *Grizelle*, a Town upon the borders of *Lorain*, to join with the foreign Army; but being come to *Grizelle*, he was ſuddenly charged by the Dukes Forces, and conſtrained to retreat into the Caſtle of that Town, where he had been in manifeſt danger by reaſon of the weakneſs of the place, if the Count *de la Mark* had not advanced with the Van of the Army to diſengage him: who no ſooner appeared, but the *Lorain* Forces retiring, he went on to St. *Vrbin* to join with the reſt of the Army upon the 22 of *September*, which day the Duke of *Guiſe* (having left the Duke of *Lorain* at *Bar*, who refuſed to enter into the Confines of the King of *France* unleſs he were called) quartered with twelve hundred Horſe and two thouſand Foot at *Joinville*, but two Leagues diſtant from St. *Vrbin*.

The German Army going out of *Lorain* rich with ſpoil enters *France*, where not eſteeming the Duke of *Guiſes* ſmall Forces, they continue to pillage and deſtroy the Country.

The German Army entred *France* with an infinite deal of Baggage, not only by reaſon of the great ſtore of carriages which they had with them according to the cuſtom of their Country, but alſo of the abundance of ſpoil and plunder they had got in the Territories of *Lorain*, and which they ſtill increaſed daily; nor did their diſorders and confuſions ceaſe, though they were come into an Enemies Country, ſuſpected on every ſide; but rather every one preſuming upon the greatneſs of their ſtrength, (for they were above forty thouſand fighting men) they quartered very wide and open, minded nothing but pillage, were negligent in their guards and marches, the fields being every where full of Grapes, of which that Nation being exceeding greedy, they diſordered their Squadrons, and ran confuſedly to ſatisfie their gluttony; and ſo much the more, becauſe the Duke of *Guiſe*'s handful of men made by him contemptible to their pride, nor did they think they could meet with any thing that could do harm to ſo much a greater number, well armed, well mounted, well provided, (which was true) but wonderfully ill ordered and diſciplined. The number of Commanders made opinions differ about the way they ſhould march; for ſome counſelled, that following the eaſineſs of the ways and the abundance of victuals, they ſhould go on thorow *Champagne* to *Brye*, and to the Iſle of *France* as far as the City of *Paris*, to ſtrike the very heart of the Catholick party, and not to linger about matters of ſmall importance, experience having ſhewed, that the Hugonots had never had hope of victory, but when they had entered the very bowels of the Kingdom, and brought terrour and damage to the City of *Paris*: but others knowing that they wanted a General who was capable to manage the weight of that imployment, and that therefore all their marches were difficult and dangerous, perſwaded to move ſtreight towards the head of the River *Loyre*, to paſs over it above *la Charite*, or at ſome other place thereabout, and to go without delay to join with the King of *Navarre*, without whoſe conduct and command they deſpaired of effecting any enterpriſe. The laſt opinion prevailed, and with that intention croſſing the Provinces of *Champagne* and *Bourgongne* about the end of *September*, they took the direct way toward *la Charite*, to paſs the River there, as the Duke of *Deux-ponts* had done at the ſame place; and becauſe the Count *de la Mark* died about that time of a natural death, the charge of the Van-guard was given to Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* followed the track of the Germans; and though his Brother the Duke of *Mayenne* were joined with him, with the Forces he brought out of his Government of *Bourgongne*; and though the Marqueſs *du Pont* had followed him alſo with no contemptible number of Gentlemen, whereby in all he had fifteen hundred Horſe, and little more than three thouſand Foot, yet becauſe he had no Body of an Army, he quartered always in advantageous places, keeping near the Germans, that he might not loſe any opportunity (which he watched for with extream diligence and impatient deſire) to fight; but the Duke of *Mayenne* following his old ſtayed reſolutions, and the Marqueſs *du Pont* inſtructed by his Fathers admonitions, did opportunely allay his forwardneſs, ſhewing him that the whole fortune of the Houſe of *Lorain* was reduced to that ſmall handful of men, and would run into a manifeſt ruine, if he ſhould be ſo raſh as to aſſault the Enemy with Forces ſo infinitely inferiour: that he could give no greater joy nor contentment to his Enemies, than to offer up the whole *being* of their Family to ſpoil and havock by ſo certain a danger, the event whereof, whatſoever it could be, would overthrow his Forces for ever: that it was a buſineſs of long, mature deliberation, and which could never be ſufficiently pondered and diſcuſſed,

cuſſed, to hazard all his former labours, all his preſent Eſtate, and all his future hopes upon the caſt of a Dye with ſo much diſadvantage: and with what ſtrength, with what number of Horſe and Foot would he aſſail an Army of ſixteen thouſand Horſe and twenty thouſand German Foot, flanked with four thouſand of the choiceſt French Firelocks? that it was no ſmall matter, if they could be able to defend the principal Cities, and the walled Towns of thoſe Provinces which were under their Government; and that he alone ought not to aſſume that charge to himſelf which principally concerned the King of *France*, and which never had been aſſumed by ſo many others, who upon occaſion of other German Armies had had the care of the Frontiers, and who preſerving only the places of conſequence, had let the ſtorm flie where the principal Armies were, and where the whole ſum of buſineſſes did reſide. Theſe conſiderations abated, but extinguiſhed not the ardour of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who having vaſter thoughts, and higher deſigns, did within himſelf alone preſs forward the effecting his own reſolutions: for having undertaken to be Patron of the League, aſſumed the care of the popular cauſe, and conceiving hopes of ruining his adverſaries, and making himſelf not only Arbitrator and Moderator of the Kingdom, but alſo the glorious Reſtorer of the Roman Catholick Religion, he foreſaw he ſhould grow leſs in reputation, and loſe his credit within and without the Kingdom, if the King, and not he, ſhould win the Victory over the Germans, which would turn the ſcale, and make him Superiour that ſhould obtain it: beſides, ſuſpecting that the King held ſecret intelligence with the Hugonots, he feared that the *Reiters* joyning with the King of *Navarre*, and the King being on the other ſide with a ſtrong Army in the field, they might catch him between them; and therefore he aſpired with all the powers of his mind, to deſtroy, or at leaſt weaken that Army, before it could come to the conſummation of that deſign: finally, the deſire of glory which in him was moſt ardent and unmeaſurable, would not let his mind be in quiet, if he did not make his valour famous in ſo conſpicuous an occaſion: Wherefore, ſometimes marching before, ſometimes beſide, ſometimes behind the Enemy, with unwearied diligence both in himſelf and in his Souldiers, he uſed all his uttermoſt endeavours to incommode and diſtreſs them, by putting them upon a neceſſity of quartering cloſe together, by protracting and retarding their march, and finally by ſtriving to bring them to a ſcarcity of proviſions. 1587.

The great abundance of all things cauſing ſurfeits, brings great mortality in the German Army.

But the abundance of Wine, Grapes, Fruits, and Fleſh, whereof there was great plenty in thoſe Provinces, did more harm to the Germans than all the labour and induſtry of the Duke of *Guiſe*; for by exceſs and ſurfeiting, in a Country differing from their natural climate, ſuch frequent dangerous diſeaſes were gotten into the Army, that their number daily decreaſed, and their march was not a little ſlackened; to which the rains of *Autumn* being added, which were wonderfully immoderate in the beginning of *October*, did much increaſe the mortality; and in that deep dirty Country the ways were ſo broken, that it was moſt difficult for ſo great a multitude to march, being (as they were wont) exceedingly ill ordered and commanded.

The ſame rains did alſo hurt the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Army, and ſo much the more, becauſe being in continual motion, they did perpetually ſuffer by the ill weather: But though the Souldiers were without ſhoes, and almoſt without clothes, and their horſes tired and almoſt quite ſpoiled, yet the great confidence they had in their Commander, and ſeeing him the firſt in all incommodities and ſufferings, made every one undergo them willingly; and becauſe they were all old Souldiers, hardned to the toils of War, the diſeaſes did not ſpread amongſt them, which had brought the affairs of the Enemy into a very ill condition. In this manner, with frequent skirmiſhes, the Armies came as far as *Chaſtillon* upon the *Seine*, where the Sieur *de la Chaſtre* having put himſelf in, for the defence of that Town, not ſo ſtrong as populous; as the Germans paſſed by they skirmiſhed continually for four hours, with ſome loſs on both ſides.

But having paſſed the *Seine* at *Chaſtillon*, turning on the right hand, they marched from thence toward *la Charite* to paſs the *Loyre*, not in thoſe places that are nearer to the head of it, as the King of *Navarre* had directed, and as his Agents put them in mind to do; but to endeavour to get a Bridge over which they might paſs conveniently: and of this reſolution not the Commanders, but the tumultuous cries of the Army were the occaſion, who would not hear of being led thorow narrow, barren, mountainous Countries, as thoſe parts are from whence the River ſprings, but would ſpread themſelves with their wonted pillagings and licentious manner of living, in the more fertile, ſpacious

1587. cious parts of *France*, as thoſe were thorow which they were to march toward *la Charite*, and the paſſes near unto it.

*Henry* the III. goes in perſon with an Army to oppoſe the Germans, and to keep them from joining with the King of *Navarre*.

But they were extreamly deceived in their hopes; for the King of *France* being departed from *Meaux*, and then from *Gien*, where he had made the general Rendezvous of his Army, and being come to *Eſtampes* with eight thouſand Swiſſes, ten thouſand French Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, the Duke of *Nevers* commanding as Lieutenant-General of the Army, and the Duke of *Eſpernon* leading the Van, by their advice was prudently come unto the *Loyre*; and having broken and ſpoiled all the paſſes, taken away all the Boats, and well gariſoned and provided all the Towns, encamped along the banks of the River, to hinder the Enemies from wading over, or paſſing it in any place.

This difficulty exceedingly puzled the German Army: for having been made believe by the French Commanders, both before they were raiſed, and after they were entered into *France*, that the King would tacitly give way to their paſſage, and joining with the King of *Navarre*, and that they were to have no other Enemy but the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe Forces were not to be feared: as ſoon as they ſaw the King in Arms, and reſolved to oppoſe them in a hoſtile manner, not only with a very great ſtrength, but with wonderful providence and Military policy: and after that the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, who was generally thought partial to the Hugonots, did perſonally aſſail ſome Troops of Horſe that plundered the Country; and having ſlain many of them, took one of their Cornets, there entered ſuch a confuſion into the Army, that the authority of the Commanders was not able to ſettle it. The German Cavalry began to cry out aloud for their pay, which had been promiſed them at their entry into the Kingdom, nor had money appeared yet from any place to ſatisfie them. The Swiſſes that ſaw their Country-men with the King, with the publick Colours of the Cantons, talked of going over to his Army; and generally all of them murmured, that having been promiſed to be led by a Prince of the Blood, they yet ſaw not any one appear; and every hour tumultuouſly threatned the French Commanders, becauſe they had raſhly brought them thither, and falſly perſwaded them that they held intelligence with the King of *France*. In this Mutiny the Commanders being come to the head of the Army, it was without much conſideration precipitately reſolved amidſt that univerſal cry and tumult, to turn back again, and get into the Country of *Beouſſe*, (the ordinary nouriſher of the War) and in the mean time to ſend men to the King of *Navarre*, to demand money and a General, and to know which way the Army ſhould march to unite themſelves moſt eaſily with him.

The German Army mutinies

At that time the King of *Navarre*, being departed from the places that held of his party with the greateſt number he could gather together, and having muſtered them, marched directly toward the *Loyre* to find ſome means of joining with the foreign Army. But the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, who ſpurred on by ambition, had wholly given himſelf over to the deſigns of the League, was inconſiderately gone from *Saumur*, and came with his whole Army to meet the Hugonots, deſiring with great confidence by all means to give them Battel. Two little Rivers parted the two Armies from one another, one called the *Iſle*, and the other the *Drougne*; the *Iſle* on the Duke of *Joyeuſe*'s ſide; the *Drougne* (much the bigger) on the King of *Navarre*'s; and between both Rivers were *la Roche-Chalais*, a Town near the *Iſle*; and near the *Drougne Coutras*, a brave houſe built by *Lautree*, a famous Commander in the Wars of *Italy*. Both the Generals thought with reaſon that the paſſage of the River might cauſe a diſadvantage to the Enemy, and therefore the Duke of *Joyeuſe* paſſed the *Iſle* with all ſpeed, upon the nineteenth of *October* in the evening, and quartered at *la Roche-Chalais*, with an intention to lie the night after at *Coutras*, and to meet the King of *Navarre*, and fight with him as he paſſed the *Drougne*. To that purpoſe he ſent Captain *Mercurio Bua* before with the Albanians, to poſſeſs *Coutras*, and had ſent away Colonels to take up quarters there. But the King of *Navarre*, who commanding an old well-exerciſed Army, deſired to meet in the plain field without advantage of ground or Rivers, had waded over the *Drougne* the ſame day betimes in the morning, and had alſo ſent the Duke *de la Trimouille* to make himſelf Maſter of *Coutras*, and he himſelf followed the ſame way with the whole Army in Battalia. There was no doubt but the Albanian Light-horſe were eaſily driven back by the greater number: and returning the ſame night to *la Roche-Chalais*, related to the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, who was ſitting at a gallant Supper with many of the Nobility, that the King of *Navarre* had paſſed the *Drougne*, and was quartered in the

the Village at *Coutras* with all his Army; preſently the Duke turning about to his Officers, ſaid, ſo loud, that every one might hear him, *So, we have the Enemy ſhut up between two Rivers, and he cannot now eſcape us; let every one be ready for the Battel to morrow by break of day.* 1587.

The Duke's Army was full of Nobility, and in number 10000 ſtrong; but the greateſt part men rather forward then expert, who accounting the Victory certain, cared little for that order and diſcipline, which almoſt alwayes uſes to cauſe it in ſuch encounters; there was no Commander, whoſe authority and experience could regulate the unbridled raſhneſs of the young Gentry, which greedily made haſte to come to the buſineſs, believing firmly, that they had impriſoned the Enemy between two Rivers; and therefore the next morning, being the twentieth of *October*, they began two hours before day to march, ſtragling confuſedly toward the Field where the Battel was to be. There they were drawn into Battalia, as well as poſſible they might, by the Sieur *de Lavardin* Lieutenant-General, having ſpread a long Body of Lances in the Plain, on whoſe Wings were two Battalions of Infantry, which flanked it on either ſide, and he himſelf with the Light-Horſe, led by the Sieur *de Montigny*, and *Mercurio Bua*, was at the Head of the whole Army, having placed the Artillery at the point of the left Wing.

At *Coutras* the D. of *Joyeuſe* with his Army prepares himſelf to Battel, but with great confuſion.

But, the Confuſion of thoſe untrained Soldiers, who were come thither without order, and had ſcatteringly broken their Ranks, and diſordered their Squadrons; and the way alſo to the place appointed, being (to ſay the truth) narrow and Woody, made them loſe ſo much time in embattelling, that the King of *Navarre*, finding that the Enemy moved, had conveniency to bring up his Artillery, which by reaſon of their haſty paſſage, was left the night before on the other ſide the River; who otherwiſe muſt have been fain to fight without his Canon, which would have been an extreme diſadvantage to him. Now, having received that benefit by the ſlowneſs of the Enemy, he divided his Army, conſiſting of 2500 Horſe, and 4000 Foot, into ſeven Squadrons, whereof four were Cuiraſſiers, one of Light-horſe, and two of Foot, and cauſed the Culverins, and the ſmall Field-pieces to be planted in the front of the Army upon the bank of the River, in a place ſomewhat higher then the Plain; the two middle Squdrons which made the bottom of the half-moon he commanded himſelf; the Prince of *Conde*, and the Count *de Soiſſons* on the right hand; and on the left the Viſcount *de Turenne*; the Light Horſe were commanded by the Duke *de la Tremouille*, and the Sieur *de Vivans*, who was Marſhal of the Field; and the two Bodies of Foot on the right hand were commanded by the Baron *de Salignac*, *Chaſtelnew*, and *Pardbiere*, who, upon their flank had a thick Wood, and a ditch of ſeven foot broad; and by *Lorges*, *Preau*, and *Charboniere* on the left, all old expert Colonels of that party, who were defended with the Walls and Buildings of the Park, but more eſpecially of the Warren. The care of the Artillery was committed to the Sieur *de Clairmont* * Marqueſs of *Gelerande*, and the Baggage either purpoſely, or by chance, was left in the Village of *Coutras*, without any Guard either of Horſe or Foot.

The King of *Navarre* takes opportunity by the Enemies ſlowneſs, and puts his Army in excellent order.

* The French Tranſlation ſayes, *and to the Marqueſs of* Galerande.

The Armies were very different; for the Duke of *Joyeuſe*'s was cloathed all with rich upper Coats, ſet forth with gallant Liveries, Plumes, and other wanton ornaments, but half in diſorder, and all wavering, a manifeſt ſign of want of experience; whereas the King of *Navarr*'s had no other ſhew then that of Iron, nor other ornaments then their Arms ruſty with the rain, yet united and compacted in a firm perfect array, ſhewed their worth moſt clearly in Soldier-like actions and behaviour. The Canon began to play on all ſides (the Sun being above two houres high) but either with diſferent induſtry or fortune; for the King of *Navarr*'s making a lane thorough the Catholick Lances, and paſſing from thence into the Squadrons of Infantry, made a very great ſlaughter of them, and put them all into confuſion; but the Duke's Canoneers levelled their Pieces ſo low, that all the Bullets ſtruck into the ground, and killed no body except one Gentleman of the Prince of *Conde*'s; which the Sieur *de Lavardin* perceiving, and knowing that to give the Enemies time to charge again, and redouble their great ſhot, would cauſe the total routing of the Army, which was ſo broken and diſorder'd by the Artillery, that they hardly kept in Battalia, having commanded to ſound a charge, fell in with his Light-Horſe ſo furiouſly upon thoſe of the Enemy which ſtood over againſt him, to the number of ſome two hundred, that the Sieur *de Montigny* killed the Duke *de la Tremouille*'s horſe under him, and Captain *Mercurio Bua* wounded the Sieur *de Vivans* Marſhal of the Field very dangerouſly; and having ſcattered the

The Armies face one another, and the Battel begins.

1587. light-Horſe, came up to the Squadron of Cuiraſſiers, led by the Viſcount of *Turenne*, whom they charged not in the Front, but ruſhed fiercely upon their flank, and making way quite thorough them (whatſoever the occaſion was, for it was afterward diverſly ſpoken of) ran on with full ſpeed to the Village of *Coutras*, where the Enemies Baggage was. There the Albanians being out of breath, with the length of their career, and ſeeing booty before them, fell to pillage, and were ſo long before they rallied again, that they reſolved to retire into ſome place of ſecurity, without doing any further ſervice. But the King of *Navarre* having briefly exhorted his men to fight for their common ſafety, and having put Thirty Gentlemen before him with ſhort Lances, ran but ten paces to meet the Catholick Cavalry, who having begun their Charge too ſoon, were in ſuch diſorder with the length of their career, that their Lances wrought not their wonted effect, and did no good at all; wherefore being thrown away, the fight remained equal, wherein, beſides the valour of the Soldiers, their Squadrons being much harder to break thorough, then the long weak Battalion of the Duke *de Joyeuſe*, the Cavalry of the Catholicks was routed and defeated in leſs then half an hour, the Duke himſelf, among an infinite of Lords and Gentlemen being left dead; for being overthrown upon the ground, and offering 100000 Crowns in ranſome, he was with three Piſtol ſhots moſt violently ſlain. Nor had the Infantry better fortune then the Cavalry; for being charged on all ſides, and fierce cries reſounding every where, that every one ſhould remember the ſlaughter of St. *Eloy*, where two Regiments of the King of *Navarr*'s were cut in pieces without mercy, the Soldiers were not ſatisfied till they had put moſt of them to the Sword; the Commanders being not able to reſtrain their fury, nor the King of *Navarre* to prevent it, being buſied otherwhere in chaſing the Reliques of the Cavalry.

The Albanians break through a Squadron of Cuiraſſiers, run to *Coutras*, pillage the Hugonots baggage, and could no more be rallied in the Battel.

The D. of *Joyeuſe* thrown to the ground, offers 100000 Crowns in ranſom, yet is ſlain.

The ſlaughter of the Conquered, and purſuit of the Conquerors, laſted three houres, after which they were Maſters of the field, of the Canon, Colours, and Baggage, wherein (to the laughter of Soldiers, accuſtomed to the toils of War) they found many of thoſe ſofter accommodations of eaſe and tenderneſs uſed in the Court. There were ſlain three thouſand five hundred of the Catholicks, beſides the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, the Count *de S. Sauveur* his brother, *Breſay*, who carried the General's Cornet, the Counts *de Suſe*, *d'Aubijoux*, and *Gavelo*, Colonel *Tiercelin*, and many others: but the number of priſoners was much greater; for except *Lavardin*, *Montigny*, and *Mercurio Bua*, who ſaved themſelves, all the reſt remained in the power of the Enemy. On the King of *Navarr*'s ſide there were not full Two hundred killed, among which not any many of great note; and among thoſe that were wounded, onely the Sieur *de Vivans*, Captain *Favas*, and the Viſcount *de Turenne* but ſlightly. In this ſo great Victory the King of *Navarre* ſhewed his clemency no leſs then he had done his prudence before in preventing the Enemy, and ranging his Army in order, and his valour in fighting: for being returned into the place of the battel, he ſtayed the ſlaughter of the Catholick Infantry, received the priſoners courteouſly, commending thoſe that had behaved themſelves well in that action, and pitying the death of the reſt that had been ſlain in the fury of the Battel, cauſed the dead Body of the Duke *de Joyeuſe* to be honourably put in a Leaden Coffin, and granted it to thoſe that came to demand it, who cauſed it to be carried to *Paris*, where, with a ſolemn Funeral it was magnificently buried.

The Catholicks loſe the day, are all killed and taken priſoners, except a very few that ſave themſelves by flight.

This Victory of the King of *Navarr*'s, the firſt cauſe and original of his ſafety, and ſo much the more glorious, as being the firſt the Hugonots had obtained in the revolution of ſo many Wars, did not much diſpleaſe the King of *France*, as well becauſe he deſired not the King of *Navarr*'s total ſuppreſſion, leſt the *Guiſe*'s Faction ſhould be ſo much increaſed, as to remain arbitrators alone of the Forces of the Kingdom, as alſo becauſe the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, raiſed by him with ſo much favour, to ſuch a height of honour and greatneſs, had proved moſt ungrateful to him; being, out of an emulation to the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, turned to favour the League; and if not openly, at leaſt ſecretly, united to the deſigns of the Lords of *Guiſe*. Nor did it trouble him that the King of *Navarre*, having got the Victory, and overcome the hinderance of that Army, was able to march to meet the Germans; for he with a ſtronger Army had taken all the Paſſes of the *Loyre*, and ſo guarded the banks of the River every where, that he was certain neither of the Enemies Armies could paſs over it; and he hoped not onely to drive away the Germans victoriouſly; but alſo that they ſhould be inſtruments to ruine and ſuppreſs the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and all the Plots and Machinations of the League.

The King is not diſpleaſed at the loſs, nor at the Duke of *Joyeuſe* death.

At

At this time the German Army was in wonderful diſcord and confuſion, not onely 1587.
becauſe there neither came Money to pay them, nor that Prince of the Blood that had been promiſed them for their General, and becauſe their hopes of being able to joyn with the King of *Navarre* began to diminiſh; but alſo becauſe the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who led the Van-guard of the Kings Army, having often beaten up their quarters, they were certainly aſſured, that the King, contrary to what their Commanders had perſwaded them, had taken Arms againſt them, and followed them with a mighty Army, ſince they turned back from the River *Loyre*. But the Swiſſe Infantry were more unruly than all the reſt; for ſeeing other Foot-ſoldiers of the ſame Nation, with the publick Enſigns of the Cantons in the Kings Army, though they were of another Religion, were very unwilling to fight againſt their Country-men, and as unwilling to break their Confederacie and loſe their friendſhip with the King of *France*, with whoſe conſent, and for the good of whoſe Kingdom, they were told they ſhould fight when they came from home. The death of Colonel *Tileman*, who commanded all the Swiſſes under the Sieur *de Clervant*, put the affairs in an abſolute confuſion: for dying ſuddenly of a malignant Feaver and a bloody Flux, they had no Commander left that had authority enough to reſtrain the unrulineſs of the Soldiers, ſo that they tumultuouſly reſolved to ſend meſſengers to the King of *France*, and to make up an agreement with him: which being come to the knowledge of the Baron *de Onaw*, and the French Commanders, they made ſo much the more haſte in marching away from the Kings Army, to get into the Country of *Beauſſe*, where the abundance of proviſions and pillage might make the Swiſſes forget the tumultuous reſolution they had taken. But this haſty march brought greater confuſion into the Army, troubled with a great multitude of ſick men, ſome whereof were left behind in their ſeveral quarters, and miſerably murdered by the Country people; ſome carried along upon their Carriages, and following ſlowly the ſpeed of thoſe that were in health, were the cauſe that they quartered confuſedly and in places.

*The Swiſſes do not willingly fight, when they ſee the Enſignes of their Cantons diſplayed in the Enemies Army.*

This diſorder was very well known to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, at their returning back from the River *Loyre*, had moſt wiſely put himſelf between their Army and the City of *Paris*, to keep that City faithful to him, and to increaſe both the affection the people bore him, and his reputation, as if he were the onely defence that hindered that mighty Army of the *Germans* from offending the City and Territories of *Paris*; whereas the King following ſlowly, ſeemed to have given over all care of the Pariſians. He alwayes lay in ſecure advantageous places, not far from the enemies Army, but made the wayes be continually well cleared by Captain *Thomaſo Fratta* an Albanian, and the Sieur *de Vins*, who had the charge of the Light-Horſe, and who ſending Scouts abroad, and bringing in intelligence every minute, gave him notice of the moving and progreſs of the Enemy. The Germans were come into the Territories of *Montargis*, twenty eight Leagues from *Paris*; and, upon the twenty ſixth of *October*, were quartered in this manner. The Baron *de Onaw*, with the biggeſt Body of Horſe, at *Vilmory*, a very great Village: The Swiſſes under the Walls of *Montargis*, which Town was above two great Leagues from thence; and the reſt of the Army ſcattered in ſeveral places about *Vilmory*; but ſome a League, ſome two Leagues from the Head-quarter.

The manner of their lying being told the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the draught and platform of it being brought unto him by Captain *Thomaſo*, whilſt he was at table at *Courtenay* with the Marqueſs *du Pont*, and the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Nemours*, *Aumale*, and *Elbeuf*, he ſate a while muſing, and ſilent, and then having ſent for his own Trumpet, commanded him to ſound *Bouteſelle*, and that every body ſhould be in a readineſs to march within an hour. At which order the Duke of *Mayenne* asking him, to what purpoſe he would move, and whither he intended to go; he replyed inſtantly, To fight with the Enemy. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who knew the inequality of their Forces, began to ſmile, and ſaid, he was contented to be jeſted with: To which the Duke of *Guiſe* anſwered, with a grave countenance, that he ſpoke in very good earneſt; and that they who had not the courage to fight might ſtay in their quarters; and without more words put on his Arms, and having ſet all things in order, took Horſe without any further delay. His authority was ſuch, and his Soldiers had ſo great a confidence in him, that when it was known they were preſently to go charge the Army of the *Reiters*, there was no man diſmayed at the great diſparity of their numbers, but as if they were going to a certain Victory, the Foot and Horſe, in emulation of one another, ſtrove who ſhould be firſt in order and ready to march: only the Duke of

*The Duke of Guiſe jeſted at by the Duke of Mayenne, for ſaying, he would aſſault the Enemy, becauſe they were indiſcreetly quartered.*

1587. *Mayenne*, and the Marqueſs *du Pont*, conſidering the greatneſs and number of the German Army, and that by fighting, the whole Houſe of *Lorain*, and the fortune of them all, was ſet upon the caſt of a Dye, and in a moſt dangerous precipice, would have diſſwaded the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſhewing, that they could not believe, that he, a prudent wary man, would hazard all his fortune at ſo dangerous a game: But he, perſiſting in his reſolution, told them, That, to the end they might not think him raſh, he would make them partakers of his deſign, which was, About midnight to fall into their Head-quarter, where he knew they kept not ſo ſtrict Guards as they ought, nor were ſo vigilant as Military Diſcipline required, being certain, that in the tumult and uncertainty of the dark, the other quarters, neither knowing who, nor how ſtrong they were, by reaſon the King's Army was not far off, would never ſtir to aſſiſt the Head-quarter, but would rather fortifie themſelves within their own, till break of day: But it was moſt probable of all, that the Swiſſes would do ſo, who were ſo far off, that they could by no means poſſible come time enough to help them: Wherefore, that quarter being ſuddenly aſſaulted, where they ſlept in eaſe and ſecurity, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of an Enemy, he was moſt aſſured to have the Victory, and, in that manner, to diſorder the whole Army; and, though it ſhould ſucceed contrary to what reaſon perſwaded, he could not want time and means to retreat with his Forces, not being troubled with any Carriages: And, becauſe the Duke of *Mayenne* anſwered, That indeed, it was a thing probable, in appearance, to ſucceed, but yet to be well thought upon; he (almoſt angry) reply'd, That he that could not think of it in a quarter of an hour, would never think of it in all his life time: Whereupon, the conſiderations of all the reſt yielding to the authority of ſo noble a Man, they began to march about the ſhutting in of the evening, with a deſign to be about midnight at *Vilmory*, ſeven Leagues from thence.

The D. of *Guiſe* knowing the want of diſcipline and experience in the German Army, reſolves (though much inferiour in number) to fall upon them in their quarters.

The Duke of *Guiſe* marched firſt of all with thirty Gentlemen, and ſixty Albanian Light-Horſe; the Infantry followed in two diviſions, one of which conſiſted of the Regiments of *Ponſenat* and *Chevrieres*, commanded by the Sieur *de Cluſeau*; and the other of the Regiments of *Gies* and *de Bourg*, commanded by Colonel *St. Paul*. After theſe went the Cavalry; the Vanguard (being five hundred Horſe) was led by the Duke of *Mayenne*; the Battel (being four hundred) by the Marqueſs *du Pont*, with whom were the Dukes of *Nemours*, and *Elbeuf*; and the Rere (being four hundred more) by the Duke of *Aumale* and the *Chevalier* his brother. In this order they came into the Plain near *Vilmory* after midnight, and having found no obſtacle, either of *perdu's*, or any parties that ſhould have rid the *patrouille*, the Duke of *Guiſe* putting himſelf at the head of the Infantry, led it ſilently into the *Bourg* (which thick of Houſes ſpreads it ſelf about half a Mile in length) and entered ſo ſoftly, that the ſtreet was full of his Soldiers, before the Germans, who ſlept ſoundly, heard any thing at all of them. The Cavalry was already ſet in order in the Field, the Duke of *Mayenne* having the right hand, the Duke of *Aumale* the left, and the Marqueſs *du Pont* between them, encompaſſing the whole *Bourg* almoſt on every ſide, to catch thoſe, who, ſcaping from the fury of the Foot, ſhould try to ſave themſelves in the field.

All things being ordered in this manner, the Duke of *Guiſe* gave ſign to Colonel *St. Paul*, who, with a great volley of Muskets, began to ſet fire on the neareſt houſes, and the ſame did Colonel *du Cluſeau* on his ſide; ſo that in a very ſhort time the flames gave light to the place of Battel, if it may be called a Battel; where the *Germans*, unexpectedly aſſaulted, were, without making any reſiſtance, either ſlain by the Sword, burnt in the Fire, or deſtroyed with a thick hail of bullets. Onely the Baron *d' Onaw*, who lay at the fartheſt end of all the Town, had time to get on horſeback before the ſtorm of the Infantry fell upon him, and ſeeing the high ſtreet which led into the field was all on fire, and commanded by the enemies Soldiers, he turned upon the right hand with an hundred Horſe that followed him, and through a narrow Lane galloped out into the Field, where, having encountred the Vanguard, which was led up by the Duke of *Mayenne* to charge him, as he was a moſt valiant undaunted ſoldier, he ruſhed furiouſly into the midſt of the Enemies, and meeting with the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf, diſcharged a Piſtol gallantly in his very face, which hitting ſomething low upon the chin of his helmet, did him no harm at all; but the Duke of *Mayenne* having taken notice that the Baron was without his head-piece, becauſe he had not had time to put on all his Arms, ſtrook him a ſlaſh over the Fore-head, notwithſtanding which he paſſed on into the midſt of the Squadron, and with his other Piſtol killed him that carried the Duke's Cornet;

The Baron *de Onaw* gets out of *Vilmory*, and having fought is wounded in the head, and ſaves himſelf by favour of the night.

Cornet; but all the Van-guard falling close upon him, he having left above eighty of his men upon the place, broke through all the Squadron with fourteen in his company, under favour of the darkness, and being sheltered by the night, saved himself at *Chasteau-Landon*, where another part of his Army was quartered. In the mean time the Infantry had made an end of destroying the rest of his men, who perished all in the fire of the Town, not being any way able to save themselves, with so little danger to the Conquerors, that onely three men were wounded; but with so much spoil and rich booty, that never any Soldiers were more loaden with wealth then they; for besides seven Cornets, two Camels that carried the Generals baggage, and two brasen Kettle-drums, which for Pomp waited on the Cornet of the Chief Commander, the Soldiers took above 2800 Horses, many gold Chains, no small store of Plate, rich clothes, and other things of exceeding great value, besides the Mony found about those that were dead; and the benefit of their prey was so much the greater, as the Soldiers that fought were but few in number The Duke of *Guise*, who was run to help his Brother the Duke of *Mayenne*, whither the cry and tumult of the fight had called him, found that the Enemies were defeated, and the Baron *d' Onaw* fled, with the loss of seventeen Gentlemen of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s own Troop, and onely four more wounded, and when he saw all things in his own power, that he might not give the other quarters time to fall upon him, nor the Swisses to move that way, he sounded a retreat before break of day, and with his Infantry all mounted on Horseback, returned in the same order to his own quarters. The number of the slain was never so uncertain in any action as in this; for though one side endeavoured to encrease, and the other to diminish it, yet it is most clear there could not be any certain particular knowledge of it, because the greatest part of them perished in the fire. 1587.

This overthrow did much dismay the German Army, who thought the Duke of *Guise*'s industry most wonderful, and his courage no less admirable, and therefore stood in exceeding great fear of him: but they were as much terrified by the carelesness of the Baron *d' Onaw*, who, to his dishonour, had, by his want of Military discipline, given opportunity to the vigilancy and celerity of his Enemies: whereupon, if the disorders and confusions were very great among them before, they were multiplied afterward to such a height, by their fear of the Catholicks, and distrust of their own General, as opened the way to their utter ruine and destruction; for the Swisses presently sent messengers to the King of *France*, who, being brought in by the Duke of *Nevers*, were received by him with a sowre countenance, and angry words, not that he was not very glad to make a composition with them, but because he desired to draw the business out in length, that the German Army might not be dissolved, till the Duke of *Guises* boldness and thirst of glory had brought him to some precipice. Likewise the *Reiters*, and particularly those that had lost their Baggage in the defeat of *Vilmory*, mutined, demanding their pay, and the French Commanders disagreeing among themselves, could hardly keep their Foot together, that were most pitifully worn out by the extream wet weather of Autumn; thus every thing tended to manifest ruine and destruction.

But it fell out luckily; for *Francis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Conty*, destined from the beginning to be their General, arrived then at the Army, who, though he came without Train, without Money, and was of himself but little able to command in War; yet being a Prince of the Blood, and Son of the so renowned glorious Prince of *Conde*, he filled the whole Army with joy; whereupon the Commanders taking courage, wrought so much with the Swisses by prayers and entreaties, that they resolved to follow the Camp, and expect news from the King of *Navarre*, before they made an end of their Agreement with the King of *France*. But their spirits and hopes were quite raised again by the news of the Battel of *Coutras*, and the death of the Duke *de Joyeuse*, which having passed thorough the Enemies Country, was at last come unto them: whereupon they began to talk, that the King of *Navarre* being now victorious, would certainly find some way or other to pass the *Loire*, and come to joyn his Forces with them. But, these shews of prosperity were exceedingly counterpoised by those real difficulties wherewith the King opposed the deliberation of that Army; for being turned to march toward *Vendosme*, the King having left the banks of the *Loire* well guarded, was advanced himself to hinder them, causing the Duke of *Espernon* with the Vanguard to streighten and incommodate them in their way, and the Duke of *Guise* following them in the Rere, with frequent Skirmishes, now as they were quartering, then

as

1587. as they were riſing, ſometimes in their march, ceaſed not to annoy them very much and keep them in perpetual trouble; yet the contentment and rejoycing for the Prince, of *Conty*'s arrival, did wholly poſſeſs the Army, and to reſt themſelves, to refreſh their ſpirits, and recover their Forces, they had lodged themſelves at *Auneau*, in the Territory of *Chartres*, a great Town well furniſhed with buildings, and abounding in proviſions; and becauſe the Caſtle, a place indifferently ſtrong by the ſituation, was held by a Governour and Garriſon of the Kings, they had blocked up all the wayes that led towards it, and ſtopped them up with Carts chained together, with barrels, logs, and other ſuch like things, keeping their *Corps de Garde* at the end of the Streets, and ſetting out their Sentinels on every ſide. With theſe preventions they thought themſelves ſo ſecure, that they intended to lie three or four dayes in that Quarter, as well to eaſe themſelves, as to conſult what they ſhould do, the deliberation of the Commanders not being yet very well reſolved on; and becauſe *Auneau*, though a great *Bourg*, could not contain all their number, many of them quartered thereabouts, and in the neighbouring Villages, making invitations and merriments every where for the coming of the Prince of *Conty*, and for the Victory of the King of *Navarre*, drinking deeply after the German faſhion; and ſo much the more, becauſe the Feaſt of St *Martin*, and the great plenty of Wines that year, excited their natural inclinations to diſſoluteneſs.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, who watched for all opportunities and occaſions, that might offer themſelves, being informed of the intentions of the Germans, to ſtay ſome few dayes at *Auneau*, diſpatched the Sieur *de Vins* ſecretly to the Governor of the Caſtle, filling him with wonderful great Promiſes, if he would grant him paſſage thorough the Caſtle one night, that he might fall down unexpectedly to aſſault the Enemies. The Governour was a little doubtful at firſt, becauſe all the wealth of the neighbouring Towns was put into that Caſtle, and he having taken Money from the Countrey-people to ſecure them, that no Soldiers ſhould enter into it who might take them away, ſhewed himſelf backward, in giving way to let in the Army. Yet he conſented willingly to let the Duke paſs under the Wall, upon a narrow bank that lies along between the *Ravelin* of the Caſtle-gate, and a very broad Lake that ſpreads it ſelf over a great part of thoſe fields. But, the Sieur *de Vins* conſidering, that it was not good to put themſelves into the power of a mercenary man; and that it was neceſſary to be Maſters of the Caſtle, to the end that whatſoever ſhould happen, the Foot might have a ſecure retreat, he brought it ſo to paſs, that the Governor went firſt to ſpeak with Monſieur *de la Chaſtre* Marſhal-General of the Field, and afterward with the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf, by whom, being corrupted with Money, and invited with very great hopes, he conſented at laſt to receive him into the Fortreſs, having given him his faith, that the Countrey-peoples Goods ſhould ſuffer no harm by the Soldiers: ſo, upon the eleventh of *November*, the Duke of *Guiſe* departing from his Quarters at *Dourdan*, towards the Evening, made ſo much ſpeed, that he arrived with his Forces, not much wearied, at the Caſtle of *Auneau*, preſently after midnight. The back-gate being opened, he went in to make himſelf maſter of the place, and brought in an hundred Musketiers with very great ſilence; and the reſt of the Infantry, to the number of Three thouſand, commanded by Colonel *St Paul*, ſtood ready along the bank under the Caſtle-wall, to aſſault the *Bourg*, and the Barricadoes which the Germans had made up: and at the ſame time the Cavalry had encompaſſed the Lake; and, being divided into three ſquadrons, had poſſeſſed the paſſage toward the Field, to drive back thoſe that ſhould ſeek to ſave themſelves that way. Colonel *Joannes* was alſo come to the ſame place with Six hundred Musketiers mounted behind his Horſe-men, and had taken the paſſage to that Gate of the *Bourg*, which leads into the Fields, juſt over againſt the Caſtle.

The Duke of *Guiſe* gives a ſudden aſſault to the Germans at *Auneau*, and with a great ſlaughter of them, obtains another famous Victory.

It was already break of day, and the *Reiters* Trumpets ſound the *Diana*, when the Infantry aſſaulted the enemies barricadoes with infinite fury: and though many of them lay ſtill buried in wine and ſleep, yet the *Corps de Garde*, which were vigilant, received the aſſault moſt couragiouſly, and the ſucceſs was doubtful for a time, till the Catholick Infantry, by ſetting the Carts and Barrels on fire, cleared the way, and removed thoſe impediments that ſtopt it up; whereupon the Germans *Corps de gard* not being able to make reſiſtance of themſelves, were, in a very ſhort ſpace, all cut in pieces, Colonel *St. Paul* entered with the firſt ſquadron into the ſtreet that led on the left hand, and Colonel *Ponſenat*, with the ſecond, into the ſtreet on the right hand, where they

they bravely ſet upon thoſe few *Reiters*, who not having had time to get to Horſe, came up to them a foot with their Piſtols in their hands: but the fight was very unequal; for the Musketiers ſhot them at a diſtance, and the Pikes overturned all that came in their way; ſo that the *Reiters* having nothing but ſhort Piſtols and their Swords, could never come up to give one blow to the Enemy, and within a very little while all turned their backs, thinking to ſave themſelves in the field; but finding the way ſhut up, and the Gate poſſeſſed, being alſo driven back by *Joannes*'s Musketiers, who had made good the paſſage, they fell into ſo great terror and confuſion, that they were preſently ſlain by the Foot without reſiſtance. Some few, who thought to get over the Walls and flee croſs the Field, were met withal by the Horſe, and either miſerably killed, or taken priſoners: onely Baron *d'Onaw*, much more fortunate in eſcaping then in fighting, having, by the help of a Woman, got over the Wall toward the Mooriſh ſide of the Lake, ſaved his life, and fled into the quarter of the Swiſſes, which was little more then a League from thence. The ſlaughter of the Germans was exceeding great and terrible, being incloſed on every ſide (for Colonel *Joannes* was at laſt come in alſo at the Field-gate) and with lamentable cries they were all put to the ſword without diſtinction: This bloody buſineſs continued till Baron *d'Onaw* being got to the Swiſſes, and the French Commanders being come to the ſame place from the other quarters, he exhorted, prayed and conjured them to follow him, promiſing them a certain Victory over the Catholicks, who in confuſion, buſied in ſpoil and execution, and wearied with watching, marching and fighting, could not be able to reſiſt a much greater number, wherewith they might inſtantly fall upon them. But ſuch a *Panick* terror had ſeized them, that it was not poſſible to perſwade them to it: and the French Commanders conſidering that the Catholick Infantry would retire ſafe into the Caſtle, and that the Cavalry freſh and unwearied poſſeſſed the paſſage toward the field, diſſwaded the Baron from that attempt; and having put the reſt of the Army in Battalia, purpoſed onely to defend their poſt. The Duke of *Guiſe*, when his Soldiers were glutted with blood and pillage, rich in ſpoil, all gallantly mounted, and from Foot-Soldiers turned Horſe-men, retired with eleven of the Enemies Cornets, and all their Baggage, to *Eſtampes*, where, having given God thanks, he inſtantly diſpatched away the Cornets, and preſented them to the King, giving him account (with proud Soldier-like boaſtings) of that notable Victory, which without blood he had ſo eaſily obtained. 1587.

But the King ſeeing the event prove quite contrary to his deſign, reſolved to proſecute hotly the remainder of the German Army, that he might have part in that glory which he ſaw reſulted from Victory, and therefore he ſpeedily ſent forth the Duke of *Eſpernon* that way, he himſelf following with all the Army, with a ſet purpoſe to meet the Enemy. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, after the example of the Duke of *Guiſe*, attempted often to beat up the Germans quarters, but with ſmall effect; for the experience of the Commander, the goodneſs of the Soldiers, and the ſucceſs, were all very unequal, circumſtances which often make the events of like occaſions and like counſels to be very different: Wherefore the Duke of *Eſpernon*, by the King's direction, began again to treat of an Agreement with the Swiſſes, by means of the Sieur *de Cormons* a Hugonot Gentleman, who had been taken a few dayes before in a skirmiſh between the Armies. The Swiſſes were brought into an ill condition with perpetual marches, without money, having never had their pay, terrified by the defeat of the *Reiters*, and diſcontented to fight againſt the Enſignes of their own Nation, and much more, becauſe they had not a General, who, for authority and experience was able to command and govern them, whereby they ſaw, that the end of ſo great Forces would be ruinous and miſerable; wherefore it was not very difficult, by an accommodation with the King, to make them ſubmit themſelves unto his obedience: and their Commanders going to acknowledge him, being kindly received (not to exaſperate that Nation) and feaſted by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, obtained a ſafe conduct to return to their own houſes, which was alſo punctually obſerved, though toils, ſufferings and diſeaſes had let but few eſcape of ſo great a number.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* begins again to treat an Agreement with the Swiſſes of the German Army, and they have leave granted them to return with a ſafe-conduct to their own home.

The *Reiters*, and their Commanders, and the French Soldiers, diſheartned by the two late defeats, and forſaken by the Swiſſes, reſolved to turn back, and try to get out of the confines of *France* by the way of *Bourgongne*, hoping to come ſafe into *Germany*, and the Territory of *Baſile*, and with that determination, being united and drawn cloſe together, they began to march that way. But it was hard for them to get thither: for the Duke of *Mayenne* being returned into *Bourgongne*, had ſet himſelf

The Reiters and the Germans following the example of the Swiſſes, do the ſame.

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1587. to guard the confines; and the Sieur *de Mandelot* and the Count *de Tournon* being marched out of *Lyons* with the Forces of that City, were advanced also to hinder them: the King with his whole Army was but half a dayes march behind them, and streightned them in the rere; and the Duke of *Guise*, with his wonted celerity, sometimes in the flank, sometimes behind, and sometimes getting before them, ceased not to distress them very much. The French Infantry was tired and consumed; wherefore the Soldiers disbanding of themselves, lay close hid in those Cities and Villages thorough which they passed: and horses spoiled and unshod, could not follow the hasty march of the Commanders; and the loss of their Baggage, the want of Money, the dearth of Victuals (because all the people hid what they had in some secure place) the great rains, and dirty wayes, which are wonderful in *Burgongne*, their watching, wearinesse, diseases, and their disorders, had brought them to the extremity of desperation; wherefore the same Sieur *de Cormons* interposing, they resolved to submit themselves to the King's Mercy, who, upon condition they would deliver him all their Colours furled up, and would promise not to fight any more against him, profered to grant them a most ample safe conduct.

All the Army that was commanded by the Baron *d' Oneau* disbands at last.

The Prince of *Conty*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Sieurs *de Clervant*, *Chastillon*, and other French Commanders laboured to withstand that resolution, promising them relief from the King of *Navarre* within a short time, and the arrears of all their pay, and endeavoured to perswade them, not to do so dishonourable a thing, as to acknowledge themselves subdued and conquered; alleadging, that the Forces in *Lyonois* were not so strong, but that they might pass that way, and go securely into the Territory of *Geneva*; but whilest they treat of these matters, being informed that the *Reiters* persisting in their determination of yielding, intended to make them prisoners, thereby to win the favour of the King, and assure themselves of their pay to which they pretended, they resolved to steal away secretly, and separate themselves several wayes, to try if they could save themselves by flight, before the Germans had opportunity to execute their design.

The Duke of *Bouillon* flies to *Geneva*, and dies there.

So the Duke of *Bouillon* with a few Horse making his escape without delay, by the way of *Roane* and *Lyonois*, but travelling out of the ordinary road, after many troubles and dangers got to *Geneva*; where, being no less wasted with grief of Mind, then toil of Body, he died within a few dayes after, leaving his Estate to his Sister, whom he recommended to the care of the Duke *de Montpensier*. The Sieur *de Chastillon* with an hundred Cuirassiers, and two hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, having often fought with the Forces of *Bourgongne* and *Lyonois*, with wonderful success, and no less valour, got at last into *Languedoc*, and retired himself to his wonted Government in *Vivarez*. The Sieur *de Clervant*, hid among the Swisses that went with a safe conduct, escaped in their company to *Basile*. The Prince of *Conty* with a few Horse, lurking in remote places, got at last unknown to his own house; and the other Commanders taking several wayes, ran very various fortunes.

The *Reiters* having obtained leave of the King to carry home his Cornets, but not displayed, divided themselves into two parts; one with the Baron *de Oneau* and Colonel *Damartin* passed thorough *Savoy*, where being shrunk to the number of but Five hundered, they were pillaged by the Duke's Forces, the other with the Baron *de Bouck*, passing thorough *Bourgongne* to the confines of the County of *Mombelliard*, was followed by the Marquess *du Pont* and the Duke of *Guise*; by whom being overtaken without the borders of *France*, they were all cut in pieces in many several encounters. Nor did this satisfie those Heads of the League; but with a hostile fury they also sacked and burned the Towns and Castles of the County, as well to revenge the like outrages committed by the *Reiters* in *Lorain*, as because that Count had been the principal author of raising those Forces. The slaughter of the Germans was most lamentable, even to the eyes of their very Enemies; who, sick with Feavers, and weakened with bloody Fluxes, falling down by the High-wayes, and in the Towns as they passed, were miserably slain by the Country people; eighteen of them were seen, who were left sick in a poor Cottage in *Bourgongne*, were cruelly butchered, as the vilest Creatures, by a Woman, who cut all their Throats with a Knife, in revenge of those losses she had sustain'd.

A Woman kills 18 Germans with a knife.

Not had those Swisses better fortune, who, to the number of Three thousand were gone into *Dauphine*, under the command of the Sieur *de Cougy*, to joyn with *Lesdiguiers*, who keeping the Hugonot party alive in that Province, could make no great

progress

progreſs for want of Forces, but buſied himſelf in taking in little places of ſmall importance, and in actions of ſmall moment, having with him but a few Foot Souldiers, and only the Hugonot Gentry of that Country. Theſe Swiſſes accompanied with four hundred French Muſquetiers, having paſſed the narrow places, marching on to join with him, as they paſſed the River *Iſare*, were aſſaulted by Monſieur *de la Valette* Brother to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, with the Cavalry of *Provence*, and by Colonel *Alfonſo Ornano* of the Iſle of * *Corſica* with the Infantry of *Dauphine*, and ſo furiouſly charged there, that all the reſt being ſlain upon the place, only ſixty of them eſcaped from ſo great a ſlaughter: whereupon alſo the Sieur *Leſdiguiers* himſelf was forced to ſeek ſecurity among the Mountains. 1587.

* And therefore uſually called Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*.

This end had that mighty Army of the Germans; after the defeat whereof, the King returning armed to *Paris*, entered as in triumph upon the twenty third of *December*, being in appearance ſolemnly received by the people; though with the incredible applauſe of every one, but eſpecially of the Pariſians, the whole glory redounded to the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe name being become admired and immortal, was celebrated by the Tongues and Pens of all his Adherents.

The miſerable end of the reliques of the mighty Army of the Germans

*The End of the Eighth BOOK.*

1587.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The NINTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*THis Book relates the determination of the Duke of* Guiſe, *and of the League, to obtain (in the heat of the Victory) their deſigns of the King, and the ruine of the Hugonots: The Pariſians aſſent unto it, and are more reſolute than the reſt: They prepare themſelves to conſtrain the King by force, and to ſhut him up in a Monaſtery. The King being advertiſed, takes order to curb their unrulineſs; and to that end cauſeth the Swiſſes to draw near, and makes many other preparations. The Pariſians finding they were diſcovered, to ſave themſelves ſend for the Duke of* Guiſe: *At his Arrival they take Arms, make Barricadoes, drive out the Swiſſes, and beſiege the King in his Palace. He being not able to reſiſt, flees away ſecretly, and retires to* Chartres, *and thence to* Rouen: *He reſolves to make Peace with the Duke of* Guiſe, *cauſeth it to be treated by the Queen-Mother, and it is concluded. The Duke of* Eſpernon *goes from Court, and retires to* Angouleſm, *where, by a Conſpiracy of the Citizens, his life is in great danger. The Duke of* Guiſe *comes to the King to* Chartres, *and is favoured and exalted to the height of power. The States are aſſembled at* Blois, *according to the appointment made in the Articles of Peace. The Pope declares Cardinal* Moreſini *his Legat in* France. *The King diſmiſſes from Court the High Chancellour, Secretary* Villeroy, *and the Sieur* de Bellieure: *He ſends an Army commanded by the Duke of* Nevers *againſt the King of* Navarre; *who after the taking of many places, lays ſiege to* Ganache. *The States at* Blois *are begun: Many practices and machinations are contrived on both ſides. The Duke of* Guiſe *cauſeth the States to demand that the King of* Navarre *may be declared incapable of the Crown, and labours to be created Lieutenant-General with abſolute Authority in the Government. News comes that the Duke of* Savoy *hath ſeized upon the Marqueſate of* Saluzzo; *buſineſſes are changed by it: but the Duke of* Guiſe *orders matters ſo, that all redounds to his advantage and power. The King being very much ſtreightned, reſolves to cauſe the Duke of* Guiſe

Guiſe *to be ſlain: He finds difficulties and impediments, but at laſt his deſign is effected, and upon* Chriſtmas-Eve *the Duke of* Guiſe *and the Cardinal his Brother are ſlain, and the Cardinal of* Bourbon, *with many others, impriſoned: He ſends Colonel* Alfonſo Corſo *to ſeize upon the Duke of* Mayenne *at* Lyons; *but he is forewarned, and retires to* Dijon. *The Queen-Mother dies in the ſeventieth year of her age, and affairs remain in confuſion.* 1588.

THE defeat of the German Army cauſed the depreſſion of the Hugonots, no leſs than the greatneſs and exaltation of the League: for the King of *Navarre* having received the news of ſo great a loſs, though he were victorious beyond the *Loire*, yet fearing ſo black a cloud would ſuddenly pour a ſtorm upon his head, he retired, without making other attempt, into his wonted retreat the City of *Rochel*; and the other Heads of his party ſhut themſelves up in the ſtrongeſt places, expecting the reſolutions which they ſaw would be taken againſt them.

On the other ſide, the Duke of *Guiſe*, after the deſtroying of the County of *Mombelliard*, being come to *Nancy* with the other Lords of his Family, began without further delay to conſult of the means of accompliſhing ſpeedily the deſigns of the League, and of reaping fruits ſuitable to their preſent Victory. In this Conſultation debated and reiterated for many days, the greater part of the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*, forgetting moderation, ſo neceſſary in proſperity, and ſpreading their ſails very boldly, could talk of no leſs than the extirpation of the Hugonots, the depoſing of the King from the Crown, of putting him into a Cloiſter, as they had learned in Story, had been in former times done to *Chilperick*, of deſtroying the Houſe of *Bourbon*, pulling down the Minions and Favourites of the Court, and diſpoſing the Offices and Dignities of the Crown unto themſelves, and in concluſion, of commanding and ruling the whole Government of *France* their own way; and were ſo puffed up with the preſumption of themſelves, that their counſels were neither meaſured by juſtice nor poſſibility, preſuppoſing they had all things in their own hands which were lawful for their deſerts to undertake, and that they could eaſily execute any determination, how high, how advantageous ſoever. Theſe great deſigns were partly oppoſed by the Duke of *Lorain*, who of a mild nature and moderate mind, no leſs remote from danger than far from the pretenſions of the Lords of *Guiſe*, tried by the authority he had, as Head of that Family, to reſtrain thoſe deliberations which he thought too precipitate, and to keep matters for the moſt part within the limits of reaſon. The Duke of *Mayenne* aſſented to his opinions, and commended them very much, thinking (according to his old inclination) that every moment they put the whole ſtate of their Family in danger without much neceſſity. But the Duke of *Aumale*, and the *Chevalier* his Brother, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Duke of *Elbeuf*, the Count *de Chaligny*, and above all the reſt, the Duke of *Guiſe*, who led no leſs by the boldneſs of his own nature, and the acuteneſs of his wit, than by the proſperous ſucceſs of his enterpriſes, could ſuffer no delay in following his conceived hopes, argued (not without reaſon) that the longer they deferred, the longer time they gave the King to contrive their ruine, and to perfect the deſign of their ſuppreſſion which he had already begun.

Vaſt thoughts of the Houſe of *Lorain*, too much puffed up by proſperous ſucceſſes.

This diverſity of opinions was the cauſe that they concluded as it were in the middle way: and therefore about the end of *January*, in the year 1588, they reſolved upon two concluſions: One, that the Duke of *Lorain* with all his Forces and the aſſiſtance of *Flanders*, ſhould aſſail the Towns that belong to the Duke of *Bouillon*, to root out the Hugonots from thoſe parts, and to keep the Forces of the League in action: the other, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the other Confederate Lords, ſhould not enter to oppoſe the King at the very firſt; but that being united with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to ſtrengthen their reaſons, and to make appear that the nature of things did of it ſelf carry buſineſſes to their deſigned end, they ſhould preſent a Petition, which ſhould contain many demands for their advantage, and which ſhould neceſſitate the King to declare his laſt reſolution: for if he granted them, their deſires would be effected without noiſe or trouble; and if he refuſed them, he ſhould thereby give them occaſion and opportunity to make uſe of arms, and to acquire that by force, which he would not conſent to of his own accord.

1588. The conjuncture of invading the Dutchy of *Bouillon* was in ſhew very opportune; for the Duke himſelf and the Count *de la Mark* his Brother being both dead, and having left *Charlotte* their Siſter only Heir, under the tuition of the Duke of *Montpenſier*, they knew that he being a Catholick, was not acceptable to the City of *Sedan*, *Jamets*, and other places of that Dukedom, and that they would not truſt his Government, and Monſieur *de la Noue* being Executor of the late Dukes will, was not only abſent, but alſo to deliver himſelf from the impriſonment of the Spaniards, by whom he had been taken in the Wars of *Flanders*, had promiſed not to bear Arms againſt the King of *Spain*, nor againſt the Duke of *Lorain*: whereby it appeared that *Charlotte* wanting a powerful protection, and being likewiſe moleſted by the Count *de Montleurier* her Uncle, who pretended right to the inheritance, would hardly be able to reſiſt the Forces of the Duke of *Lorain*, who alſo upon old pretences laid claim to many places of that State, and therefore without loſing a minute of time, the Duke having put an Army in readineſs, under the command of the Marqueſs *du Pont* his Son, accompanied by the Sieurs *de Rhoſne* and *Oſonville*, after he had over-run and ſpoiled the Country, laid ſiege to *Jamets* with certain hopes to take it. But he found it a difficult buſineſs; for Monſieur *de Schelandre* the Governour of it made very wiſe and careful proviſions for the defence of it; and Monſieur *de la Noue* having firſt by a long Apologie in writing excuſed his ſtirring in a defenſive War, and for the juſt right of a forſaken Orphan, came to *Sedan*, and began to make ſtrong preparations to maintain the War; ſo that the Siege of *Jamets* cooling of it ſelf, proved ſo long, that it hardly ended with the year, wherein thoſe things that happened, directed their Arms to more important expeditions.

The Duke of *Guiſe* cauſes a Writing to be preſented to the King, with many cunning demands redounding to his own benefit.

But the Duke of *Guiſe* being departed from *Nancy*, and come into his Government of *Champagne*, cauſed a long Writing in the names of himſelf, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the other Heads of the League to be preſented to the King, wherein after many preambles, and many reaſons very cunningly laid together, they demanded in ſubſtance, That he would unite himſelf truly with them, and would ſincerely make himſelf Head of the League, to the deſtruction and rooting out of the Hugonots. That he would put thoſe perſons from the Court, from his Councils, and from their Offices, who ſhould be named by the Catholick Princes, as ſuſpected and ill-affected to Religion. That he would make the Council of *Trent* be received and obſerved through the whole Kingdom, only excepting thoſe things which did prejudice the priviledge of the *Gallique* Church. That he would grant ſome certain places which ſhould be thought fit, unto the Confederate Princes for their ſecurity, wherein they might keep Gariſons, and make neceſſary Fortifications at the expences of the Crown. That he would maintain an Army about the [illegible]es of *Lorain*, under the command of one of the Confederate Princes, to hinder the [illegible]urſions of Foreigners. That he would cauſe all the Eſtates of the Hugonots to be confiſcate and ſold, wherewith the expences of the late Wars might be ſatisfied, and the Confederates might be aſſiſted toward the maintenance of future matters.

The Writing contained theſe principal things, and many others of leſs conſequence, which being preſented to the King in the beginning of *February*, was received by him with his wonted diſſimulation, and the anſwer deferred with his wonted delays: nor did the Duke of *Guiſe* preſs much to know his reſolution; for the end of the demand was only to make the King contemptible, and render him odious to the people, ſuſpected to favour the Hugonots, and furniſh the League with an occaſion and pretence to take up Arms, and proſecute their begun-deſigns while the proſperity of their fortune laſted. But theſe artifices were needleſs to make the Kings perſon odious and contemptible. The burdens which the War, the maintaining of ſo many Armies, and his own profane manner of ſpending, daily increaſed, had loſt the hearts of the people. The noiſe and ſplendour of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Victories, had obſcured the majeſty of his Name: his obſtinate favour to his Minions, had alienated the minds of his moſt ancient, moſt devoted Servants: and the People of *Paris*, ſwayed by the ambition of the Council of *Sixteen*, could no longer endure Government. The City was full of infamous Pamphlets, politick Diſcourſes, Satyrical Verſes, and fabulous Sories, which for the moſt part abuſing the Name of the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, redounded to the ſcorn and diſgrace of the Royal Majeſty. On the other ſide, all the Streets, and every corner of *Paris*, reſounded the praiſes of the Duke of *Guiſe*, celebrated in Verſe and Proſe by a thouſand Writers, with the Title of the *new David*, the *ſecond Moſes*,

*Moſes*, the *Deliverer of the Catholick People*, the *Prop and Pillar of the Holy Church*; and the Preachers in their wonted manner, but with greater licence, openly inveighing againſt the preſent affairs, filled the ears of the people with wonders, or rather miracles (ſo they called them) of this new *Gideon*, come into the World for the deſired ſafety of the Kingdom: Which things ſpread from the City of *Paris*, as from the heart, diffuſed themſelves thorow all the Provinces, as into the members, which were poſſeſſed with the ſame impreſſions, as well to the Kings diſadvantage, as in favour of the League. This Commotion was fully perfected by the Kings own determination, who either blinded with the affection he bore the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, or becauſe he would not advance other men whom they had no great cauſe to truſt, declared him Admiral of the Kingdom and Governonr of *Normandy*, places that were vacant by the Duke of *Joyeuſe* his death; which abſolutely pierced thorow the heart of the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſeeing that he continued in his wonted cuſtoms, and that one man alone being exalted to the higheſt degree of greatneſs, himſelf, his Brother, and the reſt of his Family, how great ſoever their merits were, could never obtain nor compaſs any thing; ſo that forgetting the determinations reſolved on at *Nancy*, and that wary moderation which the Duke of *Lorain* had adviſed, he began without more delay, to think of reducing the authority of the Government into his own power, making the Pariſians his principal inſtruments, who no leſs diſpleaſed and incenſed than himſelf, did earneſtly ſollicite him to that reſolution: Wherefore having received particular information of the ſtate of things from the Council of *Sixteen*, whereby they aſſured him that they had twenty thouſand armed men in the City at their devotion, ready to be put upon any enterpriſe: That they were divided into ſixteen Squadrons, to every one of which they had appointed a Commander; and that the reſt of the people would without queſtion follow the ſtream of the chief men, by reaſon they were ill affected to the perſon of the King and the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, and on the other ſide moſt zealous in the cauſe of Religion, he conſidering that confuſion eaſily ariſeth among the multitude, and that the diviſion into ſixteen ſeveral quarters was too many to meet altogether ſuddenly in one body when need ſhould require, writ to the Council, that they ſhould leſſen that number, and reduce it into but five quarters, to which they ſhould appoint a place, where they ſhould meet at the ſign that ſhould be given them, and that they ſhould diſpoſe things in ſuch a manner, as might breed neither diſorder nor confuſion: and as well to aſſure himſelf abſolutely that that buſineſs ſhould proceed according to his own will, as becauſe he had no confidence in the ſmall experience of thoſe Heads appointed and choſen by the Pariſians, he ſent them five Commanders, who were to order the five quarters, and to rule and moderate the turbulence of popular Arms. Theſe were the Count of *Briſſac*, the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin*, the Sieur *de Chamois*, the Sieur *d' Eſclavoles*, and Colonel *St. Paul*, to whom the Sieur *de Meneville* was added, who from the firſt had been the Mediator and chief Inſtrument in that buſineſs. Theſe entered openly into *Paris*, under colour of private affairs; and being lodged in thoſe quarters of the City that were appointed them, frequented the Court, and followed divers buſineſſes, leaving the care to *Meneville*, of bringing the matter to its concluſion: and to give the greater aſſiſtance to it, the Duke of *Guiſe* gave order to the Duke of *Aumale*, who had Forces in *Picardy*, to make himſelf be obeyed by many Governours of places, who fomented by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, refuſed to acknowledge him: That he ſhould keep five hundred good Horſe in a readineſs to be there in due time, to put life in the deſign of the Pariſians, who knowing that ſuch order was given, deſired *Jehan Conty* one of the *Eſhevins* (or, as we call them in *England*, Sheriffs of the City) that he would let them have the Keys of the *Port St. Martin*, which he kept, as the cuſtom is, to the end that when occaſion ſhould ſerve, they might bring in that ſupply which was to come out of *Picardy*: but he refuſing, they dealt with *Pierre Brigard* Eſhevin of the next quarter, who promiſed them the Keys of *Port St. Dennis*, by which their aſſiſtance might be brought in as well as by that of *St. Martin*: And becauſe they doubted that *Conty*, who had denied to conſent unto it, might reveal the buſineſs to the King, they found an invention to make him be complained of for an Heretick, and many other miſdemeanours, putting him by that means in diſcredit, to the end that his relation might not be believed.

1588.

The King declares the D. of *Eſpernon* Admiral of the Kingdom and Governour of *Normandy*, to the great diſcontent of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

The Council of *Sixteen* informe the Duke of *Guiſe* of 20000 men in readineſs for any deſign.

The Duke of *Aumale* is in a readineſs with 500 Horſe to aſſiſt the conſpiracy of the Pariſians.

Things being contrived in this manner, the means of executing them remained to be reſolved on. The Commanders ſent by the Duke, and the major part of thoſe choſen

1588. choſen by the Council of *Sixteen*, thought that to aſſault the *Louvre* where the King lay encompaſſed with his Guards, and the Nobility that attended him, would be a dangerous enterpriſe, of too loud a violence, and no ways likely to ſucceed; and they foreſaw beſides, that the fact would ſeem very ſcandalous to the reſt of the Kingdom; that alſo if it failed but never ſo little, or that the effecting of it ſhould be a work of time, many diſorders would ariſe, and the King might have opportunity to make himſelf Superiour: wherefore they reſolved unanimouſly to make uſe of the occaſion which the time of *Lent* would afford them, to take his perſon then when with the Duke of *Eſpernon* he ſhould be in proceſſion as he was wont, in the habit of a Penitent among the whipping Friars, neither accompanied by his Guards, nor the ordinary retinue of the Court; and as ſoon as he ſhould be ſeized upon, under colour of a popular Sedition, cauſed by the indignation of the common people, exaſperated by the heavy puniſhments that lay upon them, aad Enemies to the Authority of the Minions, that he ſhould be ſhut up in a Monaſtery with ſtrong Guards; after which the Duke of *Aumale's* five hundred Horſe and his other Forces ſhould preſently come in, to take abſolute poſſeſſion of the principal places, and keep them guarded till the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould arrive; who calling the States General, and ſhewing either the Kings incapacity, or his evil intentions, and evil Government, might cauſe the affairs of the Kingdom to be diſpoſed at the arbitrement and to ſatisfaction of the League.

A Conſpiracy againſt the Kings perſon.

*Nicholas Poulain* reveals the whole Plot to the High Chancellour, and confirms it alſo to the King himſelf.

But *Nicholas Poulain*, who was privy to all this Conſpiracy, did by means of the High Chancellor quickly make the reſolution that had been taken known to the King, who though he did not abſolutely give credit to the diſcovery, by reaſon of the weight and importance of the thing, grounded upon no other aſſurance than the bare affirmation of *Poulain*, a man of no very good repute, and ſuſpected by that means to ſeek for profit and reward; yet thinking fit to look to himſelf, he feigned himſelf not well, and upon that excuſe forbore to go to any ſpiritual exerciſes with the Fraternity of the Penitents. And that he might be the better aſſured of the truth, he cauſed *Poulain* to be brought one night ſecretly into his cloſet, and in the preſence of the High Chancellour Monſieur *d' O*, and the Abbot *del Bene*, examined him particularly concerning all things he had revealed, ſeeming not to believe him, and to doubt that he was ſet on and ſuborned to ſay ſo, by thoſe of the Hugonot party. *Poulain*, with a ſecure confidence and diſtinct narration, confirmed all that he had diſcovered, added all the particulars and ſmalleſt circumſtances, named all the accomplices, related from the beginning the whole Conſpiracy, and at laſt, with a free courage and ſetled countenance, offered to be put in priſon and kept there, till he had juſtified all that he had ſaid; and in concluſion added, That the Council of *Sixteen* was to be held the next day in the houſe of Monſieur *de la Bruyiere*, (one of the Conſpirators) and that if the King would ſend whom he pleaſed along with him with a ſufficient Guard, he would put them all into his hands, ſo that none of them ſhould be able to hide themſelves, or deny the Conſpiracy. The King diſmiſſed him with gracious words, and very great promiſes, and went preſently to the Duke of *Eſpernon's* lodgings, where they conferred together the ſpace of half an hour; and being come from thence about midnight, went to the Queen-Mothers Chamber, which was in the Palace, and having wakened her, told her diſtinctly all that had been revealed unto him, and began to conſult whether he ſhould do well to follow *Poulain's* advice, and ſend the next day to take the Conſpirators.

The thing in appearance was eaſie and ſecure, but in effect full of great difficulty and danger: for it was not to be doubted, but upon very little ſtir all the quarters of the City would be up in Arms, according to the order already taken, and under the Commanders already appointed, who would never ſuffer their Heads to be laid hold on and carried away priſoners by ſo ſmall a number as a Company of the Guards, which was all they were able to ſend about that buſineſs: nor could they doubt of this effect, ſince they had often proved, that when any one of the Heads of the City had been taken by the Officers of the Court, either upon civil or criminal occaſions, the common people had ever run violently and ſeditiouſly armed to deliver him: and if the people, being raiſed upon the apparent colour, that their Heads and Protectors were like to be ſeized upon, ſhould ſuddenly aſſault the *Louvre*, the King and Court unarmed, unprovided, undefended, except by the ordinary Guards, they would hardly be able to make reſiſtance againſt ſo great a Force, led by ſo expert reſolute Commanders, and who

who being come to that paſs, would readily embrace ſo ſpecious an occaſion of making it appear that they ſtirred not to offend others, but only in their own defence. They conſidered that the people of *Paris* were ſo powerful, that they could not be curbed, but by mighty Forces; and to undertake what they could not compaſs, would be nothing elſe but to overthrow the buſineſs, and come off with loſs and diſhonour. They foreſaw that the Conſpirators would preſently be relieved by the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Aumale*, who were hard by in Arms; whereas the King had no Body of men ready to aſſiſt him in a caſe of ſo great danger. They knew that they were not to truſt in the Hugonot party, as well becauſe they had always feared the King, and eſteemed him a bitter Enemy to their Religion, as becauſe the defeat of the Germans had ſo terrified them, that they all thought rather of leaving the Kingdom to ſave their lives by flight, than of following the conduct of the Princes, to ſave themſelves by the Sword; and ſo much the more, by reaſon that the Prince of *Conde*'s death (which happened about this time at *St. Jehan d' Angely*, by poiſon given him, as was reported, by his own Servants, upon ſome private diſtaſte) had raiſed the affliction of that party to the utmoſt height; wherein there was nothing left unſhaken, but only the conſtancy of the King of *Navarre*: Beſides that, the far diſtance, and the other wonted reſpects, excluded the making of a foundation upon that party, eſpecially in the exigence of this imminent danger: ſo that they could find no Forces any where ſufficient to bridle the Pariſians. Whereupon the Queen at laſt ſpake this conceit in the Italian Tongue, * *Biſogna copriſi bene il viſo inanzi che ſtuzzicare il veſpaio:* adding, that it was neceſſary to arm and provide firſt, and then means would not be wanting to ſuppreſs the Conſpirators.

1588.

*Henry* Prince of *Conde* poiſoned at S. *Jehan d' Angely* by his own ſervants.

* *He that will ſtir up a Waſps neſt, had firſt need to cover his face well.* A ſaying of the Queen-Mother.

Wherefore, after long conſultations, they ſent for the Abbot *del Bene*, with whom pondered the ſame things again, they concluded that the Duke of *Eſpernon*, under colour of taking poſſeſſion of his Government of *Normandy*, ſhould go preſently into that Province, (bordering upon, and as it were joining to the Territory of *Paris* it ſelf:) That he ſhould aſſure himſelf of *Rouen* and *Havre de Grace*, chief places of that Province, and which ſhut up the paſſage of the Ocean, and of the River *Seine*; and that upon that occaſion he ſhould draw ſome Forces together, wherewith he might be ready to come up in time of need: That on the other ſide they ſhould endeavour by all means poſſible, as they had already begun, to draw Monſieur *d' Entraques* unto the Kings devotion, being Governour of *Orleans*, a City that ſtops the paſſage from *Berry* and *Beauſſe* unto the Territories of *Paris:* That the Swiſſes which were yet under the Kings pay, ſhould be drawn to quarter at *Lagny*, and in other places adjoining, to ſhut up the River of *Marne*, (commonly called, The Nurſe of the common people of *Paris*) and to cut off the paſſage from *Champagne:* for having *Chartres* already, whereof the High Chancellor had the Government, and *Pontoyſe*, becauſe the Governour of it was Monſieur *d' Alincourt* Father to Secretary *Villeroy*, *Paris* would be blocked up, incompaſſed and bridled on every ſide; ſo that bringing in afterward the greateſt part of the Swiſſes, and reinforcing the Regiment of Guards, by calling all the Souldiers to their Colours, who are often wont to be abſent in time of Peace, they might then ſecurely take the Heads of the Conſpiracy; and if the people ſhould riſe, it would be eaſie to tame them with the ſtrength of the Swiſſes, and the powerful curb of hunger: in the mean time they concluded it was beſt for the King to diſſemble, and abſtain from publick Ceremonies, and from certain ſuſpected places, to give no opportunity to the execution of that plot which the Conſpirators ſought to accompliſh.

Reſolutions taken to free themſelves of the Conſpiracy of the Pariſians.

This reſolution, grounded as it were upon neceſſity, was approved the next morning both by Secretary *Villeroy* and the High Chancellour, but moſt of all by the Sieur *de Villequier*, who ſtill perſiſted in his opinion that the information was not true, but that the Enemies of the Duke of *Guiſe* and of the Pariſians, had ſuborned *Poulain* to raiſe this calumny, thereby to ſtir up ſome enterpriſe againſt them. Whereupon the King having ſent for *Conty* and *Ugoloy*, two *Eſhevins* that conſented not to the Conſpirators, would needs hear from them what they knew in that particular. *Conty* excuſed himſelf, that by reaſon of the report which was lately raiſed of him, that he was infected with the Hugonot Religion, and guilty of other crimes, he had not dared to tell any of thoſe things he knew, for fear of being thought a malicious ſlanderer; and then laid open freely all that had paſſed about the Keys of the *Port St. Martin*: and *Pierre Ugoloy* relating many particulars that were come to his knowledge, confirmed

1588. firmed the ſame things: ſo that the information being partly proved, they went on to the execution of thoſe reſolutions which had been taken.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* departed two days after with a very ſmall quantity, that he might not weaken the Court; and being come to *Rouen* the Metropolis of *Normandy*, took poſſeſſion of the Government, confirming as well the Parliament as the Sieur *de Carronges* Governour of the City, unto his devotion, and to the Kings party. But the ſame ſucceeded not at *Havre de Grace*, becauſe *Andre Brancace* Sieur *de Villars* a Provencal, who had the Government thereof given him by the Duke *de Joyeuſe*, had already taken part with the League; the Duke of *Guiſe*, who diligently watched all opportunities, having dealt with him, by reaſon of the importance of that place, and cauſed the Pariſians to give him thirty thouſand Crowns, under pretence of keeping the mouths of the Ocean ſhut, and the paſſage of the *Seine* open, to the end that the City might enjoy the traffick of the Sea, and the conveniency of bringing up the proviſions which came from thoſe parts; by which reward, and the protection of the Duke of *Guiſe*, he was won to ſide abſolutely with the League. Wherefore the Duke of *Eſpernon* knowing that he could not draw that place to his devotion, and unwilling to hazard his reputation at the firſt, letting alone the Country of *Caux* where it is ſituated, he paſſed on the other ſide the *Seine*, to *Ponteau de Mer*, *Honfleur*, and from thence by the ſhore of the Ocean to the City of *Caen*, where he was received with infinite applauſe, becauſe the place was full of Hugonots, and moſt averſe from the deſigns of the League.

In the mean time the Sieur *d' Entraques* was treated with about the City of *Orleans*, by the means of Secretary *Villeroy:* in which Negotiation there aroſe many difficulties, nor could the King bring it to an end with all his ſollicitations. The moſt part of men were of opinion, that this buſineſs was not effected, becauſe Secretary *Villeroy*, now an open Enemy to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, deſired the Duke of *Guiſe*'s party ſhould prevail, that he might thereby be abaſed; not believing that ever the League would dare to paſs on ſo far, as to plot againſt the perſon of the King himſelf, but that they only aimed at pulling down the Minions, and the deſtruction of the Hugonots, and that therefore he did artificially interrupt the treaty of *Orleans*, and protract the reſolution of Monſieur *d' Entraques* with delays and difficulties; which was ſo much the rather believed, becauſe the buſineſs was moſt eaſily effected afterwards in a time leſs opportune, and leſs favourable. But Monſieur *de Villeroy* excuſed himſelf for it with a long Apology, ſhewing that the protraction of the buſineſs was cauſed on the one ſide by the irreſoluteneſs of Monſieur *d' Entraques*, and on the other, by that of the King himſelf; who would neither conſent to diſmember the Government of the City of *Orleans* from that of the Province as he required, leſt he ſhould diſcontent the High Chancellour, (who poſſeſſed it) nor to make ſatisfaction be given him by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, by whom he thought himſelf injured in the perſon of his Son; howſoever it were, the buſineſs went on ſo ſlowly, that they came not to a concluſion at *Orleans* time enough to block up the City of *Paris*; which the King proſecuting very carefully, cauſed the Mareſchal *de Byron* to bring the Swiſſes to quarter at *Lagny*, a place near the City ſeated upon the River *Marne*, diſpoſing part of them into all the convenient neighbouring-places. In the mean time the number of the French Guards was increaſed; for Commiſſions had been given out to all the Captains in ordinary, to ſummon all Soûldiers to their Colours, and not to give leave to any to depart. The Archers who were wont to wait by the quarter, but three months in the year, had been all warned to attend in an extraordinary manner; the five and forty Gentlemen appointed by the King, ſtirred neither day nor night from his Lodgings and Perſon; and many Gentlemen were invited under pretence of other buſineſſes, to reſide at Court: which things being particularly obſerved by the Council of *Sixteen*, (who kept Spies in every place) and ſeeing the King (contrary to his cuſtom) live retired from thoſe exerciſes of devotion and recreation wherein he was wont to delight, began to grow very ſuſpicious that he had been advertiſed by *Jehan Conty* and *Pierre Ugoloy*, whereupon they began to fear, and to look to themſelves; yet not deſiſting from the enterpriſe, but rather providing for all things with greater diligence. But when they knew the Swiſſes were quartered at *Lagny*, they were aſſured that their Plot was diſcovered, and fell into wonderful confuſion, their hearts all failing, as the cuſtom is in popular deſigns, there being no man among them able for his authority and experience to manage ſo weighty an enterpriſe: wherefore finding they ſtood in need of a principal Head,

The Kings preparations to make himſelf ſure of the Conſpirators, to block up the paſſages about *Paris*, and keep victuals from thence.

The Council of *Sixteen* by the Kings preparations, begin to ſuſpect that their Plot is diſcovered, and the Heads being diſmayed ſend for the Duke of *Guiſe* to *Paris*.

Head, whoſe wit, courage and reputation might give life unto the buſineſs, they diſpatched *Pierre Brigard* in very great haſte to intreat the Duke of *Guiſe* not to defer his coming any longer, to which they had often invited him; ſince by his preſence the deſign might be happily brought unto an iſſue; whereas if they were forſaken by him, they ſaw they ſhould become a prey unto the King, out of whoſe hands (to the total deſtruction of the City) they could not think of any poſſible way to ſave themſelves. The Duke (who had ſome notice of the Kings intention, and alſo on the other ſide was not willing to ſuffer the foundation of the League to periſh, nor to abandon thoſe who had principally made their recourſe to him, and thinking that his ruine would immediately follow that of the Pariſians, if time were given for thoſe remedies to work which the King had begun to put in practice) took a reſolution to go to *Paris*, either perfectly to finiſh the deſign, (as they of the Kings party ſaid) or at leaſt (as he and his Adherents ſaid) to ſave the City, and the Council of *Sixteen*, which he knew to be in manifeſt danger, and to free himſelf of the calumny which his Enemies and the Favourers of the Hugonots had raiſed againſt him. And that he might make no noiſe, but proceed with the ſame arts that were uſed by the King, he ſent his Gentlemen by ſeveral ways, and a great band of old Souldiers, who entred ſcatteringly upon ſeveral days into the City, and lodg'd a part in ſeveral quarters; and he himſelf with but ſeven Horſe in company took the way toward *Soiſſons*, where the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was, to confer with him, and go from thence to *Paris*. Yet Fame publiſhed his coming, (which was alſo ſpread abroad by the *Sixteen* to cheer up the ſadneſs that had poſſeſſed all the people by reaſon of the preparations that were made) which being known unto the King, was the cauſe that he ſent Monſieur *de Bellieure* as far as *Soiſſons* to diſſwade him from coming, and to let him know, that in ſuch a turbulent ſuſpected time, he ſhould be diſpleaſed and offended at it. The Duke, who was not moved from his reſolution by certain vain reſpects that uſe to diſturb unſetled minds, but deſiring to come unexpectedly, that he might neither be prevented nor way laid, anſwered the Kings meſſage doubtfully, ſaying that his ambition was to ſerve his Majeſty and Religion; that he knew he had been ſlandered by his Enemies, and therefore longed to vindicate himſelf; that his journey was exceeding private, and without any train that could make him ſuſpected; that he was very deſirous to ſatisfie the King in all occaſions; that he would not diſobey his Majeſties commands; and added many other words, but all general and ambiguous; nor did he ever conclude in ſubſtance, whether he would obey the Kings command in that particular, or proſecute his intended journey to *Paris*; yet he ſeemed rather to infer that he would ſtay at *Soiſſons*, and expect another reſolution. But Monſieur *de Bellieure* was no ſooner departed with his doubtful anſwer, but he took horſe and followed him, making his journey out of the great high-ways, leſt he ſhould meet other Meſſengers from the King; ſo that *Philibert* Sieur *de la Guiche*, and *Charles Benoiſe* the Kings Cabinet-Secretary, who were diſpatched one after the other to adviſe him not to come to *Paris*, could not find him any where, till he was at the Gate of *St. Denis*, a time when it was too late to forbid his coming. The Duke of *Guiſe* enters *Paris* upon *Munday* the ninth of *May*, when it was almoſt noon, with no greater train than ſeven horſes, with his Gentlemen and other Servants together; but as a little ſnow-ball rolling down a high hill grows ſo big, that at laſt it becomes almoſt a mountain; ſo the people running out of their houſes and ſhops, with applauſe and joy to follow him, he had not paſſed half thorow the City, but he had above thirty thouſand perſons about him, and the crowd was ſo great, that he himſelf could hardly make his way. The ſhouts of the people ſounded to the Skies; nor they ever cry *Vive le Roy*, with ſo great acclamation, as they now cried *Vive Guiſe*: ſome ſaluted him, ſome gave him thanks, ſome bowed to him, ſome kiſſed the hem of his Garment; thoſe that could not get near, with actions of their hands and geſtures of their whole body ſhewed infinite ſigns of rejoycing; and ſome were ſeen, who adoring him as a Saint, touched him with their beads, and either kiſſed them preſently, or elſe touched their eyes and foreheads with them; and even the very women, ſtrowing leaves and flowers from their windows, honoured and bleſſed his coming. He on the other ſide, with a popular face, and ſmiling countenance, ſhewed himſelf affable to ſome in words, to ſome by courteouſly returning their ſalutations, others he requited with kind looks; and paſſing thorow that throng of people with his hat off, he omitted nothing that was behoveful to win abſolutely the affections and applauſe of the people.

1588.

The King commands the Duke of *Guiſe* not to come to *Paris*, but he diſobeys.

1588. In this manner, without ſtaying at his own houſe, he went ſtreight forward to St. *Euſtache*, and alighted at the Palace of the Queen-Mother, who half aſtoniſhed at his unexpected arrival, (for Monſieur *de Bellieure* being returned three hours before, had made a doubt of his coming) received him with a pale countenance, and (contrary to the ordinary cuſtom of her nature) trembling and almoſt diſmayed. The Dukes carriage was full of reſpective humility and profound ſubmiſſion; the words of the Queen ambiguous, telling him that ſhe was glad to ſee him, but would have been much more glad to have ſeen him at another time: to which he anſwered with modeſt behaviour, but high words, that he was a faithful Servant to the King, and that having underſtood the calumnies that were caſt upon his innocence, and the things that were in agitation againſt Religion, and againſt the honeſt well-affected men of that City, he was come thither to divert that miſchief, and clear himſelf, or elſe to lay down his life at the ſervice of the Church and the general ſafety.

The Duke goes to wait upon the Queen-mother, who becomes pale and affrighted

Their diſcourſe being interrupted, while he (as the cuſtom is) ſaluted the other Ladies of the Court, the Queen called *Luigi Davila* her Gentleman-Uſher, and commanded him to let the King know the Duke of *Guiſe* was come, and that within a little while ſhe would bring him perſonally to the *Louvre*. The King (who was in his private Cloſet with Monſieur *de Villequier*, *Bellieure*, and the Abbot *del Bene*) was ſo wonderfully moved, that he was fain to reſt himſelf upon his arm, hanging his head down almoſt to the table; and having examined *Davila* of every particular, commanded him to deſire the Queen ſecretly to defer his coming as long as poſſibly ſhe could. The Abbot *del Bene*, and Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, a moſt truſty Servant of the Kings, and one that had deſerved wonderfully well of the Crown, coming at that inſtant into the Cloſet, counſelled him to receive the Duke of *Guiſe* in the ſame Cloſet, and cauſe him to be killed in that very place, the Abbot ſaying theſe words, * *Percutiam Paſtorem, & diſpergentur oves.* But *Villequier*, *Bellieure*, and the High Chancellour (who came in) were of another opinion, alledging that the commotion of the people was ſo great, that in ſuch a caſe, contemning the Royal Majeſty, and breaking all bounds of Law and Duty, they would run to a precipitate revenge; and that things not being yet ready to defend themſelves, and bridle the fury of the City, the Forces of the Pariſians were too powerful to be provoked.

* *I will ſtrike the Shepherd, and the Sheep ſhall be ſcattered.*

Whilſt the King ſtood doubtful what to reſolve, the Queen-Mother came and brought the Duke of *Guiſe:* ſhe was brought her ſelf in a Sedan, the Duke going by her all the way on foot, but with ſo great a train, and ſuch a confluence of people, that the whole City ſeemed to be crowded into the Court of the *Louvre* and the Streets thereabouts. They paſſed thorow a Lane of Souldiers: Monſieur *de Grillon* Colonel of the Guards was there preſent, who being a free Souldierly Man, and no very good Friend to the Duke of *Guiſe*, whilſt he bowed courteouſly to every private Souldier, made very ſmall ſhew of reſpect unto the Duke, who obſerved it very well, with ſome alteration of countenance, which increaſed to a great paleneſs when he ſaw the Swiſſes, who (ſtanding to their Arms) made a Lane at the bottom of the Stairs, the Archers in the Hall, and in the Rooms above, all the Gentlemen gathered together to expect him. They entered into the Kings Chamber; who (while the Duke of *Guiſe* bowed himſelf with a low reverence) ſaid to him with an angry look, *I ſent you word that you ſhould not come.* To theſe words the Duke with the ſame ſubmiſſion he had uſed to the Queen, but with more moderate words, anſwered, *That he was come to put himſelf into the Arms of his Majeſties Juſtice, to clear himſelf of thoſe calumnies that were caſt upon him by his Enemies; and that nevertheleſs he would not have come, if he had been plainly told that his Majeſty had commanded him to ſtay.* The King turning to *Bellieure*, asked him angerly if it were not true that he had given him Commiſſion to tell the Duke of *Guiſe* that he ſhould not come, unleſs he would be accounted the Author of the tumults and inſurrections of the Pariſians. Monſieur *de Bellieure* ſtepped forward, and would have given an account of his Meſſage; but as he began to ſpeak, the King interrupted him, ſaying it was enough; and turning to the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſaid, *That he knew not that he was calumniated by any body, but that his innocence would have clearly appeared if his coming had produced no novelty, nor interrupted the quiet of the Government, as it was like to do.* The Queen well acquainted with the Kings nature, and ſeeing in his face that he was inclined to ſome bold reſolution, drew him aſide, and told him in ſubſtance what ſhe had ſeen of the concourſe of people, and that it was no time to think of any precipitate determination. The Dutcheſs of *Uzez*, who

The King being viſited by the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſhews himſelf angry both in words and looks, becauſe he was come to *Paris* contrary to his command.

The Queen diſſwades the King from his houghts againſt the Duke of *Guiſe*; who perceiving in what danger he was, preſently takes his leave and departs.

was

was close by him, confirmed the same: and the Duke of *Guise* attentively observing every little particular, as soon as he saw they were in an uncertainty, that he might not give the King time to deliberate, feigned himself weary with his journey, and taking his leave, returned with the same confluence of people, but not accompanied with any of the Court, unto his own house in the *Rue St. Anthoyne*. Many condemned the King, because he did not then resolve to cut him off at that opportunity; and many knowing the strength and courage of the Parisians, and that he had many Adherents even in the Court it self, thought it a prudent and moderate determination to let him go. 1588.

But the Duke of *Guise* having before his eyes the danger he had run, and condemning himself for his late venture, began presently to draw unto himself all his friends and dependents, which were spread in the several quarters of the City, so that he who at noon entered but with seven horses, had in his house at night above four hundred Gentlemen and Commanders. At the same time he sent for the Council of *Sixteen*, and all the *Eschevins*; and after a long consultation, (wherein he was fully informed of all particulars) gave order that Guards should be kept in every Ward; that all men should be warned and prepared; and that upon any stir they should (according to the order already given, and under the Officers already appointed) all run to the principal places of the City, and chiefly to his house. Many Arms, Musquets, Drums, and other instruments of War, were carried the same night into his house, as well to arm great store of people, as to defend his own person, about which they kept Watches and Sentinels, no less than they use to do in Armies when they are near an Enemy.

The same diligence was used at the *Louvre*, and at the Queens Palace, whither she returned when it was very late at night: her Gentlemen kept Guard very carefully; and the whole night was spent in great suspicions on every side: and now all things were become publick; nor was any body ignorant that the King meant to bridle the Parisians, and suppress the Duke of *Guise*; and that he on the other side was come to make himself Master of the City, to drive his Enemies from Court, and to find means of transferring all the Authority of the Government upon himself. Among these reciprocal suspicions and publick scattered reports, *Poulain* being admitted the same night into the Kings Closet, told him that he had heard the Duke of *Guise* had said publickly, He would clear himself of those calumnies that had been raised of him; and offered himself again to be put in prison till he had made what he had revealed appear to be true: for the Heads of the Conspiracy being taken, he doubted not but the King would have a full assurance of all. Further, he said that before the Dukes coming, the Kings preparations had made every one wary and timorous; but that now he was present, their wonted spirits were revived: whereupon, that very night, in the most silent hours, the Council was to be held in the house of *la Chapelle*, where it would be very easie to take them all, and certifie themselves manifestly of the whole business. Upon this proposition, they continued uncertain what to do, and consulting the whole night without one wink of sleep, in the mean time day appeared, it being *Tuesday* the tenth of *May*, a day full of terrour and distraction. The City was full of Meetings and Conventicles; the *Louvre* guarded with an unwonted number of Souldiers; the Duke of *Guise*'s Palace kept locked and full of Arms; the King in his Closet at secret counsel with the Queen his Mother, and his Counsellors; yet the Duke of *Guise* came in the morning to the *Louvre*, but with a train of above four hundred Gentlemen and Commanders privately armed, (with Pistols under their Cloaks) and went to the lodgings of the young Queen to visit her, and from thence, having waited upon the King till he went to Mass, retired with the wonted concourse of people to his own house, where he spent the rest of the morning in consulting with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, who above all others, was his most interessed Confident, because he was a bitter Enemy to the Duke of *Espernon*.

The King and Queen are strongly guarded for fear of the Duke of *Guise*; and he being fearful also, takes the same care.

The Duke of *Guise* goes (with 400 Gentlemen privately well armed) to the *Louvre*, to wait upon the King to Mass.

After Dinner he went to the Queen-Mothers house, whither the King came, and they discoursed together in the Garden a long time. There the Duke of *Guise* taking heart, as being in a place out of danger, because it was in the midst of the City, wherein he was the strongest, discoursed a great while of the causes of his coming, of the satisfaction which the Confederate Princes desired, and of the War to be made against the King of *Navarre*, accusing the Duke of *Espernon*, and Monsieur *de la Valette* his Brother, as authors of the discontents and divisions, and imputed to their practices that

Discourses that pass between the King, the Queen-mother and the Duke of *Guise*.

1588. the Hugonots were not rooted out, and *France* reſtored to its ancient ſplendor, and ſetled in a perfect Peace; and finally, he ſhewed that the minds of the ſincere Catholicks could not be at quiet, while they ſaw the King encompaſſed with ſuſpected perſons, and ſuch as were of doubtful opinions in matter of Religion, while the ancient manner of Government uſed by former Kings was perverted, and while in ſtead of imploying his Forces againſt the Hugonot Faction, they were turned againſt the faithful people of *Paris*, who deſired nothing elſe but the ſafety of their Souls and Conſciences; wherefore it was neceſſary for whoſoever would live in peace and tranquility to change the courſe of proceedings and form of Government, to the end that the Catholick Faith, and the ſafety of good men being ſecured, every one might live quietly within their due obedience.

To theſe things the King anſwered with prolixity of words, ſhewing, that his mind was inclined to the extirpation of the Hugonots; but that it was needful to ſtay for a fit opportunity, and wait his pleaſure, not going about to conſtrain him, by force, that the plots and machinations of thoſe of the League had interrupted all good; for they had paſſed on ſo far, that they had diſturbed the eſtabliſhed order of Government; nor had that ſatisfied, but ſlanderous tongues had too much offended his patience both againſt truth and reaſon; that notwithſtanding the clemency of his nature was ready to pardon all thoſe that would ſee their faults, and ſerve him faithfully for the time to come: that no Prince in *Chriſtendom* had more hated, perſecuted, and trodden down Hereticks than he; that never any King had more loved and favoured any Subject, than he had done the Houſe of *Lorain*, and the very perſon of the Duke of *Guiſe*; that all Offices and Dignities could not be conferred upon one man; and that as God beſtows his bleſſings upon many according to the quality of their callings, ſo a Prince is bound to divide his gifts and favours among many, according to their deſerts and his own inclination; that he had raiſed the Lords of *la Valette*, Sons of a moſt Catholick Father, valiant in War, and who had deſerved very well of the Crown, having born Arms more conſtantly than any other againſt the Hugonots; that he found he was well ſerved by them, as the diligence of *Eſpernon* had been ſeen in the defeat of the Germans, and the proſperous ſucceſs of *la Valette* in making ſo great a ſlaughter of the Proteſtant Swiſſes that went into *Dauphine*: yet for all that he did not go about to equal them to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, being neither alike in birth nor deſert; but that places in Court are different, as there are different ſtations in Paradiſe; that it had ever been in the free power of all Kings to uſe and favour whom they pleaſed, and to chuſe companions for their hours of recreation to their own liking and conveniency, for elſe that liberty would be debarred a Prince which private men freely enjoy, there being no man ſo mean but hath power to live and converſe with whom he pleaſeth, and to diſpoſe of his own eſtate according to his own will and *genius*; that he had never received any counſel from the Lords of *la Valette*, nor any impediment that hindred him from making War with the Hugonots: yet if it could be proved, that they have not behaved themſelves ſincerely in any buſineſs, he was ready to puniſh them according to the quality of their fault; but that he would not baniſh them from Court for meer diſlike of others: that he would obſerve what he had ſo often ſworn concerning the Edict of the *Union*, and that his thoughts were more than ever bent upon the War againſt the King of *Navarre*, nor did any other reſpect withhold him from it, than that of burthening his people, which he muſt be forced to do to maintain Armies in ſo many ſeveral places; that it was only that which troubled; but yet that his Subjects had no reaſon to complain, ſince they themſelves had been the Incendiaries of the War, and above all, the Pariſians: that War could not be made without money, and money could not be raiſed without oppreſſing the people, by which means he was brought to bear the blame of a fault that was not his; for thoſe that cried out againſt Impoſitions, were the very ſame who ſeditiouſly had forced him to make a War; that the City of *Paris* (to which he had done more good than ten of his Predeceſſors together, which had ever been his Favourite, wherein he had made his conſtant habitation, which cauſed the riches and plenty of the Citizens) had now declared it ſelf his Enemy, and having derided and defamed his Name, had alſo gone on to conſpire againſt his Perſon: that he knew very well that thoſe Plots were contrived by ſtrangers, and that the good people who were originally of the City conſented not unto them, and that therefore he had reſolved to turn all ſtrangers out of the City, to take away the fuel from that peſtilent fire

which

which begun to ſpread; that he would not make uſe of foreign Arms to purge the City, whilſt he ſhould be faithfully ſerved by the Citizens themſelves; that he required his aſſiſtance in that buſineſs, and that he would give him that proof of the fidelity and ſincerity he profeſſed, for when he ſhould once be aſſured of the obedience of his Subjects, he had nothing more to deſire of him; and when once the ſtrangers were driven out, and the City ſetled without tumult, in the condition it ought to be, he would caſt away all former ſuſpicions, and willingly conſent to the moderation of future buſineſſes. After he had ended his diſcourſe, he called the *Prevoſt des Merchands*, and the *Eſchevins* of the City, who were preſent, and commanded them to ſearch all houſes diligently the day after, with ſuch other perſons as he ſhould appoint for that purpoſe; and that they ſhould turn out all ſtrangers who had ſetled themſelves there without urgent neceſſity: That they ſhould make no diſtinction of perſons; for he was certified there were fifteen thouſand who were ſet on to raiſe ſcandals, and come to ſtir up new commotions, to the danger of the lives and goods of the Citizens. With this Commiſſion the Deputies departed, promiſing to ſerve him faithfully; and after many ſuch diſcourſes, the Duke of *Guiſe* departed alſo, having promiſed the ſame: For he had lull'd the King with his arts, and that his preſence had ſo terrified him, that he ſhould no longer need much Force: Whereupon he ſaid to ſome of his familiar Friends, that he hoped without noiſe or difficulty to obtain an Aſſembly of the States General, wherein he doubted not but matters ſhould go on according to his wiſh and deſign. 1588.

The King appointed Monſieur *de Villequier* and Monſieur *d' O* to make ſearch for the ſtrangers, which (the ſame Guards and jealouſies continuing) was begun the next morning, but with obſtinate backwardneſs, and moſt apparent diſſimulation of the Pariſians, who knew that thoſe that were lodged in the City were all the Duke of *Guiſe*'s dependents, and ſent by him; nor were they willing that by expelling them their own Forces ſhould be diſſolved: Whereby the Kings Deputies perceived that they laboured but in vain, and that the intention of diſarming and weakning the Duke of *Guiſe* could not ſucceed by that means, nor produce any effect; and therefore they let the King know ſo much; who angry and exaſperated, reſolved at laſt to tame the people by force, and endeavour to ſuppreſs the Conſpirators without longer delay. To that end he preſently diſpatched the Mareſchal *de Byron* to bring the Swiſſes into *Paris*, and Monſieur *d' O* to fetch the Companies of his Guards which were lodged out of the City in the near adjacent places, and gave order that neither the Gentlemen, Archers, nor Souldiers of the Guards, ſhould ſtir any more out of the Court, but that all ſhould keep cloſe about his Perſon.

The King commands fifteen thouſand ſtrangers to be driven out of *Paris*; but the execution is hindered: whereupon he reſolves to ſuppreſs the Inſurrection by force.

This was not unknown to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, to ſet the ſtrength of the People againſt the Kings Forces, cauſed a report to be preſently ſpread about the City, that the King had reſolved to put to death Sixſcore of the principal Catholicks, and to put Gariſons in the chief places to ſuppreſs the Citizens, and that therefore it was neceſſary for them to prepare for their defence. A counterfeit Liſt was framed of the Sixſcore names, the Copies whereof were diſperſed abroad; the Duke of *Guiſe* being ſet down firſt of all, and Preſident *Nully*, Preſident *Maiſtre*, the Sieurs *de Buſſy* and *la Chapelle*, *Hautman* the Receiver; and after them all the Curates, Preachers, Deputies, and *Eſchevins*; and finally, all ſuch as were beloved of the people; the fear of whoſe danger might ſtir them up to take Arms; cauſing this forgery to be divulged with ſo much vehemence of words and actions, and with ſo much feigned terrour, by cunning active perſons, who were acquainted with the peoples humours, that they began to talk of riſing that very night; the Commanders being ordered and choſen in every quarter, and the Dukes Gentlemen appointed to rule and moderate the raſhneſs of the armed people.

The Duke of *Guiſe* makes the Pariſians believe that the King meant to put Sixſcore of the chief Catholicks to death.

But things were not yet fully ripe; and the night of the eleventh day was ſpent in theſe practices on every ſide, till in the morning upon *Thurſday* the twelfth of *May*, they heard the Swiſſes Fifes and Drums; which beating their march, entered at the *Porte St. Honore*, the Mareſchal *de Byron* on horſeback leading them; and then the French Companies followed under their ſeveral Captains, with all their matches lighted. The King being alſo got on horſeback, went out to receive them, welcoming the Souldiers at the entry of the gate, and commanded with a loud voice, repeating it many times, that they ſhould all forbear to commit the leaſt inſolence, or do the leaſt injury to the Citizens, upon pain of death without mercy: And having given order to Monſieur

The Kings Soldiers come into *Paris*, and guard the *Louvre*, with the ſtreets about it, as alſo the Bridges and Market-places of the City.

1588. Monſieur *d' O* and the Mareſchal *de Byron* to poſſeſs and guard all the chief places of the Town, went back to the *Louvre*, where the Souldiers of the Guards were armed and in a readineſs upon all occaſions. The Mareſchal *de Byron*, perhaps not acquainted with the Kings deſign, thought it expedient firſt to poſſeſs thoſe places which were neareſt the *Louvre*, for the ſecurity and defence of the Court; and therefore firſt of all he poſſeſſed himſelf of *St. Innocents* Church-yard, being at the end of the *Rue St. Honore*, and there he placed nine hundred Swiſſes, ſetting the reſt, to the number of one thouſand ſix hundred, about the *Boucherie*, the *Marche-neuf*, the *Chaſtelet*, and *Townhouſe*: Monſieur *d' O* took the *Pont au Change*, and the *Pont St. Michel*, placing Monſieur *du Gaſt* upon the one, and Monſieur *Marivant* upon the other; the Companies of *Beauvais*, *Nangy* and Monſieur *de l' Archant*, being left to guard the Gate of the *Louvre* toward the *Rue St. Thomas*. But the buſineſs was very ill ordered in that manner, and it had been much better to have taken *La Place Maubert*, *la Place St. Antoyne*, and the Streets near the *Baſtile*, which are all in the furtheſt parts of the City, and near the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Palace: for being beſieged, ſo that he could not ſtir, and the *Rue St. Denis* and *St. Martin* being blocked up, to divide the people into two parts, that they might not eaſily draw together, the whole City would have been blocked up in the Kings power, and the tumult of the people reſtrained. But the Souldiers thus diſpoſed of, were more fit to defend the *Louvre*, than to hinder the inſurrection of the Citizens, which took its birth and beginning where the perſon of the Duke of *Guiſe* was, and where his ſpirit gave life to it.

At the entry of the Kings Forces, which was known to the whole City by the noiſe of the Drums, the people full of fear and terrour, and now aſſured that the report divulged of the Kings intention was moſt certain, began to gather together, ſhutting up their doors and ſhops, which (according to the cuſtom uſed in that City of going to work before day) was already begun to be opened, and every one began to make ready their Arms, expecting directions what they ſhould do.

It was already broad day light, when the Queen-Mother, deſirous to know what the Duke of *Guiſe* did, ſent *Luigi Davila* unto him, under colour of a ceremonial viſit, (for ſhe yet continued her wonted diſſimulation) giving him charge to obſerve very carefully every little circumſtance of whatſoever he ſhould ſee or hear. He going to the *Hoſtel de Guiſe* (ſo they call the Houſes of the great Lords) contrary to the ordinary cuſtom, found the Gates ſhut; and being let in thorow the Wicket, he ſaw two long rows of Gentlemen armed in the Court, and in the midſt of them the Duke of *Guiſe* walking up and down alone, to whom he delivered the complement he was commanded: But the Duke finding the Queens intention, and deſiring to ſhew that he was well prepared, took him kindly by the hand, and led him talking into the Garden, where a great number of Arms were laid together, and all the lower rooms full of Souldiers and Reformadoes; of whom *Davila* (as being acquainted with them) knew the greateſt part. After two or three ſhort turns in the Garden, the Duke, who notwithſtanding was in great ſuſpence, and as one might eaſily perceive, full of weighty thoughts, returning a complement, diſmiſſed him, and he coming back ſtrait to the *Louvre*, whither the Queen was already gone, and being brought into the Kings Cloſet, related diſtinctly all that he had obſerved: and added further, that as he paſſed thorow the City, he had ſeen them ſhut up their ſhops and houſes, make ready their Arms, lay logs and ſet barrels before their doors, and many of the Dukes Gentlemen and Officers diſcourſing together, the chief Citizens very buſie every where, and that eſpecially in the *Place Maubert*, and the *Rue St. Anthoyne* the people gathered very faſt together, and made greater preparations of Arms than in any other place. The King having cauſed him to make his relation twice over, preſently ſent *Benoiſe* his Secretary to Monſieur *d' O*, commanding him to advance beyond the Bridges, and cauſe the French Companies to poſſeſs the *Place Maubert*, and the *Rue St. Anthoyne*.

Monſieur *d' O* inſtantly ſent Colonel *Grillon* to execute the Kings command; but he came too late: for the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin* with the Scholars of the Univerſity, and the Boat-men dwelling about *S. Jehan en Greve* had already taken that Poſt, which had till then been imprudently neglected; and having locked up the Streets with Chains, and ſhut up all paſſages with barricadoes of logs and barrels filled with dirt and earth, had made that their Rendezvous; wherefore Monſieur *de Grillon* was fain to retire, and going about to return to the place from whence he came, his way was ſtopt by the

the Count of *Briſſac*, who with the People of the Quarter of St. *Germain*, had ſhut him up ſo in the midſt, that he was engaged between the Bridges, nor could he ſtir any way at all, nor make the leaſt reſiſtance on any ſide, though he had with him the greateſt ſtrength of the French Souldiers. 1588.

All the reſt of the City being already up, followed this beginning, crying furiouſly, *Arm, Arm*, and ringing the *Toqueſaint* in every Quarter, made Barricadoes in the ſame ſame manner within thirty paces of one another, in ſo punctual order, and with ſo much readineſs, that the extent of ſo vaſt a City was all blocked up in a moment, and ſhut in every way, the Kings Souldiers beſet on all ſides with the Barricadoes, even to the very doors of all their *Corps de Garde*, and which was worſt of all, Colonel St. *Paul* with the people of St. *Euſtache* and *Mont-Martre* coming down with fury, and blocking up the Streets from place to place, made their laſt Barricadoes at the very Gates of the *Louvre*, right over againſt, and in the very face of the Kings *Corps de Garde*.

The Pariſians raiſed at the ringing of the bells, make barricadoes croſs the ſtreets; and blocking up all the Kings *Corps de Garde*, come up to the *Louvre*, and begin to aſſault the Royaliſts.

After the Streets were blocked up and fortified on all ſides, the word going every where about with fierce loud cries, that they ſhould cut the Foreign Souldiers in pieces, the Swiſſes were preſently aſſaulted in St. *Innocent*'s Church-yard, where ſhut up and (as one may ſay) impriſoned, they could make no defence in the world, but ſix and thirty of them being ſlain in the firſt onſet, the reſt yielded themſelves without reſiſtance, and were pillaged by the people with very great violence and boaſting. All the other Guards, of the *Chaſtelet*, the little Bridge, the Butchery, and the Town-houſe, were aſſaulted at the ſame time, the Swiſſes being in the ſame manner diſarmed, and made priſoners at the peoples diſcretion. To the French Guards they had a little more reſpect; for having made them put out their Matches, and lay down their Arms, they kept them in that manner till they had further order.

In the mean time the King was perſwaded by the Queen-Mother and Monſieur *de Villequier* to go forth of the *Louvre*, and ſhew himſelf unto the Citizens, thinking that the people would certainly be daunted with the ſplendour of the Royal Majeſty, that they would acknowledge and obey him, and that laying down their Arms, and receiving ſecurity for their own lives and houſes, they would ſuffer the Delinquents to be taken and puniſhed: But the King thought it too dangerous an advice, and ſuch an one as would expoſe all the remainder of his Dignity and Authority to the raſhneſs of the people, without much aſſurance that the iſſue would be good; and which was worſe, it ſeemed to him a counſel of ſuch nature, as in caſe it ſhould not ſucceed well, could no way be remedied, but the event at the ſame time would be certain ruine, and the loſs of his life: wherefore he reſolved to ſend out the Mareſchals of *Aumont* and *Byron* to talk with the people, and endeavour ſafely to appeaſe them by fair means. But this determination was as vain as the other; for the Mareſchals words were anſwered with Musket-Bullets, and Stones, and they were fain to retire without doing any thing. There was now no other hope left, but of defending the *Louvre*, wherein (beſides the wonted Guards, moſt forward to do their duty) there were above five hundred Gentlemen, who before all others had undertaken to defend the paſſage to the Gate.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, either ſtruck with the temerity of ſo high an enterpriſe, or not having prepared his deſigns from the beginning to go ſo far, or aſtoniſhed in the execution by the greatneſs of the attempt, or thinking the buſineſs was brought to a head as ſoon as he ſaw the City in his power, the Kings Guards diſarmed and taken, and the King with all his Friends ſhut up, and as it were impriſoned in the *Louvre*, and that he ſhould attain to the reſt of his deſires, by way of compoſition, reſolved to appeaſe the tumult without uſing any more force; and going out of his houſe on horſe-back, unarmed, with only a truncheon in his hand, to ſhew the greater contempt, rode thorow all the Quarters, and ſpeaking to the people every where, exhorted them to ſtand upon their guard, ſince God had been ſo merciful to them as to ſecure their Lives, Families, Liberties, Religion, and the honour of the holy Church, but that they ſhould depend upon him and not doubt, for all things were very ſafe: and coming to the place where the French Souldiers were beſet and taken, he gave order to Colonel St. *Paul* to conduct them to the *Louvre*, and let them go. Thence he paſſed

The Duke of *Guiſe* ſeeing the City in his power, and the King as it were a priſoner, ceaſeth to proſecute the ſiedging of the *Louvre*, and appeaſeth the people.

by

1588. by *St. Innocents*, and made the Swiſſes Arms be reſtored to them; and in the ſame manner cauſed the Count of *Briſſac* to bring them to the entry of the *Louvre* and let them go. All the Souldiers without Drums, or being ranked in order went bare-headed, trailing their Arms as priſoners, and being conducted to the Gate of the *Louvre*, were there received by the Mareſchal *de Byron*, who cauſed them to be lodged thereabout: nor could the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Victory have a prouder triumph, or a more remarkable ſpectacle.

*Aleſſandro Farneſe* Duke of *Parma* his ſaying of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

Many thought, and particularly *Aleſſandro Farneſe* Duke of *Parma*, (a Prince of incomparable valour and deep underſtanding) ſaid, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had attempted too much, and done too little, not remembring the Proverb, that *Whoſoever draws his Sword againſt his Prince, ought preſently to throw away the Scabbard*: for ſo bold an enterpriſe ſhould either not have been undertaken, or being begun, ſhould have been executed, whatſoever had come on it: But the Duke of *Guiſe*, either overcome by a ſenſe of juſtice, whereof he took upon him to be the Protector; or deſiring ſtill to uſe the cloak of piety and religion to cover his deſigns; or elſe having never had any further aim than his own ſecurity, and the reformation of Government, and now promiſing himſelf that by his arts, and by a treaty he ſhould bring the ſum of all things into his own power, without taking it openly by force, he thought he had reduced the King to ſuch extremity, that he muſt of neceſſity have been forced to yield to his will, and to grant thoſe conditions he deſired, which he doubted not afterwards to have confirmed by the univerſal conſent of the people. There wanted not of thoſe who ſuſpected that the Duke of *Guiſe*'s main end was to ſhut up the King in a Monaſtery, under pretence of diſability and evil Government, and to aſſume unto himſelf the poſſeſſion of the Crown: but certainly men generally believed, that as he aſpired (after the Kings death) to exclude the Houſe of *Bourbon* from the Crown, and to tranſfer it upon himſelf; ſo he never thought to deprive the King of it while he lived, and therefore believed it was ſufficient, if aiming at the height of Authority and Government, he could make way for the excluding of his adverſaries, and by degrees advance his own deſigns to ſuch a point, as he might execute them boldly when occaſion ſhould ſerve; and this as the more gentle, was alſo the more probable opinion. However it were, the Duke ſuppoſing he had made himſelf Maſter of *Paris*, and encompaſſed the *Louvre* in ſuch manner, that (as he writ the ſame day to the Duke of *Lorain*) he ſhould be able to give account of all that was in it; he quieted the violence and uproar of the people, would not ſuffer them to proceed further towards the aſſaulting of the *Louvre*, made the Guards that had been taken and pillaged to be let go, but gave order that the barricadoes ſhould be continued, that the people every where ſhould be in a readineſs with their Arms, that the Guards ſhould be kept with infinite care, expecting ſome body to come from the King, beſieged and brought into a hard condition, to make an overture of ſome agreement.

The opinion that the Duke of *Guiſe* made way for his deſigns to ſeiſe upon the Crown of *France*, and poſſeſs it after the death of *Henry* the III.

Nor did his expectation fail him in that beginning: for after many conſultations in the Kings Cloſet, the Queen-Mother reſolved to go unto him, and ſent to demand paſſage of the Citizens, who (with intolerable inſolence, but born by her with admirable diſſimulation) denied to let her paſs in her Coach, for fear of ſpoiling the barricadoes, but anſwered they would give her leave to go on foot. Whereupon ſhe took her Sedan, and being attended by Secretary *Pynart*, Monſieur *de Bellieure*, and a few of her Gentlemen, ſhe went with infinite trouble to the *Hoſtel de Guiſe*, and being fain to ſtay every minute till the barricadoes were opened, which were ſtill ſhut again as ſoon as ſhe was paſt, ſhe was above two hours ere ſhe got thither, by reaſon of the length of the way, and being ſtopt at ſo many ſeveral paſſages. At her firſt arrival, the Duke met her with exceeding great lamentations, complaining openly that the King, by going about to put a Gariſon unſeaſonably into the City of *Paris*, that had never had any in times paſt, had made the people jealous that he meant to take away the lives of the good Catholicks, which had been cauſe of that tumult, which all the wit of man could not remedy: That the King did very much injure him, (who by ſo many proofs was his moſt faithful Servant) and his good and faithful City of *Paris*, by uſing them in that manner: That nevertheleſs he bearing the affront patiently, had done what lay in him to take away the peoples fears, and to appeaſe the tumult. To which arts the Queen anſwering with the like diſſimulation, ſaid, That the King intended nothing but to drive out ſtrangers, for the ſecurity and quiet of the Citizens: and having been very ill ſerved by ſome employed in that buſineſs, he had cauſed his

The Queen-Mother goes to the Duke of *Guiſe* in her Sedan, being denied paſſage in her Coach, confers with him; but brings back nothing but complaints and exorbitant demands.

Guards

Guards to enter for the ſafety and defence of the City, that afterward he himſelf in perſon might make the ſearch, and by his labour and authority prevent the miſchief that was ready to fall upon the inhabitants: That the ſuſpicious people had taken Arms too ſuddenly; but that ſhe hoped when the truth was once known, every one would be ſetled in quietneſs. 1588.

After this diſcourſe in publick, they went together into the Garden, where the Duke of *Guiſe* (making his pretence that he knew the Kings deſigns and intentions were to deſtroy the Great Ones, and ſuppreſs thoſe that oppoſed his Favourites, and that therefore it was neceſſary for him to look well to himſelf, to ſecure both his own and the common ſafety) began to make infinite, high and exorbitant demands, and ſuch as were truly proper for an abſolute Conquerour: That the King ſhould declare him his Lieutenant-General in all Provinces and places under his Dominions, with the ſame authority his Father had in the time of *Francis* the Second: That the States-General ſhould be called at *Paris*, in which Aſſembly that power granted to him ſhould be confirmed: That to ſecure the people from their fears of a Hugonot Prince, the King of *Navarre* and the other Princes of *Bourbon* his adherents, ſhould be declared to have forfeited their inheritance to the Crown: That the Taxes and Impoſitions upon the people might be limited: That, to take away all hated and ſuſpected Novelties, all Forms of Government ſhould be reduced to a certain Rule, which it ſhould not be lawful for the King to alter: That the Duke of *Eſpernon*, Monſieur *de la Valette* his Brother, the Mareſchals of *Retz* and *Byron*, Monſieur *d' O*, and Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, (ſuſpected all to hold intelligence with the Hereticks, and every day to find out inventions of new grievances) ſhould be deprived of all their Offices and Governments, and baniſhed for ever from the Court: That, to take away all ſuſpicion which every one had with reaſon, that the Hereticks were not proceeded againſt really and in good earneſt, the abſolute charge of the War ſhould be given to him; which ſhould be proſecuted with two Armies, one in *Poictou*, the other in *Dauphine*: That, to remove jealouſies and fears of tyrannical proceedings, the King ſhould diſmiſs his Guard of the five and forty Gentlement, and forbid them to return to Court, reſerving only the Guards which his Predeceſſors were wont to have: That he ſhould take away the Regiment of Guards from Monſieur *de Grillon*, and give it to ſuch a perſon as the Catholick Princes might confide in: That all the Fortreſſes of *Picardy* might be delivered up to the Duke of *Aumale*, as Governour of that Province: That the Duke of *Nemours* might have the Government of *Lyons*, and the Duke of *Elbeuf* that of *Normandy*: That the King ſhould put into the hands of the Lords of the League ſix ſuch Towns as they ſhould name, in which they might keep Gariſons, under ſuch Governours as they ſhould like: That a convenient aſſignment might be given to the Pariſians for the payment of the Rents of the Town-houſe: And that the Government of the City might be given to the Count *de Briſſac*, upon whom alſo ſhould be conferred the Office of Colonel General of the French Infantry, held at that time by the Duke of *Eſpernon*: That the charge of Admiral ſhould be reſtored to the Duke of *Mayenne*; and Monſieur *de la Chaſtre* made Mareſchal in the place of Monſieur *de Byron*.

Which Demands being carefully examined by the Queen, one by one, and the injuſtice and exorbitancy of them being ſhewn, ſhe at laſt asked the Duke of *Guiſe* what he believed the people of *France* would ſay, and what the Princes of *Europe* would think, if with the Kings conſent a Subject ſhould accept, much leſs demand ſuch conditions, and whether he meant not to put ſhackles upon the King, and take the Crown from his head? To which words the Duke anſwered freely, That he demanded no Place nor Office for any that was not very worthy of it; and that to drive away Incendiaries, Enemies of the publick good, Favourers of Hereticks, and Perſecutors of the Catholick Religion, was to purge the Body of the State of a moſt dangerous poiſon, to the end that the King might afterwards enjoy that tranquillity and obedience that belonged to him; and that the Medicine indeed was bitter at firſt, but would be fruitful and healthful in the end. In ſum, after many debates, and prolix contentious arguments, this was the Duke of *Guiſe*'s concluſion, That ſince the King himſelf had at laſt laid open his ſecret intentions, and brought matters to that paſs, he was reſolved either to loſe his Life, or to ſecure Religion and the Eſtate of his own Family.

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The night was ſpent in this manner, full of terrour and uncertainty, the Duke of *Guiſe* being diligent in viſiting the Guards of the City every hour, leſt their careleſneſs and negligence ſhould give the Kings Souldiers opportunity to recover thoſe places they had loſt before, and leſt the darkneſs ſhould give occaſion to ſome diſorder, or ſtir up ſome tumult.

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*Poulain*, *Jehan Conty*, and *Pierre Vgoly* fled from *Paris*, every one rejoycing that they had miraculouſly eſcaped the fury and inſurrection of the Pariſians; to whom the Kings departure was ſo unexpected, that they knew neither what to do, nor had any preparation to follow him; which is not much to be wondered at in the common people; but that the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould not have foreſeen that blow, gave great occaſion of talk to many at that time; and conſidering his vivacity and warineſs, may beget wonder in whoſever ſhall apply his mind ſolidly to think upon it; this moſt important overſight being to be attributed to one of thoſe marvellous works of Providence wherewith God uſes often to mock the craft and ſubtilty of worldly policy. 1588.

The King being departed, the Duke of *Guiſes* deſign (of obtaining from him (as a priſoner) thoſe conditions he pretended) vaniſhed of it ſelf; and therefore it was neceſſary to think upon ſome other courſe: Wherefore after he had been a good while vext and angry with himſelf, knowing he had let ſlip ſo great an occaſion, he turned his thoughts to ſecure his abſolute power in the City of *Paris*; for ſeeing a War ready to break forth between him and the King, he knew he could have no ſurer foundation than the forces and aſſiſtance of the Pariſians. His firſt thought was to make himſelf Maſter of the *Baſtille*, which was kept by *Lorenzo Teſtuto Chevalier du Guet*, who commanded there in the Kings Name; nor was the attaining of it very difficult; for though he might have made an honourable defence, yet as ſoon as he knew the Artillery was taken out of the Arſenal to batter it, he gave it up into the peoples hand, and they preſently delivered it to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who not loſing any longer time, having called the people together, upon *Sunday* the fifteenth, cauſed *Hector Peroſe Prevoſt des Merchands* to be put out, as one depending upon the King, and clapt him up priſoner in the *Baſtille*, making *la Chappelle Martel* (the principal inſtrument of the League, and firſt *Bouteſeu* of the people) to be elected in his place: *Conty* and *Vgoly* were alſo put out of their Offices as fugitives, and in their places were choſen *Com-pans* and *Rolland*, both of the Council of *Sixteen*, and chief among the Conſpirators. Upon *Munday* the Streets were cleared, the Barricadoes were taken away, and the Shops and Houſes opened, but the Guards were continued with extraordinary care day and night, many rumours of danger being ſpread abroad, which ſerved to keep the people in fears and jealouſhes, and not to let their firſt motions cool.

The City being ſecured, the next buſineſs was to open the paſſages of the River in reſpect of victual; the Duke of *Guiſe* being aſſured that hunger would quickly cauſe repentance among the people: Wherefore Forces being already come out of *Picardy*, and two Regiments of Foot liſted in the City, ſiege was laid to the *Bois de Vincennes*, which yielded without reſiſtance; and the ſame did St. *Cloud*, *Lagny*, *Charenton*, with all the other neighbouring Towns; and *Pontoyſe*, though it feigned to continue under the Kings obedience, yet hindered it not the paſſage of the River *Seine*, for the bringing up of ſuch proviſions as were wont to come from thoſe parts; *Corbeil* remained to be taken, into which *Jehan de Villiers* was entered with good hope to defend it, by reaſon of the peoples being well-affected, and of the Kings being ſo near at hand, who might eaſily relieve it from *Chartres*; nor did he ſo much value the tumultuous Forces of the Pariſians, but thought though he had no Souldiers in pay, he ſhould be able to hold out of himſelf for many days, which begun alſo to ſucceed proſperouſly, he having at their firſt arrival skirmiſhed with advantage, and in great part repreſſed the boldneſs of the Pariſians. But the King, who had laid his deſigns another way, and who (all other paſſages being already opened) would not in a matter of no great conſequence give beginning to a tedious War, wrote to *Villiers*, that leaving the people at liberty to diſpoſe of themſelves as they pleaſed, he ſhould return to Court; whereupon, as ſoon as he was gone, the people opened their gates, and willingly gave themſelves up to the Pariſians.

All theſe things were done in the very face of the Queen, who very much afflicted inwardly, did yet ſtrive to diſſemble ſo great injuries, and not ſtirring from *Paris*, (under pretence that ſhe doubted not of their obedience, but indeed that ſhe might be preſent and ſee how all buſineſſes were managed) expected to receive directions from the King what ſhe ſhould do.

He being come to *Chartres*, was not only uncertain in himſelf, but found alſo the ſame variety of opinions among his Councellors; for *Villeroy* and his Adherents, ſtill conſtant to their firſt advice, argued that a War with the Duke of *Guiſe* was by

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Two long hours after the Kings departure, the Sieur *de Meneville* came cloſe to the Duke of *Guiſe*'s ear, who was yet treating with the Queen, and told him that the King was gone ſuddenly from *Paris* by the New Gate; at which news the Duke being unexpectedly ſurpriſed, turned toward the Queen, and cryed out with a loud voice, *Ah Madam, I am quite undone, and while your Majeſty holds me here in delays, the King is gone away to ruine me.* The Queen ſeeming ignorant of that reſolution, anſwered, ſhe believed it not; and that the King had not told her of any ſuch intent, but it might be ſome determination of his Council; and taking her Chair, ſhe made her ſelf be carried back to the *Louvre*, where ſhe found that the Companies of the Guards led by *Grillon*, together with the Swiſſes led by the Sieurs *de Dampierre* and *Tinteville*, were already marched away, to whom ſhe preſently diſpatched a Gentleman, with command not to loſe any time, but march continually day and night; which being obeyed by them, they came to the ſame place not many hours after the Kings arrival. The next day all the Court came up ſcattering, and amongſt the reſt *Nicholas Poulain*,

*Poulain*, *Jehan Conty*, and *Pierre Ugoly* fled from *Paris*, every one rejoycing that they had miraculously escaped the fury and insurrection of the Parisians; to whom the Kings departure was so unexpected, that they knew neither what to do, nor had any preparation to follow him; which is not much to be wondered at in the common people; but that the Duke of *Guise* should not have foreseen that blow, gave great occasion of talk to many at that time; and considering his vivacity and wariness, may beget wonder in whosever shall apply his mind solidly to think upon it; this most important oversight being to be attributed to one of those marvellous works of Providence wherewith God uses often to mock the craft and subtilty of worldly policy. 1588.

The King being departed, the Duke of *Guises* design (of obtaining from him (as a prisoner) those conditions he pretended) vanished of it self; and therefore it was necessary to think upon some other course: Wherefore after he had been a good while vext and angry with himself, knowing he had let slip so great an occasion, he turned his thoughts to secure his absolute power in the City of *Paris*; for seeing a War ready to break forth between him and the King, he knew he could have no surer foundation than the forces and assistance of the Parisians. His first thought was to make himself Master of the *Bastille*, which was kept by *Lorenzo Testuto Chevalier du Guet*, who commanded there in the Kings Name; nor was the attaining of it very difficult; for though he might have made an honourable defence, yet as soon as he knew the Artillery was taken out of the Arsenal to batter it, he gave it up into the peoples hand, and they presently delivered it to the Duke of *Guise*, who not losing any longer time, having called the people together, upon *Sunday* the fifteenth, caused *Hector Perose Prevost des Merchands* to be put out, as one depending upon the King, and clapt him up prisoner in the *Bastille*, making *la Chappelle Martel* (the principal instrument of the League, and first *Boutefeu* of the people) to be elected in his place: *Conty* and *Ugoly* were also put out of their Offices as fugitives, and in their places were chosen *Com-pans* and *Rolland*, both of the Council of *Sixteen*, and chief among the Conspirators. Upon *Munday* the Streets were cleared, the Barricadoes were taken away, and the Shops and Houses opened, but the Guards were continued with extraordinary care day and night, many rumours of danger being spread abroad, which served to keep the people in fears and jealousies, and not to let their first motions cool.

The City being secured, the next business was to open the passages of the River in respect of victual; the Duke of *Guise* being assured that hunger would quickly cause repentance among the people: Wherefore Forces being already come out of *Picardy*, and two Regiments of Foot listed in the City, siege was laid to the *Bois de Vincennes*, which yielded without resistance; and the same did St. *Cloud*, *Lagny*, *Charenton*, with all the other neighbouring Towns; and *Pontoyse*, though it feigned to continue under the Kings obedience, yet hindered it not the passage of the River *Seine*, for the bringing up of such provisions as were wont to come from those parts; *Corbeil* remained to be taken, into which *Jehan de Villiers* was entered with good hope to defend it, by reason of the peoples being well-affected, and of the Kings being so near at hand, who might easily relieve it from *Chartres*; nor did he so much value the tumultuous Forces of the Parisians, but thought though he had no Souldiers in pay, he should be able to hold out of himself for many days, which begun also to succeed prosperously, he having at their first arrival skirmished with advantage, and in great part repressed the boldness of the Parisians. But the King, who had laid his designs another way, and who (all other passages being already opened) would not in a matter of no great consequence give beginning to a tedious War, wrote to *Villiers*, that leaving the people at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased, he should return to Court; whereupon, as soon as he was gone, the people opened their gates, and willingly gave themselves up to the Parisians.

All these things were done in the very face of the Queen, who very much afflicted inwardly, did yet strive to dissemble so great injuries, and not stirring from *Paris*, (under pretence that she doubted not of their obedience, but indeed that she might be present and see how all businesses were managed) expected to receive directions from the King what she should do.

He being come to *Chartres*, was not only uncertain in himself, but found also the same variety of opinions among his Councellors; for *Villeroy* and his Adherents, still constant to their first advice, argued that a War with the Duke of *Guise* was by

1588. no means to be undertaken, leſt it ſhould ſeparate and divide the Catholick Party into open diſſention, and give the Hugonots an evident occaſion to overthrow Religion; that many things ought to be diſſembled and born withal to obtain a greater good; and that reaſon counſelled to make an agreement with the Duke of *Guiſe* upon honourable conditions, ſince the foundation of the Kings Authority conſiſted in the Catholicks, and therefore it was not good to deſtroy, or at leaſt weaken it by diviſion. But Monſieur *d' O*, Monſieur *de Rambouillet*, *Alfonſo Corſo*, and the reſt, urged on the contrary, that to aſſent to the Duke of *Guiſe*'s demands, was to lay down the Crown, and give it to the Houſe of *Lorain*; which having rooted out the Houſe of *Bourbon* and the Hugonot Party, born up by the favour of the people, and the greatneſs of its forces, would preſently think of depoſing the King, and ſhutting him up in a Monaſtery, as the report was generally divulged already: that whatſoever ſhould be done againſt the Hugonots would be attributed to the Duke of *Guiſe*'s induſtry, and that to conſent unto it, was but to authoriſe and confirm his ambition ſo much the more, and even to increaſe the peoples affection towards him; for it would be manifeſt that the King condeſcended to his demands out of pure fear, and as being conſtrained by his force and power; and that therefore it was better to venture upon any thing how difficult and dangerous ſoever, rather than do ſuch an unworthy thing as to deprive the lawful Succeſſors of the Crown, and put himſelf into ſlavery and ſubjection. They on the other ſide replied again, That the King by doing well would recover the love of the people which he had loſt, and that his giving ſatisfaction to the Heads of the League, by putting away his *Minions*, and making them partakers in the honours of the Government, would quiet all buſineſſes, and diſſolve the Union with very great facility, nor would any body dare to turn againſt the ſacred Majeſty of the King when that ſo ſpecious pretence ſhould be taken away. That if this were really a matter of Religion ſpurred on by Conſcience, as ſoon as the cauſe ſhould ceaſe by proceeding againſt the Hugonots, the effect without doubt would do the like; and if it were a ſpirit of ambition, the King by giving a little convenient ſatisfaction to the Great Ones, might alſo ſettle all commotions: and finally, that he could not confound his Enemies by any more ſure, nor more ready way, than by doing that of himſelf, which the League violently endeavoured to make him do by force; for to try the hazard of War was too diſadvantageous, too precipitate a reſolution, having neither Forces, Adherents, nor money to put himſelf into ſo weighty, ſo dangerous a buſineſs, being deprived of the ſtrength of the Catholicks, who for the moſt part followed the fortune of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and being divided from the Hugonots by ancient hatred, and moſt open diſtruſt: That it was a thing commended by all wiſe men, to wait for the opportunity of times, and to bend rather than be pulled up by the roots. The Kings mind was in very great doubt and ſuſpenſe between theſe opinions; not only by reaſon of the variety and weight of their reaſons, but alſo becauſe he began to ſuſpect that they who counſelled him were moved rather by intereſts and particular reſpects, than the regard of his ſervice, and care of the general good.

The cauſe of diſtaſte between the Duke of *Eſpernon* and *Villeroy*.

The enmity between Monſieur *de Villeroy* and the Duke of *Eſpernon*, was already commonly known: for the year before, when the King went forth with his Army againſt the Germans, being lodged in a Town called *St. Aignan*, and the means of finding money to make the *Grand Provoſt* march with his Archers, (who for want of pay had left following the Court, and were very needful in the Camp) being ſpoken of in the Kings Cabinet, Monſieur *de Villeroy* told him, that the Council thinking how to remedy that want, had given him order to put his Majeſty in mind, that ſome certain Treaſurers who were impriſoned, having been fined about the ſum of twenty thouſand Crowns, they all or part of them, might ſerve for the *Grand Prevoſt* and his Archers. To which words the Duke of *Eſpernon* anſwered angrily, That that money had been promiſed to Monſieur *de la Valette* to pay the Souldiers that were with him in *Dauphine*; and that it could not be diſpoſed to another uſe, without doing him injury, as he ſaw many took pleaſure to do, to offend him; but that he was reſolved one day to reſent it in ſuch manner, that thoſe malicious men ſhould be glad to let him alone. To which *Villeroy* going about to reply, ſaying that it was only a *Memorandum* of the Council's, and not any intention of his, the Duke of *Eſpernon* gave him the lye in the Kings preſence, adding many very injurious words, as Knave, Raſcal, and malicious Fellow. To which *Villeroy* beginning to anſwer, the King riſing up, commanded him to hold his peace: whereupon he went out of the room without any ſatisfa ction,

ſatisfaction, and the next morning asked the Kings leave to lay down his Office, not willing to ſerve any longer, if he muſt ſuffer ſuch unworthy wrongs: which the King refuſed to grant, and yet on the other ſide did not much care to make the Duke of *Eſpernon* give him fitting ſatisfaction, till time of it ſelf afforded him an occaſion to uſe ſome courteous words by way of complement, in excuſe of the paſſage at St. *Aignan*; which though in ſhew it appeaſed the outward difference between them, yet were their minds never after ſetled in ſincere friendſhip. Wherefore the King doubted, and not without great reaſon, that Monſieur *de Villeroy* favoured the Duke of *Guiſe*'s deſigns; and fomented his pretenſions, in hope to ſee the Duke of *Eſpernon* excluded from the Court, deprived of his greatneſs, and utterly ruined: and though he diſſembled it, yet ſeeing that *Pontoyſe*, which was governed by the Sieur *d' Alincourt*, hindered not proviſions from being carried to *Paris*, had ſecretly diſpleaſed him, and made him very ſuſpicious of his counſels. Likewiſe Monſieur *de Belleure*, having been deceived by the Duke of *Guiſe* at *Soiſſons*, when the King ſent him thither to forbid his coming to *Paris*, was not only leſſened in his opinion, but had alſo left ſome doubt that he had not proceeded ſincerely in the buſineſs; the overſight of ſo wiſe and ſo experienced a man being interpreted infidelity. Nor was the High Chancellour any better thought of than theſe: for it being already known that the King treated about the diſmembring of the Dutchy of *Orleans* from his Government, to give ſatisfaction to *Entraques*, he was ſuſpected to deſire peace, to the end that the King might have no more need of working the revolt of that City, which was ſtill in agitation by the means of Monſieur *de Chemerault*. 1588.

On the other ſide, Monſieur *d' O* and Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo* were ſuſpected by the King in this buſineſs, as Enemies to the Duke of *Guiſe*; who ſignified plainly that he would not hear of Peace, if they were not put out of their places, and baniſhed from the Court: Whereupon he was jealous that they, to avoid that rock, endeavoured to perſwade the War. And he was ſo apt to theſe ſuſpicions, (as is the cuſtom of men in adverſe fortune) that not only others, but even the Queen his Mother ſeemed to him too much inclined to the demands and pretenſions of the League, which thing though far from truth, (for the Queen had always loved him moſt tenderly, above all her other Sons, and in the troubles of ſo many years had always laboured conſtantly for the conſervation of his Crown) yet it had been obliquely imprinted in his mind by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, inſinuating by little and little that the Queen (ſeeing he had no Son) deſired the Houſe of *Bourbon* ſhould be excluded from the ſucceſſion, and particularly the King of *Navarre*, who in reſpect of Queen *Margaret* was very much hated by her: and that on the other ſide ſhe deſired (without ſticking at the Salique Law) to have the Kingdom paſs to the Duke of *Lorain* her Son-in-law, and the Marqueſs *du Pont* her Grand-child, both extreamly beloved of her; and that for that purpoſe ſhe had from the beginning ſecretly fomented the League; and at that preſent favoured all thoſe things that tended to the deſtruction of the Blood-Royal, and to the eſtabliſhment and greatneſs of the Family of *Lorain*, wherein her Son-in-law and Grand-child held the chiefeſt place. And it was true, that the Queen had always loved her Grand-children of *Lorain*, who obſerved her with all kind of reverence; wherefore ſhe had taken the Princeſs *Chreſtienne* to be bred up with her, and never ceaſed to ſollicite the King to call to Court either the Marqueſs *Du Pont*, or the Count *de Vaudemont*, or ſome one of the other Brothers, and make uſe of them in his greateſt affairs. It was alſo true, that ſhe was not well pleaſed with the greatneſs of the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, eſteemed by her as a ſtone of ſcandal, and an Enemy to her power, which ſhe doubted would with the weight of old age decline in time, as the cuſtom is. But there was a great deal of difference between a deſire that the King ſhould advance her Grand-children, and an endeavour to promote the greatneſs of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who did eclipſe and depreſs that of the Duke of *Lorain* and his Sons; for though he ever ſeemed to obſerve and reverence the Head of the Family, yet he did work and labour for himſelf; nor would he ever have ſuffered the fruits of his arts, pains, and dangers to redound wholly to the exaltation and benefit of the Duke of *Lorain:* and likewiſe to ſtrive to make the King weary of favouring *Eſpernon*, and to put him from Court, thereby to remove the ſeeds of diſcord, was a very different thing from conſenting that the King ſhould be deſpiſed, and conſtrained by force to receive the Law from the Duke of *Guiſe* his will. And yet the force of jealouſie was ſo great in the Kings melancholly diſtruſtful nature, that after ſo many proofs, though he ſtill obſerved his

1588. his Mother very much, and never reſolved any thing without her knowledge and advice, yet he was fallen into a doubt, that ſhe was drawn by intereſts to favour the Catholick party, and that ſhe deſired in great part the very ſame things the League demanded.

Being with theſe thoughts become more ſad and auſtere than he was wont to be, (as thoſe about him eaſily obſerved) his ſleeps were broken, and he ſpent the nights either ſtudying and contriving by himſelf, or elſe hearkening to the diſcourſes and conſultations of others, balancing and pondering them warily; wherein he began to truſt *Francois* Sieur *de Rambouillet*, a Gown-man by profeſſion, indued with much learning, wiſdom, and ſingular vivacity, and *Jehan* Mareſchal of *Aumont*, a man of an open nature, but a generous ſpirit, and exceeding great valour in the profeſſion of Arms; yet not having altogether left the Mareſchal *de Retz*, and the Abbot *del Bene*, though he eſteemed the firſt to depend too much upon the Queen-Mother, and the other to be too intimate with *Eſpernon*. With this diffidence and anxiety having put the whole ſum of buſineſſes upon diſſimulation, he feigned outwardly to conſent to the opinion of thoſe that perſwaded him to unite himſelf to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and commended it as the moſt pious advice, and moſt agreeing with a ſpecious appearance; but inwardly he utterly abhorred it, not being able to bend his mind to yield to the *Guiſes* greatneſs, nor to lay aſide the ſence of that affront he had received, which being continually before his eyes, and concluding within himſelf, that he could never be ſecure of his life, nor abſolute Maſter of his Crown, while the Head of that Faction was alive, and the Union of the League maintained, at laſt he reſolved to try all poſſible ways to ruine him; but becauſe he thought that of War too difficult and dangerous, nor would his Conſcience ſuffer him to join with the Hugonots, he thought to ſupply all wants by cunning; and conſenting to the Dukes propoſitions, to draw him at laſt into ſome place where he might make an end of him by the ſame means which he remembred had been uſed in the reign of his Brother *Charles* the Ninth, againſt the Admiral *de Coligny* and his Adherents.

With this intention he writ very moderate Letters to the Governours of Provinces, excuſing himſelf dexterouſly about the Inſurrection of the Pariſians, yet neither laying much fault upon the people, nor upon the Duke of *Guiſe*, but only endeavouring to keep the Towns and Provinces firm under his obedience. After the diſpatch of which Letters, which by every body were thought neceſſary, he firſt ſent *Myron* the Phyſician to the Queen-Mother, and a few days after *Gaſpar* Count of *Schombergh*, giving her directions to ſtrive by all means to make a compoſition and agreement with the Duke of *Guiſe*, being reſolved not to make War with his Catholick Subjects, but to turn his Arms reſolutely to the utter extirpation of the Hugonots; and becauſe he ſaw the great inclination of *Villeroy* to that advice, and knew that he would labour effectually to conclude a Peace, he ſent him alſo at laſt to *Paris*, giving him moſt ample Commiſſions to ſatisfie the Duke of *Guiſe* his deſires, ſo that he might but thereby pacifie diſcords, and re-unite the Catholick party into one indiſſoluble body, as *Villeroy* himſelf counſelled and adviſed.

The Duke of *Guiſe* having in this time made himſelf Maſter of *Paris*, and opened all the paſſages that ſerved to furniſh the City with proviſions, was diligently buſie in getting poſſeſſion of many other convenient places, and therefore had cauſed ſiege to be laid unto *Melun*, a Town near *Paris*; and having left the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to govern the City, was gone to *Meaux* and *Chaſteau-Thierry* to make himſelf Maſter of thoſe places.

His Brother the Cardinal of *Guiſe* at the ſame time, neither wanting wit nor courage, but boldly following his ſteps and counſels, had ſtirred up the people, and made himſelf ſtrongeſt in the City of *Troye*, which from the beginning had declared that it would continue under the Kings obedience; and the Duke of *Aumale* with the Forces of *Picardy* had laid ſiege to *Boulogne* by the Sea ſide, a very principal Fortreſs of that Province, and the Adherents of the League laboured on every ſide to ſurpriſe Towns and Caſtles, to gather Horſe and Foot, and to draw the greateſt number of followers they poſſibly could unto their party; yet the Duke of *Guiſe*, after he ſaw the King had eſcaped the net, and that he could not ſo eaſily bring his firſt deſign to perfection, deſirous to make that ſeem to have been done purpoſely, which indeed was only overſight, with writings cunningly framed, and reaſons eloquently ſet forth, directed to the King and the whole people of *France*, he endeavoured to perſwade that his actions only

only tended to the benefit of the Kingdom, the obedience of the King, and to the general ſervice and benefit: that the Inſurrection of *Paris* had (without his conſent) been ſtirred up by the peoples fear; and that his intention was ever to yield ſuch obedience as he ought to do, deſiring only that evil Counſellors might be put away, and that ſincere thought might be taken to ſecure Religion: And though his deeds were for the moſt part very contrary to his words, yet the colour of Religion was ſo powerful and plauſible, and he knew ſo well how to behave himſelf, that the multitude thought him a faithful Servant to the King, and believed he was only moved by zeal to Religion, and moſt ardent charity toward the good of the whole Kingdom. 1588.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* coming to Court, is not received by the King with his wonted favour, by his order quits his Government of *Normandy*, and retires to *Angouleſme*.

While they proceeded in this manner on both ſides, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who was in *Normandy*, having heard the ſucceſs of the Sedition at *Paris*, went with a good number of Gentlemen to the King, who being already reſolved to diſſemble with all, and to truſt none but himſelf, received him neither with his accuſtomed intimacy, nor his wonted demonſtrations of favour, but made ſmall ſhew of valuing him, ſeeming to deſire his departure from Court, to put an end to all thoſe ſcandals which were ſaid to ariſe from his extraordinary greatneſs. And indeed, having determined to give outward ſatisfaction to the Duke of *Guiſe* and the League, and knowing that Peace would never be concluded unleſs he conſented to remove him from the Court, his intention was to do it before the Agreement, that it might ſeem a voluntary act, and not conſtrained by force: wherefore he began by the means of Monſieur *de Bellieure* and of the Abbot *del Bene*, to deſire him (in reſpect of the diſtractions of affairs, and to remove the occaſions of them) that he would lay down his Government of *Normandy*, give up the Fortreſſes of *Metz*, *Loches*, *Angouleſme*, *Xaintes*, and *Boulogne*, and only retain his Government of *Provence*; wherein, for his greater ſecurity, his Brother *la Valette* ſhould continue his Lieutenant: That he ſhould retire thither far from the clamour that was made about his perſon, and wait for a more quiet and fitting ſeaſon to return to Court. The Duke of *Eſpernon* (a man of exceeding great underſtanding, and bred up by the King himſelf among the ſtratagems of State) perchance ghelſing at the Kings ſecret intentions, by having been ſo converſant with him, was contented without contradiction to quit his Government of *Normandy*; wherein he ſaw himſelf not well ſetled, by reaſon of the reſiſtance many Governours made againſt him: But for the reſt, though in words he promiſed to ſatisfie the King in all his demands, yet was he reſolved not to part with any of the ſtrong Holds, wherein he hoped to defend himſelf from the ſtorm of fortune which he ſaw coming upon him: Whereupon, while he treats about the manner of delivering them into the Kings hands, and to whom and which way they ſhould be reſigned, (ſhewing ſtill more care of his Maſters ſecurity than of his own good) and while the King cannot ſo readily reſolve in whoſe power it was fit to truſt them, he departs ſuddenly from Court, feigning that he would give way to Fortune; and being accompanied with the Abbot *del Bene*, who was no leſs perſecuted by the League than he, went with all ſpeed to *Angouleſme*, where, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the Caſtle, and the nearneſs of the Hugonots, he thought he might ſtay more ſecurely, and from whence, thorow the Towns of *Languedoc* held by the Mareſchal *d' Anville*, it was eaſie for him upon any occaſion to retire into *Provence*.

This retreat clipt the wings of the pretenſions of the League, and removed all impediments that might have hindered Peace; and it was likewiſe a prudent determination of his ſide: for already the Duke of *Guiſe* and the people of *Paris* turning all their Forces againſt him, had divulged many Writings, wherein he was accuſed to be a ſower of diſcord, and a principal cauſe of ſo great miſchiefs: which though he had cauſed to be anſwered with many reaſons, ſhewing that the miſchief proceeded from the ambition of the Houſe of *Lorain*, and not from the modeſty and obedience of him and his Brother, who receiving the Kings favours with a thankful and loyal mind, did uſe their uttermoſt endeavours to ſerve him ſo as might be for his advantage and their reputation; yet he ſaw that the cloud would undoubtedly break upon him; whereupon he choſe rather by retiring to keep his moſt important Governments, than by ſtaying be forced by one means or other to give them up. Many doubted that the King was privy to his departure, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Abbot *del Bene*'s going with him made it to be ſuſpected: nor was the ſuſpicion without ground; for the Duke of *Guiſe* demanding that he ſhould reſign thoſe four principal Fortreſſes, and the King not willing to deprive himſelf and the Duke of *Eſpernon* of them at the ſame time,

1588. time, to give them into the hands of ſuch perſons as he could not confidently truſt, it was neceſſary the Duke ſhould feign to go away diſcontented without the Kings knowledge, and that he ſhould ſhew that he would not quit them but by force; to the end that the King might be excuſed afterward, if he did not preſently demand them, and that the Duke of *Guiſe* might not conſtrain him to take them from him, ſince he ſhewed they were withheld againſt his will. But whether they underſtood one another by ſigns, or whether the King imparted his deſign unto him by the means of the Abbot *del Bene*, or whether the Duke took that reſolution of himſelf, it was unknown to every one at Court, and the Kings moſt intimate Counſellors knew nothing of it: Yet this I affirm, that the Duke, after his return from *Normandy*, was no more ſo freely admitted to the ſecret conſultations as he was wont to be; but the night before he went away, the Abbot *del Bene* was a great while in ſecret conference with the King in the moſt ſilent hours of the night, which was not known to any but thoſe that lay in the Kings Ante-chamber.

The King ſeemed wonderfully angry and troubled at his departure, and at his going toward *Angouleſme*; and cauſed Secretary *Villeroy* to write preſently to the Sieur *de Tagens*, who commanded the Forces in thoſe parts, and to the Citizens and Deputies of the Town, that they ſhould neither receive nor obey him: but the diſpatch went ſo ſlowly, that the Duke had made himſelf Maſter of it before the Kings Letters were come: for he being with very great ſpeed got thither before he was ſuſpected, preſently ſent *Tagens* with his Forces to the Confines, under colour of defending them from the frequent incurſions of the Hugonots; and putting out the old Governour of the Caſtle, placed a perſon there whom he truſted; and taking up his lodging in the ſtrongeſt part, had made himſelf abſolute Maſter of it before his poſſeſſion could be diſturbed, or taken from him by new orders.

After the Duke of *Eſpernon* was gone from the Court, the King gave the Government of *Normandy*, one of the greateſt and moſt important Provinces in all *France*, unto *Francis* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Montpenſier*, leſt it ſhould be demanded by the Duke of *Guiſe* for any of his dependents; being minded to grant all appearances, but not the ſubſtance and force of thoſe things that were required by the Heads of the League. The Duke of *Eſpernon* being removed, the concluſion of the Peace was eaſie: For on the one ſide the King granted all that the League asked for, or pretended to; and the Duke of *Guiſe*, the authority of the Minions being taken away, which had been a ſharp ſpur to ſtir him up, and the King ſhewing himſelf ready to make War againſt the Hugonots, which was the foundation of all his pretences, he could no more lay hold of any excuſe, and had no occaſion at all to continue the War; wherefore Secretary *Villeroy* and *Myron* the Phyſician having gone often from *Paris* to the King, and from the King to the Queen-Mother, the Treaty of Agreement began to go forward, being managed by the King himſelf alone, ſince neither the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, nor the Sieur *de Rambouillet* were perfectly acquainted with his moſt hidden and admirably diſſembled intentions.

In the mean time the King believing his ſtay at *Chartres* was neither ſafe nor honourable, thought of going to *Rouen*. But becauſe he was not very well aſſured how that Parliament ſtood affected, nor which way Monſieur *de Carrouges* Governour of the City was inclined, he ſent *Jaques Auguſte de Tou* Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, to certifie himſelf of the minds of the Citizens, and to reduce them wholly to his devotion. Preſident *de Tou* performed the Kings command, yet rather with outward flouriſhes than ſubſtantial foundation; having ſpoken in publick to the people and thoſe that governed, with great ſhews of eloquence, but neither touching the ſecret intereſts of the firſt Preſident, who was a creature of the Duke of *Joyeuſe*'s, nor of the Governour and the Count *de Tilleres* his Son, who had ſome dependance upon the Duke of *Guiſe* and the League: whereupon the King preſently diſpatched *Jehan d' Emery* Seigneur *de Villiers* with more abſolute orders, he not only being a Gentleman of the ſame Province of *Normandy*, but, which imported more, a particular Friend of the Governours. He having ſhewed the removal of the Duke *d Eſpernon*, who was not very acceptable to that City, from the Government of the Province, and the election of the Duke of *Montpenſier* a Prince of the Blood-Royal, did very much ſettle the humours of men in the general: and having afterwards conferred in private with the Governour, to whom he promiſed that his Son ſhould have the reverſion of his Government; and with the firſt Preſident into whom he infuſed great hopes of the Kings favour,

favour, and of the principal Offices of the Crown; he brought matters ſo to paſs, that the Parliament and People ſent a very reſpective Meſſage to invite the King unto their City; and the Governor ſent his ſon to Court, as it were for an Hoſtage. After which demonſtrations, the King reſolved to go without delay to *Rouen*: the report whereof being come to *Paris*, the Parliament there being troubled, that the other Courts ſhould prevent them in readineſs and devotion, being perſwaded by the Queen-Mother, ſent a dutiful Meſſage to aſſure him of their fidelity; and a while after, by the Duke of *Guiſe*'s advice, the Pariſians alſo ſent unto him, to excuſe the late paſſages, with many reaſons; but this was when the Peace was in a manner already concluded; which, while it was in agitation, the Count of *Schombergh* finiſhed the agreement with Monſieur *d'Entraques*, which had ſo long been treated of in vain; for he being ſatisfied with the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s removal, turned to the King's party with the City of *Orleans*, upon promiſe that the Government thereof ſhould remain to his heirs; and that the Government of *Chartres* and *Beauſſe*, then held by the High-Chancellor *Chiverny*, ſhould be added to it. But this Treaty could not paſs ſo ſecretly, but the Duke of *Guiſe* was advertiſed of it; who, to delude that Agreement, brought to an end after ſo many endeavours, began in the treaty of Peace to demand the City of *Orleans* for one of the places of ſecurity, which he required in hoſtage of the Kings Promiſes. This demand put a rub in the concluſion of the Peace, but it was preſently removed by Secretary *Villeroy*'s earneſt deſire of it, who either having received power from the King to conclude the buſineſs, or pricked with envy that others had brought the Treaty of *Orleans* to perfection, or becauſe he ſo thought fit, would not diſcompoſe the whole matter by denying that particular, but when he ſaw the Duke of *Guiſe* obſtinately reſolved that he would have it, at laſt he granted it to him without the Kings knowledge; who afterwards alledged, that the Town of *Dourlans* in *Picardy* had been demanded of him, and not that of *Orleans* in *Beauſe*, made great difficulties and long delayes about the aſſigning of it. 1588.

The Conditions of Peace were almoſt the ſame that were contained in the Writing framed at *Nancy*, with the privity of the Duke of *Lorain*, which had been preſented to the King in the beginning of the year. That the King ſhould again declare himſelf Head of the Catholick League, and would ſwear to take up Armes, and never to lay them down till the Hugonot Religion were quite deſtroyed and totally rooted out: that by a Publick Edict he ſhould oblige all Princes, Peers of *France*, Lords and Officers of the Crown, Towns, Colledges, Corporations, and the whole people to ſwear the ſame, and bind themſelves with a ſolemn oath never to ſuffer any one to Reign that was not of the Catholick Religion, and far from all ſuſpicion of Hereſie: that for the time to come none ſhould be admitted to Offices, Places and Dignities in any part of the Kingdom, but ſuch as were Catholicks, and made profeſſion of their Faith according to the Doctrine of *Sorbon*, and the belief of the Roman Catholick Church: that all paſt things, revolts of Cities, inſurrections of the people, taking of Fortreſſes, levying of Soldiers, withholding of the King's Revenue, and whatſoever elſe had been done upon occaſion of the late commotion, ſhould be pardoned and remitted, and that the King ſhould command a total oblivion of them, as things done for the ſervice of Religion, and the general good: that two Armies ſhould be raiſed againſt the Hugonots; one in *Poictou* under the command of the King himſelf, or whomſoever he ſhould beſt like; the other in *Dauphine*, under the command of *Charles* of *Lorain* Duke of *Mayenne*; which ſhould never be recalled, but ſtill paid and recruited, till the work were perfectly finiſhed: that the Council of *Trent* ſhould be received and obſerved through the whole Kingdom, being only diſpenſed with in thoſe parts which are contrary to the priviledges of the *Gallique* Church, which within three Moneths were to be declared by a Congregation of Prelates, and the King's Counſel: that the King ſhould permit the Lords of the League to retain yet for the ſpace of ſix years the Cities and Fortreſſes formerly granted for their ſecurity in the year 1585. and that *Dourlans*, *Orleans*, *Bourges*, and *Montereau* ſhould be added unto them: that the King ſhould give the Duke of *Guiſe* a Patent to command the Forces of the whole Kingdom, being to be ſuperiour unto all in Arms and all men ſubject to his obedience: that the King ſhould take a courſe to remove the Sieur *de Bernay* (enemy to the Duke of *Aumale*) from the Government of *Boulogne*, which ſhould be put into the hands of ſome ſuch Gentleman of the Province as was miſtruſted by neither party; that *Valence* in *Dauphine*, and the Caſtle thereof, which had been ſeiſed upon by

The Conditions of Peace between the King and the League.

1588. Monſieur *de Valette*, upon occaſion of the late commotions, ſhould be reſtored to the Sieur *de Jeſſan* the former Governour: that the Deputies choſen by the Pariſians after the tumult, ſhould be approved and confirmed by the King: and finally, that in *October* next enſuing, the States-General ſhould be aſſembled at *Blois*, to cauſe the Edict of the Catholick Union to be Sworn unto, to receive the Councel of *Trent*, and confirm the authority granted to the Duke of *Guiſe*. Concerning Monſieur *d'O*, Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, the Mareſchal *de Byron* and the reſt, there was no mention at all made: for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and his Brother *la Valette* being removed, theſe ſeemed not to have either ſtrength or authority ſufficient to oppoſe the ſo formidable power of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who thought already that he ruled and governed all things, nor did he deſign any longer to reflect upon any that were not his equals.

The Articles concluded and confirmed, the King, impatient of any delay that might retard the effects of his ſecret counſels, preſently ſent forth his Letters patents into all Provinces and ſeveral Bailages, to appoint the Aſſembly of the States in *October* following at *Blois*, which place he thought more fit for his purpoſe then any other, as well becauſe it was far from *Paris*, and near thoſe Towns which were held by the Hugonots, as for the conveniency and greatneſs of the Caſtle, but moſt of all becauſe the people were at his devotion, far from any commerce or intelligence with the League: and that his example might invite the Deputies which were to be elected not to delay time, he departed from *Rouen* a very few dayes after, and went toward *Chartres*, that from thence he might go afterward to the place appointed. Being come to *Mante*, a Town upon the Road from *Rouen* to *Chartres*, the Queen-mother and the Queen his Wife met him, with whom, having ſtayed there the ſpace of two dayes, the Queen-mother returned toward *Paris*, to bring the Duke of *Guiſe* to Court, and the King continued his journey toward *Chartres*, to ſtay there till the reſt of the Court came up to him.

The Duke of *Guiſe* goes with the Q. Mother to *Chartres* to the King and is received by him with great demonſtrations of honour in appearance.

Not many dayes after the Queen-mother came thither with the Duke of *Guiſe*, attended by a more ſumptuous then numerous Train, with ſhew of great humility towards the King's Perſon, but with a preſumptuous heart and countenance, puffed up with ſpirits of a moſt aſſured power; and which imported moſt, by thoſe things he had atchieved and obtained, become not onely glorious among his own friends, but alſo admired and terrible to theſe that held and followed the King's party: which, as it was not unknown to the King, by reaſon of his quick-ſightedneſs, and the ſuſpicion of his nature, ſo did it with wonderful impatience increaſe his deſire to ſee him ruined: but covering his thoughts with quite different words and geſtures, he ſeemed both in ſmall and great matters to be ſincerely reconciled to him, and that for the time to come he would proceed according to his Counſels, and lay the whole foundation of his Government upon his valour and prudence; to which end he preſently cauſed the Edict of the *Union* to be publiſhed in his Councel, and ſworn to by every one, and the War againſt the Hugonots to be openly proclaimed: for the proſecution whereof, according to the Articles of Peace, two ſeveral Armies were appointed; one in *Dauphine*, under the Duke of *Mayenne*; the other in *Poictou*, whereof the King declared *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers* his General; and for both, the neceſſary Commiſſions were inſtantly diſpatched, to raiſe Regiments of Horſe, and to draw Foot-forces together. After this firſt point, followed the other of greater conſequence: for without delay the new power of the Duke of *Guiſe* was eſtabliſhed in the Councel, publiſhed in the Parliament of *Paris*, and ſummed up in his former title of *Grand Maiſtre*, which (except the expreſs name of Lieutenant-General) contained all that power which is wont to be attributed to that dignity, the command of all Armies whereſoever he ſhould be in perſon, the authority of High-Conſtable in muſtering and paying the *Militia*, the power of limiting and putting the price upon Proviſions, the protection of the common People, the Puniſhment of outrages committed by Soldiers, and other circumſtances of this nature; which, after the King's own Perſon, placed the Duke in the higheſt authority of command, and ſetled him in that Power which the Maſters of the Palace were wont anciently to have in the times of thoſe Kings that were of the Stock of *Merouee*. Nor did the King fail to ſhew the ſame inclination to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*; for by the conſent, and with the Authority of his Council, he declared him Firſt Prince of the Blood, granting him the Priviledge of creating Maſters in all Arts, and that his ſervants ſhould enjoy the ſame exemptions as the King's, which things did in this manner as it were declare him the lawful Succeſſor to the Crown.

To

To these great and important matters, others of less consequence were added also; the King's Familiarity with the Duke of *Guise*, his veneration of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the favours, which by their means, he daily granted to divers persons; the alienating of his old favourites, his secret and confident discourses with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Sieur *de la Chastre*, *Bassompiere*, and other intimate friends of the Duke of *Guise*, and principal followers of the League, and many other such like things, which, as evident signes of the King's good inclination, served, in the mean time, to cover the hidden web of his more real designs; to the continuance whereof he was much excited by the Pope's demonstrations, who moved with the Duke of *Guise*'s success, in driving the Germans out of the Kingdom, and dissipating their Army with so much facility, had written Letters to him full of infinite praises, comparing him to those holy *Maccabees*, the defenders of the People of *Israel*, so highly extolled in the Sacred Scripture, and exhorting him to continue successfully and gloriously to fight for the advancement of the Church, and the total extirpation of the Hugonots. Which Letters, to increase the Duke's fame and reputation, were by his Dependents caused to be printed and divulged in *Paris*, with as much applause of the people, as anger and trouble in the King, who could no way be pleased that another should have more credit and authority in his Kingdom then he himself; and therefore the expressions of the Pope, and opinion of the Court of *Rome*, kept his mind beyond measure in perplexity, as well in regard of his Conscience, as for other important respects and consequences. From the displeasure received by those Letters, he began to proceed to a remedy, not onely to divert the Pope's deliberations, but also to bring to pass, that in the belief of the World he might not be esteemed to have so little correspondence with the Apostolick Sea, and to be in so little awe of the holy Catholick Church.

1588.

Pope *Sixtus Quintus* writes congratulatory Letters to the D. of *Guise* full of high praises.

The Pope desired to have to do in these businesses that passed in *France*, and as much as possibly he could, to promote the enterprise of the Catholicks against the Hugonots: for which purpose he was minded to chuse a Legat, who might be present at that famous Convention of the States, and (understanding what concerned the interest of the Apostolick Sea, with the Duke of *Guise* and Cardinal of *Bourbon*) might sollicite the King about the assembling of them, about the declaring of the War against the King of *Navarre*, but most of all, that he, and all those of his Family, as being manifestly guilty of Heresie, might be judged incapable of ever coming to the Crown: yet because he thought he saw not clearly into the affairs of that Kingdom, and was not very sure what the ends of the League might be, he was doubtful unto what person he should commit the charge of that business, desiring neither utterly to alienate the King's mind, nor to displease the Duke of *Guise*, and thinking it a matter of so great importance as required a man of singular prudence and ability to manage it. But he was not resolved of his choice till the King being advertised beforehand by the Ambassador *Pisani*, sounded the bottom of his design: whereupon, desiring to have such a one as he might trust, and not one wholly devoted to the pleasure of the League, he used all possible endeavours, trying the most powerful means of that Court, to procure that *Giovan Francesco Moresini*, a Senator of *Venice*, Bishop of *Brescia*, who then resided in the Kingdom as the Pope's Nuncio, might be chosen Legat; a man truly of so much worth, as being well informed of the present affairs, was not a little acceptable to the King, and yet not altogether distrusted by the Duke of *Guise*, in regard of the dexterity wherewith he knew how to behave himself with every body. The Pope disliked not the Nuncio, because he knew him, and esteemed him a man of singular wisdom, and because having been employed in the Government of his Republick, he believed him no less experienc'd in State-affairs; and besides, that being a *Noble Venetian*, and by consequence well-affected to the Crown of *France*, he thought he would not cast himself inconsiderately as a prey unto the League, the Pope desiring he should hold the balance even, and not favour the Duke of *Guise*'s designes more then the service of the Catholick Religion, and of the Roman Church required. But though the King was much pleased with the person of the Legat, who at that very time was created Cardinal; yet was he beyond measure displeased that the Pope gave account of his Election to the Lords of the League, exhortiug them to communicate and consider of their counsels with him; and that the Letters concerning it were printed and published by the League, with their usual pride: and yet this consideration had not so much power over his mind, but that dissembling his disgust, he sought by all possible ways to gain the Legat, to the end that that by his means he might be the better

The Pope thought he saw not clearly into the affairs of the League.

The Pope chuseth *Giovan Francesco Moresini* Bishop of *Bergamo*, Legat to the Congregation of the States, he being much desired by the King, to whom he was Nuncio At the same time he is made Cardinal.

1588. able to juſtifie his own actions to the Pope, and by degrees to take off the favour and aſſiſtance which he ſeemed to lend unto the enterprize of the League.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* is conſpired againſt at *Angouleſme*, Secretary *Villeroy* fomenting the buſineſs upon a ſecret order from the King.

Theſe things buſied the Court, when news was brought of a Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon* at *Angouleſme*, whereby he was very like to have been ſuddenly ruined: for the King's Letters being come (though late) wherein he commanded, that he ſhould not be received nor admitted into the poſſeſſion of that Government, ſome of the City, who (as mens affections are different) were not much pleaſed to ſee him there, and who were eaſily perſwaded they ſhould do the King acceptable ſervice, if they could drive him from that poſſeſſion, diſpatched one of their confidents ſtraight to Court unto Secretary *Villeroy*, to know the King's intention more particularly, and to give notice that they would venture either to drive him out of the City, or take him priſoner, though he ſtayed continually in the Caſtle, a place very ſecure, and well fortified. This man's Propoſition was not unpleaſing unto *Villeroy*, who, by reaſon of his enmity with the Duke, and becauſe he had received commiſſion to write the aforeſaid Letters, thought that the occaſion complyed exceedingly with the King's deſire, and therefore ſpake of it to the King himſelf; who beginning to diſtruſt *Villeroy*, of whom he was very jealous, would not declare his pleaſure openly in the buſineſs; but to the end he might not ſound into his moſt ſecret thoughts, wherein he ſtill loved and truſted the Duke of *Eſpernon* as much as he was wont, ſaid that he ſhould not be ſorry to ſee him driven out of *Angouleſme*, or brought priſoner into his power, ſo that his life might not be in danger: which words being ſpoken coldly by him, were hotly urged by the Secretary to the Meſſenger of the Conſpiratours, who being a while after admitted into the King's Cloſet, and known by him, had Commiſſion to be referred to ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive from the Secretary; who, though he would not give him any thing in writing, yet he commanded that they ſhould endeavour without fail to get the Duke of *Eſpernon* alive into their hands, or drive him from the City, affirming, that it was his Majeſties effectual deſire, and that by ſo doing they might very much oblige him. The Conſpiratours much quickned, both by the relation of *Villeroy*, different enough from the King s coldneſs, and by the addition which (as the cuſtom is) the Meſſenger made both of words and actions; to ſhew themſelves able executors of their promiſe, talked not onely of taking the Duke alive, but of killing him if they could not get him otherwiſe; and having conferred of the buſineſs with the Sieurs *de Mere*, *de la Meſſeliere*, the Viſcount of *Aubeterre*, and ſome other Gentlemen of the Country, upon the tenth day of *Auguſt*, being the Feaſt of *St. Laurence*, they ran ſuddenly to the Caſtle, and having taken poſſeſſion of the Gate, the Guards not having the leaſt ſuſpition, they went on to the Duke's moſt private lodgings, and there fell upon his ſervants that were in the ante-chamber, while he in the Room within was talking with the Sieur *de Marivaut*, and the Abbot *del Bene*. Here the reſiſtance of a few, ſtopt the violence of many: for *Raphaello Gieronimi* a Florentine, defended the entry of the door a great while, with the death of three of the Conſpiratours, till he loſt his life, being ſhot with a Piſtol: when he was dead, *Sorlin* the Duke's Chirurgion, oppoſing the Enemies moſt ſtoutly, though he were grievouſly wounded, and with a loud voice calling up the Family (which was in the lower Room) to joyn in the defence, ſtayed the fury of the aſſailants, while the Duke, and they that were with him, having ſhut the door of the Chamber, and made it up with Trunks and Cheſts which they found there, had time to defend their lives againſt ſo ſudden a violence. In the mean time, while theſe fought at the Chamber-door, the Duke's Gentlemen (among which *Lancillotty di Nores* a Cyprian, firſt of all) having heard the noiſe, and taken Armes, recovered the Gate of the Caſtle; where the Sieurs *d' Ambleville* and *l' Artigues* ſtaying to defend it, the reſt ran armed upon the ſtaires, and having found the Conſpiratours, who ſtrove as much as poſſibly they could to get into the Chamber, cut them all in pieces, except one of the Conſuls of the City, whom they laid hands on and took alive. The Duke having put on his Armes, came forth of the Chamber, and with his ſervants ſtood undauntedly upon his defence; and being come into the Court, where the clamour encreaſed, he with his own hand ſlew the Conſul's brother, who was got thither, having ſcaled the Caſtle-walls, with ſome others that had armed themſelves to relieve their Friends. There they took five more of the chief Citizens priſoners, who were got in by the ſame means; and in that manner the furious aſſault of the Conſpirators

was

was repulſed. In the mean time, at the ringing of the *Toqueſaint*, all the People in the City were raiſed, the chief whereof ran to ſeiſe upon the Duke's Lady, who, not ſuſpecting any thing, was gone to Maſs in the great Church. The Conſpirators received new ſupplies every minute by the Gentry, who knowing the buſineſs, came in to them; wherefore being increaſed in ſtrength and courage, they preſently ſet things in order to aſſault the Caſtle. But the Duke and they that were with him defended it valiantly, and by threatning to kill the priſoners that were in their hands, who were perſons of note, and principal men among the Citizens, they kept the people in awe till the Sieur *de Tagens* came up with his *Gens d' Armes*, who being quartered hard by, made haſte preſently at the noiſe which was heard a great way off in the Fields: at his arrival the people were affrighted, and the Heads of the Conſpiracy being diſmayed, at laſt, by means of the Biſhop of the City, and of the Abbot *del Bene*, they agreed that the Priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, the Dutcheſs likewiſe reſtored, the Gentlemen that were of the Conſpiracy put out of the City. and the Duke as before acknowledged Governour for the King, who ſhewing much courage in defending himſelf, and much moderation after the Agreement, did quickly extinguiſh that fire which had like ſuddenly to have conſumed him. 1588.

The news of this buſineſs put Secretary *Villeroy* abſolutely out of the King's favour, who would not believe, if the Meſſenger from the Citizens of *Angouleſme* had been anſwered as doubtfully and coldly in that matter as he intended, that ever they would have dared to go ſo far as to attempt even againſt the Duke's life, he having expreſly forbidden them to do any ſuch thing, but thought for certain that Secretary *Villeroy*, laying hold of that occaſion, had made uſe of it to wreak the open enmity and bitter hatred which he bore the Duke of *Eſpernon*; wherefore fretting within himſelf, believing that he was ſurrounded on every ſide by Miniſters, that were ſway'd with paſſion and intereſts, and condemning their too much wiſdom, whereby they ſearched even into the marrow of his thoughts, he remembred the example of his Grand-father, who in the later times of his Reign had put away from him all thoſe old Miniſters of State which were become ſuſpected for their too much wiſdom, and had imployed men of great integrity, but ſuch as were not of too high an underſtanding, from whom he had received better and more fruitful ſervice, then from thoſe that were grown old in the prudence and experience of affairs. With this thought, as ſoon as he was gone from *Chartres*, to continue his journey towards *Blois*, where he had determined to accompliſh the end of his deſigns, he diſmiſſed from Court the Sieurs *de Pinart*, and *Brulart*, his old Secretaries of State, and ſent *Benois* his truſty Cabinet-Secretary, to tell the High-Chancellor *Chiverny* Monſieur *Bellieure*, and the Sieur *de Villeroy*, who were gone to their houſes to order their affairs, and return, that the King ſatisfied with the pains they had already taken, commanded them to return no more to Court; which order was received and executed by *Bellieure* with great moderation; the High Chancellor laboured in vain to juſtifie himſelf, and to get leave to return; and the Sieur *de Villeroy*, though he obeyed, ſhewed nevertheleſs a great ſenſe of grief, thinking that his long toil and ſervices happily performed, were unjuſtly deſpiſed, and too ungratefully requited. In the place of the High-Chancellor, the King (as the cuſtome is) choſe *Francois de Monthelon*, his Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, to be * *Garde des Seaux*, a man of great integtity. and honeſt intentions; but not much accuſtomed to matters of Government, wherein, till that time, he had had very little or nothing to do: *Martin Ruzay*, Sieur *de Beaulieu*, and *Lowis de Rouel* were made Secretaries of State, both men of unblemiſhed reputation, faithful, diſ-intereſſed, and bred up in his ſervice from their youth, but not eſteemed to have too great a reach in affairs of Government and matters of State. On this manner he thought he had taken away from about him (as he ſaid) the prying Foxes eyes, and that he had aſſured himſelf he ſhould receive faithful and ſufficient ſervice, ſo that his Miniſters ſhould not ſearch deeper into his deſignes, then he of his own voluntary accord was pleaſed to impart unto them

The King, according to the example of his Grand-father, diſmiſſeth many old ſervants for their too much wiſdom.

In the place of the High-Chancellour *Chiverny*, *Francois* Sieur *de Monthelon* is choſen *Garde de Seaux*.

* *Lord Keeper.*

By this novelty the whole Court was transformed not onely in ſhew, but alſo in the form and manner of Government; for the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoformerly was wont to have but ſmall ſhare in the Councel, ſeemed now to moderate all the reſolutions of it; and together with him the Arch-biſhop of *Lyons*, and the Sieur *de la Chaſtre* his near Dependents were held in very great eſteem: and, in the Cabinet-Councel, where the Queen-Mother was wont to bear all the ſway, now,

by

1588. by reaſon of the King's ſuſpitions, her part was not very much; and all the old Confidents being excluded, onely the Mareſcal *d'Aumont*, Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, and the Sieur *de Rambouillet* had the King's ear, and were the onely partakers of his moſt intimate determinations. The Duke of *Nevers* alſo, who, in former times, had been ſuſpected and hated by him, had now great power with the King, who was now become different from himſelf. Nor was he ſo much moved to it by the fame of his wiſdom, and experience, which was generally known, as becauſe he was an emulator, and a ſecret enemy of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s greatneſs; in ſo much, that though they were Brothers-in-law, their Wives being Siſters, yet could not the one brook the others advancement; and now the Duke of *Nevers* his inward animoſity was ſo much the more increaſed, by ſeeing that the Duke of *Guiſe*, having obtained the power of Lieutenant-General, ruled all, and commanded every one: which being known unto the King, and he deſiring reciprocally to blow the fire of their hatred, had declared the Duke of *Nevers* General of the Army that was to go into *Poictou* and *Guienne*, to ſet them ſo much the more againſt one another, and, to the end that their emulation might grow from thoughts to deeds; becauſe on the one ſide, he knew *Nevers* would never endure to obey *Guiſe*; and on the other, that *Guiſe* (to tread down *Nevers*, and becauſe he was jealous of him) would not fail to go unto the Army: Whereupon their ſecret heart-burnings would break forth into open diſcord and diſſention. To avoid which, though the Duke of *Nevers* foreſeeing the ſame, tryed by all excuſes, of his age, indiſpoſition, and other occaſions, to decline that charge, yet the King would never conſent to confer it upon any other; thinking alſo, that was no convenient time to truſt the Command of an Army in the hands of a perſon whom he ſuſpected. By theſe Arts the mindes of both parties being more kindled againſt each other, the King was ſtill ſecretly informed by the Duke of *Nevers* concerning all particulars that might make to the Duke of *Guiſe*'s diſadvantage, whereby it came to paſs, that he who before was ſuſpected, became now his abſolute Confident.

With theſe practices the Court arrived at *Blois* the ſeven and twentieth day of *September*, where the Deputies of the Provinces were already met together; in whoſe election, though both parties had taken much pains, yet the dependents of the League did much exceed; for the Order of the Clergy, drawn by the intereſts of Religion, did, in a manner, wholly incline to that ſide, and the Order of Commons, exaſperated by the heavineſs of impoſitions, and whoſe end it was to cauſe them to be removed, did willingly joyn with the King's Enemies, who promiſed, nay profeſſed, they would eaſe the people of the exceſſive weight of Contributions, and among the Nobility were many neerly intereſſed with the Houſe of *Lorain* and the League; whereby the King perceived plainly at the very firſt, that in this Congregation the Duke of *Guiſe* would captivate all mens opinions, and obtain all his own deſires. But being diſpoſed to go another way, and deſiring to ſatisfie all humours, having received the Deputies indifferently, with great ſignes of apparent good will to all, he compoſed his mind to make ſhew, that he had ſetled all the hope of his own quiet, and of the ſafety of the Kingdom in thoſe remedies which were to be applyed by the States. Wherefore, intending to begin a buſineſs, which he fained to eſteem of ſo great conſequence, with wonderful great ſtate and preparation, upon Sunday the ſecond of *October* he cauſed a ſolemn proceſſion to be made, in which he himſelf being preſent, with all the Princes, all the Court, and all the Deputies of every order in their places, the Sacrament was carried with exceeding pomp through the Streets, which, for that purpoſe, were all hung with Tapiſtry; high Maſs was ſung with ſhow of profound and ſincere devotion in every one; and the Sunday after, being the ninth day of the Moneth, the King himſelf and the Duke of *Guiſe*, with all the Deputies received the Communion publickly in the Church of St. *Francis*, confirming, by that holy pious action, the correſpondence, and reciprocal intelligence which they ſhewed, to perfect the happineſs of the Kingdom, for which end they profeſſed that the States-General were come together.

The Aſſembly of States-General called at *Blois*, upon the agreement between the King and the League begins with extraordinary preparations.

The Aſſembly began upon the third Sunday, being the ſixteenth day of the moneth; when preſently after dinner, all thoſe being met in the Great Hall of the Caſtle, who ought to be preſent at ſo ſolemn a Convention, the King ſate down in a Throne raiſed by many ſteps from the earth, and covered with a very rich Cloth of State; the Queens, Princes, Cardinals, Peers, and Officers of the Crown, ſate upon ſeats fitted for that purpoſe, in two long rowes, on the right hand, and on the left; and between them, in the inner

inner part of the Theater, ſate the Deputies, according to the antient preeminence of their degrees; and the Duke of *Guiſe*, as *Grand Maiſtre*, with his Staff of Office in his hand, ſate down upon a ſtool at the foot of the State on the right hand; and on the left ſate the Sieur *de Monthelon*, who repreſented the perſon of the High-Chancellor of the Kingdom. 1588.

When every one was ſetled in his place and order, the King accompanied with a Royal Majeſty and ſingular eloquence, gave beginning to the aſſembly of the States with a long elegant Oration; wherein, atteſting his moſt earneſt deſires of the good and welfare of his People, and ſhewing the dangerous troubleſome condition wherein inteſtine diſcords and private intereſts had involved the Crown, he exhorted every one of them effectually to lay aſide their paſſions, to forget their enmities, to avoid the animoſity of Factions; and, providing by convenient remedies for the publick need, and the quiet of all men in particular, to reunite themſelves ſincerely and principally under his obedience; forſaking all Novelties, condemning all Leagues, Practices, Intelligences, and intereſſed Communications, which both within and without the Kingdom, had diſturbed both him their lawful and natural Soveraign, and the mind and tranquillity of all good men: for as he pardoned and would forget all that was paſt; ſo for the time to come he would not endure it, but account it as an act of abſolute Treaſon: And inſiſting upon that Propoſition, he enlarged himſelf a long time; concluding with grave and effectual words, That as he ſincerely laboured for the good of his Subjects, and reſolved to perſecute and tread down Hereſie, to favour thoſe that were good, to reſtore the ſplendour and force of Juſtice, to advance Religion, to uphold the Nobility, and to disburden the common people: ſo he earneſtly prayed and conjured every one of them, to aſſiſt him with their good Counſels and ſincere intentions, in that ſo neceſſary regulation of all things: for if they ſhould do otherwiſe, minding intelligences and particular practices, and conſenting to the intereſts of factious men, they would ſtain themſelves with perfidiouſneſs and Treachery, and would be brought to give an account of it before God's Tribunal, making themſelves guilty and blame-worthy to humane juſtice, with the perpetual infamy of their names unto poſterity.

The King begins the Aſſembly with a fine Speech, which ſtings the Duke of *Guiſe* and his adherents.

This Speech of the King's ſtung the Duke of *Guiſe* to the quick, and all thoſe of his party; and ſo much the more, when they ſaw him reſolved to have it Printed: wherefore the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* endeavoured to diſſwade him from it, ſaying, that it was better to loſe a few words, though never ſo elegantly compoſed, then to loſe the hearts of many of his Subjects, who felt themſelves injured, thinking that he had not forgotten what was paſt, but would tax them in the preſence of all *France*, and condemn them of perfidiouſneſs and Rebellion. Yet notwithſtanding that, the King would have it known to all men what he had ſaid to the Congregation of the States; and cauſed his Speech to be Printed, which ſerved wonderfully afterward to excuſe thoſe things that followed. Some have written, that the King, perſwaded by the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, had cut off many things from the Preſs, and taken away many words which he had ſpoken in his Oration: But I my ſelf, who was preſent, and heard every word very near, can certainly affirm, that as much was Printed as was ſpoken; but the expreſſions being quickned by the efficacy of his action and tone of his voice, were much more ſharp and moving then when they came forth in Print, wanting that life and ſpirit with which they were delivered.

After the King's Speech followed the Oration of Monſieur *de Monthelon*, *Garde des Seaux*, who, according to the ordinary cuſtom, praiſing the King's intention, repeated at large the ſame things which he had ſpoken: To which, with demonſtrations of great humility and obedience, the * Archbiſhop of *Bourges* anſwered for the Order of the Clergy; the Baron *de Seneſchay* for the Nobility; and the * *Prevoſt des Merchands* of *Paris* for the third Order of Commons: After which Replies, the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the ſecond Seſſion adjourned till the Tueſday following.

*Monthelon* the *Garde des Seaux* proſecutes and amplifies the King's Speech.
* *Renaud de Beaune.*
* *Michel Marteau.*

That day was famous for the Oath which the States took, to receive for a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, that Edict of the Union which the King had publiſhed in the Moneth of *July* before, whereby reuniting to himſelf all his Catholick Subjects of the Kingdom, he ſwore to perſevere till death in the Roman Catholick Religion, to promote the increaſe and preſervation of it, to employ all his Forces for the rooting out of Hereſie, never to permit that any Heretick or favourer of Hereſie ſhould Reign; not to elect into Places and Dignities any but ſuch perſons as made conſtant profeſſion of the Roman Catholick Religion, and would have all his Subjects to Swear and promiſe

1588. promiſe the ſame; who being ſo reunited unto him, he forbade to joyn themſelves in League or company with any others, under pain of Treaſon, and being held violaters of the Oath they had taken; with other particulars, wherein, aboliſhing the memory of all things paſt, he made himſelf Head of the Catholick League and Union, and incorporated all the Orders in their proper natural obedience. The circumſtances of this Oath were remarkable; for the King himſelf ſpoke concerning it with grave and fitting Speeches, and the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* made an Exhortation to the States, ſhewing the greatneſs and obligation of the Oath which they were to take; *Beaulieu* the new Secretary of State inrolled an Act of that Oath, in memory of ſo ſolemn an action: after it was done, they gave thanks to God publikly in the Church of *St. Saviour*: all which demonſtrations, which many thought were uſed to extinguiſh the memory of things that were paſt, ſerved after to excuſe and authoriſe thoſe things that were to come: for notwithſtanding all theſe obligations, whereby the adherents to the League bound themſelves to forſake all former attempts and machinations, and to tie themſelves ſincerely in obedience to the King, and notwithſtanding all his Proteſtations in the publick Aſſembly of the States, to forget what was paſt, but ſeverely to revenge the future, they did not at all ſlacken their pretenſions and contrivances, but purſued them with effectual practices; and the Duke of *Guiſe* aſpired to the expreſs name of Lieutenant-General, which he had not been able to obtain from the King, though he had gotten almoſt the ſame power to be joyned to his former title of *Grand Maiſtre*; and the reſt ceaſed not to treat with the States, that the Government might be reformed in ſuch manner, as leaving unto the King onely the name and outſide of a Prince, the ſum of buſineſſes might be managed by the Duke and his Dependents of the League: and even the Deputies of the States mingling themſelves in the intereſts of the Factions, plotted and laboured for the ſame things, without any regard to ſo many and ſo ſolemn Oaths, and with manifeſt ſcorn and contempt to the King's Name, Perſon, and Majeſty: Wherefore the event plainly ſhewed the art the King had uſed in the Aſſembly of the States: for knowing the obſtinacy of the Confederates, he by the bonds of publick Oaths, Acts and Ceremonies (which, in appearance, redounded all in favour of the League, but ſecretly contained a moſt ſharp ſting againſt it) cunningly ſpread the net to catch them in thoſe faults and crimes wherewith they had proteſted not to ſtain themſelves for the time to come, and which he had declared that he would ſeverely puniſh and chaſtiſe.

The King and the States ſwear in ſolemn manner to perform the Edict made before, of perſevering in the Catholick Religion.

There wanted not many who believed, that if the Duke and the Deputies, with the other Heads of the League, had, after theſe Oaths, given over the enterprize they had begun, and having laid aſide their private intereſts and old paſſions, had proceeded ſincerely for the future; the King, alwayes of a good intention and milde nature, would yet at that time have forgotten all that was paſſed, and have let alone the Houſe of *Guiſe*; But the Duke, either not diſcovering, or deſpiſing that policy, being tranſported with the proſperity of his affairs, and ſeeing the greater part of the Deputies were inclined and ready to favour his greatneſs, ſtrove with all his utmoſt forces to bring matters to that point, which from the beginning he had propounded to himſelf. The conſtant report was, that he inwardly aſpired to that power, which the **Maſters of the Palace* in old time were wont to have; while the Kings ſtanding but for ſhadows or ciphers, and leading a ſoft idle courſe of life, left the Authority of the Government wholly unto them: whereby it came to paſs, in proceſs of time, that King *Chilperic*, a man of an effeminate nature, being deprived of his Crown, and put into a Monaſtery to lead a private life, *Charles Martell*, and afterwards his ſon *Pepin*, *Maſters of the Palace*, (in whoſe hands the Government and the Forces did reſide) at laſt aſſumed the name and Majeſty of King, robbing thoſe of it, to whom of right it did belong. Thoſe that were intereſſed, openly ſaid, that the example of things paſt, was very appoſite for the preſent affairs; for the King ſeemed to have ſhewed no leſs tokens of an effeminate minde, and of a ſoft idle nature, then *Chilperic*; and the Duke of *Guiſe*, by his late Victories, and the height of his underſtanding, was eſteemed not inferiour in worth and valour, to what *Pepin* or *Charles Martell* were in thoſe times: and though he was not of the Blood-Royal, (as the *Maſters of the Palace* formerly were wont to be) yet the intereſts of Religion, to which his deſigns were nearly united, gave him a marvellous opportunity to deprive the Houſe of *Bourbon* of the Succeſſion of the Crown, and to transfer it upon himſelf or his poſterity, under colour that neceſſity ſo required, leſt the moſt Chriſtian Crown ſhould fall into the hands of Hereticks and Excom-

The common opinion, that the Duke of *Guiſe* aſpired to the authority which the Maſters of the Palace were wont to have.

* *Les Maires du Palais.*

*Chilperic* King of *France*, of an effeminate nature, put into a Monaſtery by *Charles Martel*, and *Pepin* Maſters of the Palace.

excommunicated perſons. To this end it was whiſpered that he aimed to be declared Lieutenant-General, not by the King, but by the States, with ſupreme Authority, that he might make uſe of it no leſs to bridle the power of the King himſelf, who he doubted would return unto his cuſtom of Governing, than to ſuppreſs the Houſe of *Bourbon:* for cauſing the King of *Navarre* to be declared incapable of the Crown by the States themſelves, and by conſequence the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be lawful Succeſſour, it came jointly to paſs, that he who was decrepid with old age, dying within a while, the Royal Line would thereby be extinct, and the reſt of that Houſe excluded as ſuſpected of Hereſie, and incapable; and then that the Duke, born up by the applauſe of the people, and ſtrengthened with thoſe Forces which would be in his power, could have no obſtacle in obtaining the election of his own perſon, and his poſterity to the Crown, either during the life of the King himſelf, or at leaſt after his death, if to ſhew the greater modeſty he would defer it ſo long: howſoever, the King being a man of a diſſolute life, a profuſe nature, a ſuſpicious humour, and not beloved of the people, they talked among themſelves, that by degrees he, as another *Chilperic*, might be ſhut up for ever within the walls of a Monaſtery. 1588.

Theſe things were ſpoken in a manner publickly. But the Kings nature and inclination were ſo different from that of *Chilperic*, that the Duke of *Guiſe* was deceived by them, whether he really had ſuch thoughts, or that his aim was only to ſecure himſelf and Religion, which he could not do, if he did not ſettle himſelf in a certain permanent greatneſs: wherefore having directed all his counſels to that end, that he might perfectly win the love and affections of the people, he laboured before all other things to ſet the buſineſs on foot of leſſening the Taxes and Impoſitions, making himſelf the author of that moſt important motion. The King oppoſed it, as did alſo not a few of the wiſeſt among the Deputies, alledging that they were contrary things, To ſettle ſo frequent reſolutions of making an obſtinate War, of raiſing ſo many Armies, of daily entering new Souldiers into pay, with perpetual proteſtations never to lay down arms without an abſolute Victory; and on the other ſide, by weakning and deſtroying the Kings revenues, to cut the ſinews of the War, and after ſo many brags, to reduce themſelves to a neceſſity of condeſcending, for want of money, to a diſadvantageous diſhonourable Peace. But the intereſt of the Order of the Commons was ſo great, their inclination ſo precipitate, and the Duke of *Guiſe*'s authority ſo powerful, that notwithſtanding that ſo evident reaſon, it was at laſt reſolved that they ſhould demand of the King a moderation of the Taxes, an abatement of the new Impoſt, which amounted to the ſum of two millions of Gold *per annum*, the reformation of many Offices erected to bring in money, and the total taking away of many other grievances

The Propoſition of receiving the Council of *Trent* made in the Aſſembly of the States-General, is rejected with great contradiction.

But the Duke of *Guiſe* having tried his own ſtrength, and found his power with the Deputies, being much augmented in courage, and grown in favour, by that reſolution which he had luckily carried againſt the Kings will, propounded to himſelf for a ſecond attempt, to make the States receive the Council of *Trent*, as a moſt powerful engine not only to deſtroy and exclude the Hugonots for ever, but alſo to cauſe the King of *Navarre* and the reſt of the Houſe of *Bourbon* to be declared uncapable of the Succeſſion: but this was no ſuch plauſible matter as the other was, but ſuſpected, not only to the Nobility by reaſon of the liberty of their lives, but alſo to a great many of the Clergy, who feared to loſe the immunities and priviledges of the Gallique Church. Wherefore though the King, by nature an Enemy to Hereſie, conſented willingly unto it, hoping alſo thereby to gain the Popes good will, which he ſuſpected by reaſon of thoſe things he intended to put in execution; and though the Cardinals who were there preſent ſtickled much in the buſineſs, and that the Duke of *Guiſe* applied all his endeavours to it, yet the contradiction of the Deputies, and of many of the Clergy, was ſo great, that it being impoſſible to be carried, the reſolution was referred till another time.

But the Duke of *Guiſe*, not at all diſcouraged, conſidering that the reaſon why that Propoſition had not taken effect, was becauſe every one feared to be conſtrained in their Conſciences, would needs (without that previous preparation) venture boldly upon one ſtep higher, and cauſed to be propounded in the States, that the King of *Navarre* and the reſt of his Family being guilty or ſuſpected of Hereſie, ſhould by a Declaration be made uncapable of ever coming to the Succeſſion of the Crown. And indeed, contrary to the opinion of many, who eſteemed it an impoſſible buſineſs,

1588. by reaſon of the veneration which was wont to be ſhewed to the *Salique Laws*, and to the Line of the Blood-Royal, this determination proved very eaſie; for though the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, one of the Preſidents of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, did obliquely oppoſe it, as an unſeaſonable propoſition, while the King in the flower of his age might yet poſſibly have a Son; yet the Clergy concluded, that the King of *Navarre* by name, and all others ſuſpected of hereſie, ſhould be declared incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown, and that this was conformable to the meaning and doctrine of the holy Canons, and expedient for the ſafety of mens ſouls, and for the preſervation of the Church of God: this being ſo reſolved, the other two Orders of the Nobility and Commons (the followers of the League uſing their utmoſt power) determined likewiſe that in this matter it was good to refer themſelves to the Clergy, and that therefore they ſhould conſent to their deciſion, which as ſoon as it was concluded, *Guilliaume d' Alancon* Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, with ſix Deputies of every Order, preſented this Vote of the States unto the King, inſiſting that his Majeſty would make it a publick Decree, cauſing it to be read and confirmed in the Aſſembly, which ſhould receive it, and ſwear to it as a fundamental Law: But the King utterly averſe from that inclination, knowing that this was the laſt ſtroak of the Duke of *Guiſe* and the League to eſtabliſh their deſigns abſolutely, ſeemed to praiſe the zeal of the Clergy, and the piety and modeſty of the other Orders in things that concerned Religion; and in ſtead of an Anſwer, gave unto the Deputies a Proteſtation which had been preſented to him from the King of *Navarre*: Who having called a Congregation of thoſe of his party at *Rochel*, had cauſed a Writing to be printed, wherein he demanded the execution of thoſe Edicts and Grants which had been ſo often made to thoſe of his party; the Convocation of a National or Univerſal Council, wherein he might lawfully be inſtructed in thoſe things that were controverted in matter of Faith; and finally he proteſted to count null and invalid whatſoever ſhould be determined againſt him in that Aſſembly at *Blois*; he that having been called to clear himſelf of thoſe things whereof he was accuſed, and that Aſſembly not being compoſed of all the Orders and ſorts of people in the Kingdom, ſince thoſe of his party were not called and admitted to it: nay, he argued that he could never be condemned for an Heretick, as he was openly declared by his Enemies, whilſt he offered to ſubmit himſelf voluntarily to the determination of a free and lawful Council, either National or Univerſal. To which Propoſitions of the King of *Navarre*, the moſt Chriſtian King added, That if Juſtice requires no man ſhould ever be ſentenced nor condemned without being ſummoned, or without hearing his defence, which (by conſent of all learned men) is according to the Law of God, it was not good to decree ſo heavy a ſentence, without giving him warning to anſwer for himſelf, and without hearing his reaſons whatſoever they were; for if the ſentence of an hundred Crowns would be cenſurable, nay void and of no effect, where the party had not been cited and warned to anſwer; much more would a Decree be invalid which concerned ſo weighty, and ſo important a matter as the Succeſſion of a Kingdom. That many of the King of *Navarre*'s reaſons, if they were not altogether true, were at leaſt apparent and ſpecious, which ought not to be pretermitted in a matter of ſo great conſequence, without being particularly diſcuſſed and pondered: That he alledged he had ever offered to ſubmit himſelf to the determination of a Council, and to the inſtruction of grave and learned men: That he claimed the priviledge of Liberty of Conſcience granted to all Frenchmen, from which he ought not to be excluded more than others: That he excuſed the imputation of being relapſed, by the powerful fear, or rather by the violence of the Maſſacre at *Paris*, wherein to ſave his life he had condeſcended to go to Maſs; And that he urged many other things, which were not ſo much to be ſlighted, if for no other reaſon, at leaſt that the Decree of the States might not appear to have been precipitate, and intereſſed, confuſed, diſordered, and void of thoſe reſpects which the ordinary courſe of Juſtice requires even in the ſmalleſt things, much more in the condemning of a perſon of ſo great quality, and in the inheritance of a whole Kingdom: That there was time enough to warn him, and appoint him a hearing, and conveniency ſufficient to proceed legally, ſince that (by the mercy of God) he found himſelf in ſuch a condition of age and health, that the dangers were not urgent, the buſineſs ſhould be ſo ſuddenly determined: Wherefore it befitted ſo grave an Aſſembly, compoſed of the moſt eminent men of the Kingdom, to proceed warily, and go forward in ſuch manner as might not appear to be an indiſcreet, diſorderly zeal, but piety accompanied with judgment and conſtant prudence.

The King is requeſted to declare the King of *Navarre* incapable of the Crown, and all others ſuſpected of hereſie; after much oppoſition he conſents coldly unto it.

The

The Deputies returned the Kings anſwer to their ſeveral Orders but in vain; for the Clergy anſwered, that the King of *Navarre* had many times been admoniſhed, called, and ſummoned by the Queen-Mother, and by meſſengers from former States: that new Councils were not neceſſary, where the univerſal one of *Trent* had condemned the Doctrine which he followed for heretical: that he had been inſtructed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his Uncle, ſo grave a perſonage, and ſo near him in blood, and yet had returned to his firſt opinions in Religion; that finally the Pope had declared him a relapſed Heretick; wherefore it was needleſs to give him any further warning, or to make new diſcuſſions and examinations; and that the determination in hand was not ſo much a determination as an execution; and that therefore neither doubt nor delay was to be interpoſed. To this Declaration of the Clergy the other Orders conſented; and therefore the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* with the ſame Deputies related to the King, that his Anſwer having been debated by the States, they perſiſted in the ſame opinion, and therefore beſeeched his Majeſty to enact it preſently. 1588.

The King ſeeing the obſtinacy of the States, and being reſolved to another concluſion than what every one believed, anſwered, That he agreed to the general Vote, and that he would think of cauſing the Decree to be framed: and in the mean time, to weaken in ſome part the hopes of that attempt, he wrought with Cardinal *Moreſini* the Popes Legat to obtain from *Rome* the abſolution of the Prince of *Conty* and Count of *Soiſſons*, Brothers to the Prince of *Conde* deceaſed; who having lived in the Catholick Religion ever ſince the Maſſacre, had yet gone over to the King of *Navarre*, and had born Arms for him, one in the Battel of *Coutras*, the other in the Conduct of the German Army; but having ſince repented their following of that party, by reaſon of its weakneſs, and for other reſpects, were returned unto the Kings obedience, by whoſe perſwaſions they very ſubmiſſively asked pardon of the Apoſtolick Sea; which humiliation being forwarded by the good aſſiſtance of Cardinal *Moreſini*, who to pleaſe the King and favour the Blood Royal took great pains in the buſineſs, and being helped by the earneſt ſollicitations of the Marqueſs *de Piſani* the Kings Ambaſſador at *Rome*, it was hearkened unto by the Pope, and thoſe Princes received abſolution; which caſt ſome rubs and difficulties in the Duke of *Guiſe*'s hopes, and did partly weaken the ſpecious reaſons of the League.

*The King ſeeing the reſolution of the States againſt the King of Navarre, procures an abſolution at Rome for the Prince of Conty and Count Soiſſons of the Houſe of Bourbon, which much troubles the Duke of Guiſe.*

But while theſe things were in agitation, the mind of the King of *Navarre*, of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and of the States, were all much troubled at the news which was brought unto them, that *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, having entred in an hoſtile manner with an Army into the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, had made himſelf Maſter of it, driving out the Kings Gariſons and Officers. The Duke of *Savoy*, a Youth of a moſt high ſpirit, and much raiſed in his thoughts by his new union with the Catholick King, having married the Infanta *Catherine* his Daughter, had taken a reſolution to poſſeſs himſelf of the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, to which his Anceſtors by ancient ſucceſſion pretended to have much right; wherefore ſeeing the troubles of *France*, and particularly the laſt attempt of the League in the Inſurrection of *Paris*, wherein the Royal Majeſty ſeemed trodden under foot, and the power of that Name quite overthrown, would not neglect ſuch an opportunity, but partly by intelligence, partly by open force, had gotten into his hands *Carmagnola*, and the other Strong-holds of that State, together with great proviſions of Artillery and Ammunition, which as in a Magazine had been left in many of thoſe places ſince the late Wars of *Italy*. But having boldly executed his deſign, and doubting on the one ſide that the French would reſent it, and on the other, that the Princes of *Italy* would not be well pleaſed he preſently diſpatched a Meſſenger to Court to let the King know he had been conſtrained to take that reſolution, not with a thought to offend the Crown of *France*, but to provide againſt the imminent ruine of his own State, in caſe the Hugonots ſhould get footing in the Marqueſate, as *Les-digueres* earneſtly endeavoured; who having made himſelf Maſter of *Caſtel Delfino* in the Alps, had a ſtrong inclination to ſeize upon the Marqueſate, from whence would have inſued the infeſting of *Piedmont*, and thoſe calamities unto himſelf wherein he ſaw *France* involved by the poiſon of Hereſie; and therefore he would keep the Marqueſate until ſuch time as that danger were paſt; and that Juſtice had weighed his reaſons, being ready to reſtore it when the Hugonots of *Dauphine* being rooted out, he ſhould be free from thoſe juſt fears into which that imminent danger had drawn him, and in caſe his reaſons ſhould be found to be unjuſt. He cauſed the ſame

*Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy poſſeſſeth himſelf of the Marqueſate of Saluzzo.*

*Cauſes alledged by the Duke of Savoy in excuſe for his ſurpriſal of the Marqueſate of Saluzzo.*

1588. things to be preſented to the Venetian Senate, to whom as Moderator of the Peace, he knew any ſuch novelty in *Italy* would be infinitely unpleaſing: and the ſame at large were alledged by the Pope; adding to appeaſe him the more, that this was the prologue of a War againſt the City of *Geneva*, as he deſired; and to work upon him, urged the confederacy and intelligence which the King of *France* held with that Commonwealth.

But it was a wonderful thing how much mens minds were diſturbed, and the affairs of the States of *Blois* altered by it: for the King and his adherents ſaid publickly that the Duke of *Savoy* had been encouraged to that boldneſs by ſecret intelligence with the Duke of *Guiſe*, who thought by this means to deprive Monſieur *de la Valette* of the Marqueſate, who was Governour of it: That by that price he had bought the friendſhip of the Duke of *Savoy*, and ſatisfied the Spaniards, who deſired to have that Gate ſhut, thereby to cut off the paſſage of the French Forces into *Italy:* and many among the Nobility believed it conſtantly: ſo that men began to murmur that it was too unjuſt and too unworthy a thing to perſiſt obſtinately wallowing in the blood of Civil Wars, and in the mean time to ſuffer the honour of the Nation to be trodden under foot, and the poſſeſſions of the Crown to be violently taken away by foreign Enemies: That already too much had been done to ſatisfie the ambition of the Great Ones, and to glut the greedineſs of the Factions: That it was now high time to reunite their minds, and join their Forces together, to defend themſelves againſt the inſulting of Foreigners; and that this injury was ſo great, that they ought by no means to defer the taking of a ſpeedy and exemplary revenge. From which popular plauſible reaſons, carried by the favour of the Nobility, who were moved with exceeding great anger, the other Orders alſo reſented it very much: ſo that they ſeemed inclined to lay aſide the thoughts of Civil War, to turn their Forces againſt the Duke of *Savoy*. Many of the moſt underſtanding men thought the Duke of *Guiſe* was not privy to that intent of ſeizing upon the Marqueſate, in that conjuncture of affairs; for the time was not ſeaſonable; and this accident alone diſturbed his deſigns, which were already proſperouſly on their way to the deſired end: yet Fame reported him the Author of that enterpriſe, and the States were reſolved to decree a Foreign War, and to ſlacken or defer their home-bred quarrel with the Hugonots.

This did much afflict the Duke of *Guiſe*, whether he were partaker or no in the ſurpriſal of the Marqueſate: for he perceived that the diverting of thoſe humours, and employing them in a Foreign War, would ſettle the inteſtine paſſions of the Kingdom, and that by conſequence Liberty of Conſcience, Peace, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Hugonots would enſue, whereby ſo many deſigns would be fruſtrated, and ſo many plots ſo long beforehand contrived to ſuppreſs the Calviniſts, and to eſtabliſh his greatneſs upon the ruines of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, would come to nothing; but the War being turned againſt his own Confederates, which were *Spain* and *Savoy*, he ſaw he ſhould by little and little fall from his authority, and that the name and credit of the Princes of the Blood would riſe again, ſince the flouriſhing age of the King might give time to infinite (not yet thought of) changes. But if on the other ſide this thought tormented him, on the other, the reports ſpread abroad by the King ſtruck him very deeply; the univerſal inclination of the States troubled him; and as the Head of a popular Faction, he could not oppoſe nor contradict ſo juſt reaſons, and ſo popular a Cauſe; thinking that the whole foundation of his affairs would fall, if he, having always profeſſed to protect the general good and reputation, ſhould now be ſeen either to aſſent unto, or to make ſmall reckoning of ſo great an injury done to the Crown. Wherefore being by the affliction of his mind brought into a deep meditation, he reſolved (making uſe of the ſame arts the King did) to feign a conſent to the inclination of the States, to ſhew himſelf an eager revenger of the offence committed againſt the Crown, and by other means to fruſtrate the effect of the Foreign War, which he thought not very difficult by his arts to bring to paſs: with this deſign he began to raiſe a rumour, that the taking of the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo* had been procured and plotted by the King himſelf, to croſs the good reſolutions of the States, and to hinder the Decrees againſt the King of *Navarre* and the Hugonots; and that none could more deeply reſent the boldneſs of the Duke of *Savoy*, nor was more ardent againſt him than he and his Family. And in effect, ſeeming wonderfully ſollicitous for the loſs of the Marqueſate, he cauſed ſome of his Dependents to propoſe unto the States, that they ſhould reſolve to make a War with *Savoy*, and that not being able to go in perſon

upon

upon that enterprise, becauſe he could not be ſo far from Court, he deſired the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother might, who being appointed to follow the War in *Dauphine*, was already come as far as *Lyons*. This propoſition gave great ſatisfaction, and did very much ſettle the minds of ſuch as were troubled, ſo that without much delay it was by general conſent reſolved, that they ſhould turn their Forces againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, for the recovery of the Marqueſate, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould go thither in perſon. 1588.

In the mean time, obſerving thoſe ceremonies with ſtrangers which they obſerved not with the King of *Navarre*, they determined to ſend *Jehan* Sieur *de Poigny* to the Duke of *Savoy*, to demand the reſtitution of thoſe places he had taken; and if he reſtored them not, to denounce War againſt him: after which abſolute Orders were given, both to the Marqueſs *de Piſani* the Kings Ambaſſador to the Pope, to Monſieur *de Mets* Ambaſſador at *Venice*, and to the other Ambaſſadors every where, to make grievous complaints againſt the Duke. The ardour of mens ſpirits being by degrees qualified with theſe determinations, this ſo important affair was ſet in ſuch a way, as was not likely to do much harm to the principal intentions of thoſe of the League. At that time many doubted how the buſineſs of *Saluzzo* had really come to paſs; for though the moſt common report was, that all had been done with the ſecret intelligence of the League, becauſe every one knew the correſpondence that was between the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Spaniards, and the Duke of *Savoy*; and though they of the League on the other ſide laboured to make it be believed that it had been the Kings invention; yet the wiſeſt opinion held for certain, that it was meerly a motion of the Duke of *Savoy* himſelf, who of a ready courage and high thoughts, would not omit that deſirable occaſion which offered it ſelf: which he himſelf made more credible; for after the taking of the Marqueſate, he cauſed a coyn to be ſtamped, in which a Centaur trampled a Crown under foot, which lay overturned upon the ground, with this word, *Opportunè*; which was interpreted, that he would not paſs by the opportunity of that conjuncture, while the Crown of *France* was overturned and weakened by inward diviſions. True it is, that men generally believed the Duke of *Savoy*'s forwardneſs had been excited by the King of *Spain*'s exhortations, deſiring by the poſſeſſion of the Alps to cut off the paſſage into *Italy* from the French Army.

They ſend to the Duke of *Savoy* to demand the reſtitution of *Saluzzo*, and upon his refuſal to denounce War.

At this very time the Duke of *Nevers*, General of the Kings Army in *Guienne*, having begun the War with the King of *Navarre*, had taken *Mauleon*, and *Montaut*, and though retarded by the rains of Autumn, and many other impediments, had laid ſiege to *Ganache*, a very ſtrong place upon the Confines of *Poictou* and *Bretagne*, defended by a ſtrong and valiant Gariſon put into it by the Hugonots; the Favourers of the League raiſed a report that he had cunningly beſieged *Ganache*, (a very ſtrong place, but of no advantage to the main buſineſs of the War) only to protract time; whereas with thoſe Forces freſh and entire he might preſently have deſtroyed the King of *Navarre*; who ill provided of men, and utterly unfurniſhed of money, had not force enough to make long reſiſtance: nor was this report altogether vain, or at leaſt improbable. Whereupon the Duke of *Guiſe* intended when the States were broken up, and his power of Lieutenant General confirm'd, to go in perſon to the Army, and forward the buſineſs of the War. But the determinations of the States proved more long and difficult than at firſt it was thought they would have been; for the affairs of *Savoy*, though in great part ſetled again, had yet left mens minds unquiet, and had put many deſigns out of frame; and which imported moſt, the King intent upon the ripening of his ſecret thoughts, did in all matters interpoſe long artificial delays. It is a ſtrange thing how chance alone was accidentally almoſt like to have produced that bloody iſſue of the States, which the King was ſecretly contriving in himſelf: for the Pages and Lackyes of the Princes and Lords no leſs divided than their Maſter into two different factions, and quarrelling openly every day with the plain names of *Royaliſts* and *Guiſards*, it happened upon the thirtieth of *November* at night, while about nine of the Clock they were waiting for their Lords, being all together in the low open Galleries and Courts of the Caſtle, that the Pages of the Cardinal of *Vendoſme* and of the Duke of *Montpenſier* killed one of the Pages of the Duke of *Guiſe*; at the noiſe whereof all the reſt taking arms, every one for his party, the King's, the Cardinal of *Vendoſm*'s, the Duke of *Montpenſier*'s, the Prince of *Conty*'s, the Count of *Soiſſon*'s, the Mareſchal *de Retz*'s, and others ſtanding on the one ſide; and on the other, the Duke of *Guiſe*'s, the Prince of *Jainville*'s, the Duke of *Nemour*'s, the Duke of

A fray happens among the Lords Pages; one of the Duke of *Guiſes* is ſlain: the uproar riſeth to that height, that the whole factions are divided under the names of *Royaliſts* and *Guiſards*: the King himſelf being armed, goes to the quarrel.

1588. of *Elbeuf*'s, the Count of *Briſſac*'s, and many others, they began a moſt cruel bloody fray, wherein the other Servants mingling themſelves by little and little, and at laſt the Souldiers, and ſome Gentlemen, the buſineſs proceeded ſo far, that the party of the *Guiſards* prevailing, the fight was reduced into the great Hall joining to the Kings lodgings, and above thoſe of the Queen-Mother, where all the Lords of the Court were together. The noiſe was wonderful great, and the inraged voices ſounded ſo loud, that they were heard into the Town, and wakening thoſe that were aſleep, the general opinion was, that the Princes themſelves were fighting, and that they ſhould be all cut in pieces in the Caſtle, the Gates whereof were already locked; wherefore the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, who lodged in the Town, having put off his Cardinal habit, and drawn all his dependents together, was gone armed up thither; and on the other ſide, the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, having aſſembled the Kings adherents, went the ſame way, and were not far from meeting one another, all the Deputies being alſo in arms, ſome for one ſide, ſome for the other; and ſo great was the terrour and the aſſurance that there was a bloody conflict in the Caſtle, that many who fled away for fear carried the news abroad, and the report came to *Paris*, that all the Court were cutting one another in pieces among themſelves, the event not being yet known. The King having put on his arms, went out of his private lodgings, (doubtful that the Duke *Guiſe* endeavoured by that means to prevent him) and all his followers that had wherewithal did the ſame, and ſo being armed, they expected with more aſſurance to turn their aſſiſtance whither moſt need required. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Guiſe* who ſate talking with the Queen-Mother, neither moved his place nor countenance, but thinking it to be what indeed it was, ſaid ſo often to the Queen; and perceiving that ſome of his Gentlemen ſeeing the advantage of their party, expected ſome token from him to proceed further, he kept his look ſtill firm upon the ground, turning toward the fire, and gave no ſign at all of his intentions, either not aſſenting to the buſineſs, or deſiring they ſhould go on, but without his fault or order. In the mean time the Sieur *de Grillon* having commanded the Souldiers of the Guard to ſtand to their arms, made the quarrel be parted; the fire being eaſily extinguiſhed, becauſe there was no fuel added to it by the Heads of the two parties, and ſo in the ſpace of little more than an hour, the whole uproar was appeaſed, and ſetled in the former quietneſs; an accident that had a terrible beginning, and a ridiculous end; but ſhewed evident marks of the moſt ardent hatred, kindled more than ever between the Factions.

But things were now brought to their full maturity; for the Duke of *Guiſe* having ſufficiently tryed the Deputies both in general and particular, and being grown more ſecure and bold by theſe late tryals, began to get the buſineſs introduced of his being made Lieutenant-General, at the requeſt, and with the authority of the States, which was the laſt aim of his preſent hopes; and the King loſing his power and reputation every day more and more, and ſeeing that billow which he had ſo often avoided now coming to break upon him, his long patience was at length turned into fury, ſo that the courſe of ſo many contrivances could no longer be withheld from breaking forth to their appointed end. The King had from the beginning intended to put the Duke of *Guiſe* to death, with all his chief adherents and dependents, being thereunto incited by the ſenſe of paſt injuries, and the apprehenſion of future dangers: he was only withheld by the reſpect he bore to the Catholick Religion, and his fear leſt the Pope (who beſides his being of a fierce reſolute nature, he ſaw was infinitely inclined to favour the League) ſhould make uſe of Spiritual weapons againſt him, and ſtir up all the Princes of Chriſtendom to do him miſchief, whom (by reaſon of the diviſions of his Kingdom) they knew to be in a weak and dangerous condition. But becauſe he was aſſured that the Catholick King and the Duke of *Savoy* would moſt certainly be againſt him, and that the Queen of *England*, the Swiſſes and Proteſtants of *Germany* would be for him; and that the other Princes were ſo far off that they could do him but little harm, he turned his mind wholly towards the Princes of *Italy*, among which the Pope was chief, by reaſon of the authority of the Apoſtolick See, and of the Spiritual Arms that were in his power; and then the Venetian Senate, as well for the eminent opinion of their wiſdom, as for the ſupplies of money which he might hope for from them in time of need: and finally, the Grand Duke of *Thuſcany*, from whom he remembred King *Charles* the Ninth had in the heat of War received conſiderable aſſiſtance both of men and money.

To

To win the Pope, and make him his Friend, beſides a moſt propenſe inclination which he had ſhewed to cauſe the Council of *Trent* to be received by the States, and the great reſpect which upon all occaſions he had ſhown to the Eccleſiaſtical Order, he had alſo ſent *Jehan* Marquiſs of *Piſani* his Ambaſſador to *Rome*; a man of long experience, and of a dexterous mature wit, who (his Wife being a Roman of the Family of *Savella*) was wonderfully verſed in that Court, and acceptable to the Pope himſelf, and to the whole Conſiſtory of Cardinals; by whoſe means he laboured not only to keep *Sixtus* favourable unto him, by all the demonſtrations of duty and confidence, but alſo to dive into the affections of his Nephews and Favourites, by all thoſe ways which his ſagacity could invent. And becauſe he conjectured that the relations of the Cardinal Legat (as one who was upon the place, and was both by the Pope and the whole world eſteemed a man of ſingular wiſdom) would have great power which way ſoever they ſhould incline, he uſed all his endeavours to make him his Friend and Confident, which was not very hard to do, as well becauſe the Cardinal being a Venetian by birth, was naturally inclined to the good and greatneſs of the Crown, and becauſe his particular *genius* abhorred the new turbulent Counſels of the League. Wherefore the King truſting him with many ſecrets, and ſeeming to depend much upon his advice and authority, he had by his means not only obtained abſolution for the Prince of *Conty* and Count of *Soiſſons*, to the prejudice of the League, but alſo having made him acquainted with many hidden things, which were managed under the name of Religion, had perſwaded him to withdraw his hand from favouring the Duke of *Guiſe*: for the prudence of the Cardinal, being there preſent, had ſounded to the bottom of thoſe things which always came to *Rome* covered with the ſpecious title of Religion: whereupon, by his relations opportunely introduced, the Popes mind was brought into ſo much doubt and ſuſpence, that he often told the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, and the Agents of the League, he could not ſee clearly into the affairs of *France*. 1588.

It was more eaſie to gain the Venetian Senate: for beſides the many acts of friendſhip, ſhewed by that Republick to *Charles* the Ninth in the greateſt exigencies of his Kingdom, and beſides the real welcoms wherewith the preſent King had been received in the City of *Venice*, which had produced a reciprocal and confident friendſhip between them: the proceedings alſo of the Senate were very much averſe from the Diſturbers of quietneſs, and from Conſpirers of new deſigns; and their own intereſts made them to deſire the peace and union of the Kingdom of *France* under the obedience of the natural King, to the end that being united in ſtrength, it might counterpoiſe the exceſſive greatneſs of other Chriſtian Potentates: wherefore, though the King at firſt had made ſome difficulty of admitting *Giovanni Mocenigo*, (choſen Ambaſſador to him from the Senate in the place of *Giovanni Delfino*) becauſe he was not of the Colledge of the * *Sauii de Terra Firma*, (out of which number the Ambaſſadors to Kings are wonted to be elected) yet having in the end admitted him, he was ſo pleaſed with his diſcreet ſilence and prudent behaviour, that he contracted a great intimacy with him, and with him and the Senate paſſed buſineſs of very great truſt and confidence.

The King admits *Giovanni Mocenigo* Ambaſſador from *Venice*, though he were not one of the *Sauii di Terra Firma*. * *Magiſtrates ſo called at Venice, becauſe they have the principal adminiſtration of affairs by land, and the care of matters belonging to Peace and War.*

But with *Ferdinandi de Medici* Grand Duke of *Thuſcany* he proceeded further: for he having newly ſucceeded his Brother *Franceſco* in that State, and having renounced the title of Cardinal to take a Wife, it was at that time concluded to give him *Chreſtienne* the Duke of *Lorain*'s Daughter, and Neece to the King, who had been bred up with the Queen-Mother; and haſtening the Ceremonies of the Marriage, *Charles* the Baſtard *Grand Prior* of *France* contracted her in the name of *Ferdinando*, and the Bride made her ſelf ready to take her journey.

*Chreſtienne de Lorain*, which ſhould have been given to the King of *Navarre*, is married to *Ferdinando de Medici* Grand Duke of *Thuſcany*.

Things being ordered in this manner, the next buſineſs the King had to think on, was to contrive which way to catch the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſurrounded with ſo many Guards, and with ſo great a number of adherents: for though he had cunningly drawn the States to *Blois*, a City depending upon him, and far from the aſſiſtance of the Pariſians, yet was the Duke come thither ſo ſtrong, and ſo many of the Deputies depended upon his will, that it was no eaſie matter to ſet upon him. The Queen-Mother was ſo ill of the Gout, that ſhe kept her bed; and the King troubled with his wonted ſuſpicions, had not, nor did not intend to impart that deſign to her; and therefore having taken occaſion upon *Sunday* the eighteenth of *December*, while they were feaſting in her lodgings for the Marriage of the Great Dutcheſs, and the whole Court was buſied there, he called into his own Cloſet the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, and

*Nicholas*

1588. The King desiring to free himself of the Duke of *Guise*, propose his design to four of his most trusty Confidents, who after long consultation resolve to have him killed.

*Nicholas d' Angenay* Sieur *de Rambouillet*, whom he accounted most trusty, one for the profession of Arms, the other for the Gown; and discovering his whole design, desired their counsel in that particular. Their opinions were not very different; and all agreed that things were brought to that pass, that now necessity forced a resolution to bridle the attempts of the Duke of *Guise*; but about the means which were to be used, they were not so well resolved: for the Mareschal *d' Aumont* consented to have him resolutely killed; and *Rambouillet*, alledging the breach of Faith, and the Law of Nations, counselled to take him prisoner, and then to proceed against him in a legal way: Whereupon, not knowing how to resolve among themselves, they called the same night unto them Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, and *Lewis* the Brother of *Rambouillet*, to have their opinions; they all thinking it a very hard matter to be effected. After many hours consultation, it was at last determined that he should be slain, and that the business should be ordered in this manner following. Upon the top of the stairs in the Kings Palace, there was a great Hall in which commonly the Council was wont to be held; and which (except upon such occasions) stood open and free for the ordinary passage of the Courtiers: at the upper end of the Hall was the door of the Kings Ante-chamber; upon the right hand whereof was his Bed-chamber; and on the left, the Wardrobe; and just over against the door of the Ante-chamber, was the door of the Closet; from whence there was a way out into a fair room; and thence a back-stairs that went down into the Queen-Mothers lodging. When the Council was held, the Gentlemen and Courtiers were wont to accompany the Lords that went in, to the Hall-door at the top of the stairs, and there they stayed, because the door was locked and guarded by the Keepers of the Council-chamber: then they used to return back into the Court, which being spacious, was commonly called, * *The Bretons Porche*, because they coming often to Court about their frequent Law-suits, were wont for the most part to walk and entertain themselves in that place. The King and his Counsellors resolved that the deed should be done upon a Council-day: for the Duke being then left alone without his train, with the other Lords and Counsellors in the Hall, he might be called by the King into his lodgings, which at such times were wont to be shut, and without company; and being there apart, and deprived of any help, might be dispatched out of the world: for he being once dead, they feared not those dangers and tumults at *Blois*, which they should have done if they had been at *Paris*. Then treating of the persons that should execute the business, the King chose to trust *Grillon* the Colonel of his Guards; a fierce bold man, and for many occasions an Enemy to the Duke of *Guise*. Having therefore sent for him, he unfolded his design unto him with fitting words, and gave him to understand that he had appointed him to be the man that should perform the enterprise wherein consisted all his safety. *Grillon* answered with short and significant words: "Sir, I am really your Majesties most faithful and devoted Servant; "but I make profession to be a Souldier and a Cavalier: if you please to command me "to challenge the Duke of *Guise*, and fight with him hand to hand, I am ready at "this instant to lay down my life for your service; but that I should serve for an Exe-"cutioner, while your Majesties Justice condemns him to die, is a thing sutes not "with one of my condition, nor will I ever do it whilst I live. The King did not much wonder at the liberty of *Grillon*, whom he and the whole Court knew to be a plain honest man, and one that spoke his thoughts freely without fear of any body; and therefore replyed, that it was enough, provided he kept the matter secret, for he had not communicated it to any body else, and if it should be divulged, he would accuse him for the revealing it. To this *Grillon* answered, That he was a Servant of honour and fidelity, and one that would never discover the secret interests of his Master, and so going away, left the King very doubtful what he should do; in which perplexity he continued till the one and twentieth day, when having trusted the business to *Lognac*, one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber, who had been brought first into the Court by the Duke of *Joyeuse*, and by his graceful fashion, discreet carriage, and gentle behaviour began to rise into the place of the Minions; he without much difficulty promised with some of the five and forty who depended nearly upon him, to do the deed most readily. The King having setled his mind, resolved to put it in execution upon the morning of the three and twentieth day, being Christmas Eve's Eve; and being come personally into the Council the two and twentieth day, he told them he desired some business that concerned him might be dispatched the next morning, that with a quiet mind he

* *Le porche aux Bretons.*

The answer of *Grillon* Captain of the Guards.

*Lognac* promiseth the King that the Duke of *Guise* should be slain.

he might retire himſelf to perform his exerciſes of devotion for the holy Time that was at hand; and therefore he intreated all of them to come early to the Council. 1588.

In the mean time the ſuſpicion of this buſineſs, no body knows which way, was crept ſo far, that a confuſed knowledge of it came unto the ear of the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf; who being in private with the Cardinal his Brother, and the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, conſulted whether he ſhould give credit to that report, and whether believing it he ſhould go from the States to avoid that danger. The Cardinal ſaid, It was better to fail in believing too much, than in being too confident, and that it was good to lean to the ſecurer ſide, and perſwaded his departure ſo earneſtly, that the Duke ſet his affairs in order to go away the next morning; but the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* oppoſed that reſolution ſo ſtifly, that he cauſed it almoſt at the ſame time to be altered. He ſhewed what a lightneſs it was to believe a rumour of fame not grounded upon any certain proof; that it might be a plot of the Kings to make him go away and leave the States, to the end that all hopes, deſigns and practices falling at once, he might be left free from that yoak which he ſaw preparing for him by the conſent of the States; and he being gone that ſhould order and moderate the affections and promiſes of the Deputies, who ſhould withſtand the Kings authority and cunning? Who ſhould hinder the State from coming to a contrary end from what they had deſigned? For he being abſent, the Deputies ſeeing themſelves forſaken and left alone, would fall under the Kings authority, and in reverence to the Royal Name, would make their determinations according to his pleaſure, and revoke thoſe already paſt, diſturb matters already eſtabliſhed, and reduce the Government to the former, or perhaps to a worſe condition, to the total ruine and utter deſtruction of the League; that all thoſe of his party would with reaſon complain that they had been betray'd, and meanly forſaken by him, and every one by his example would think of their own intereſts, and to make their peace with the King, ſo that in the end he alone would be left forſaken and abandoned; in concluſion, that it was better (though the danger were certain) to hazard only his life by ſtaying, than certainly to loſe both life and honour at once by going away. His departure being deferred, the Duke of *Elbeuf* came in, who being made privy to the buſineſs in debate, confirmed the opinion of the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, adding many things to prove that the Duke of *Guiſe* was ſo well accompanied with faithful Friends all faſt united, that the King would not dare to think of ſo raſh an enterpriſe; and that he wondered they ſhould now be in ſo much fear of thoſe forces, which till then they had ever undervalued and deſpiſed. Whereupon the Duke of *Guiſe* taking courage, reſolved not only to ſtay till the end of the Aſſembly, but ſhewed alſo evident ſigns of ſlighting thoſe rumours that ran about the Court.

The King's reſolution againſt the Duke of *Guiſe* comes to the ear of the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf.

A conſultation between the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Cardinal his Brother, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and the Duke d' *Elbeuf*.

The evening of the twenty ſecond being come, the King commanded Monſieur *de Larchant* one of the Captains of his Guard to double them the next morning, and to keep the Hall-door, after the Lords of the Council were gone in; but that he ſhould do it in ſuch a manner as the Duke of *Guiſe* might not ſuſpect any thing: Wherefore having ſtaid with a great number of his Souldiers the ſame night, till the Duke came from his own Lodgings to the Kings, he went to him in the middle of the way, and beſeeched him, that he would be pleaſed to ſpeak a good word for thoſe poor Souldiers, who had wanted their pay a great many months; that they made their addreſs to him as the Head and Protector of all Souldiers; and that the next day he would wait upon him with the ſame Company in the morning, to put him in mind to ſpeak in their behalf to the Council: The Duke anſwered courteouſly, and promiſed the Captain and the Souldiers to take great care for their ſatisfaction. The ſame night the King gave order to his Nephew the Grand Prior of *France*, to make a match at Tennis the next morning with the Prince of *Jainville*, Son to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and to keep him in play till he received further order from him. In the morning the King made himſelf ready before day, under colour of going perſonally to the Council, and pretending he ſhould ſtay there many hours, diſmiſſed all his Servants, and in his Cloſet there remained only *Revol*, the Secretary of State, Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, and Monſieur *de la Baſtide*, a Gaſcon Gentleman of very great courage, who were all commanded by him to ſtay there: In his Chamber was St. *Pris*, one of his old Gentlemen-Waiters; in the Wardrobe the Count *de Termes*, * Great Chamberlain, who was a Kinſman of the Duke *d' Eſpernon*'s; and in the Ante-chamber two Pages, an Uſher that waited at the Council-Chamber-door, and *Lognac* with Eight of the Five and forty, to whom

The order taken by the King, for the killing of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

The Captains invention to double the Guards, and not be ſuſpected by the Duke of *Guiſe*.

* The French Tranſlation ſays, *Grand Maſtre de la Garde robbe.*

1588. the King had with very great promiſes ſignified his pleaſure, and found them moſt ready to obey his command. It was about break of day when the Counſellors met, and there went into the great Hall, Cardinal *Gondy*, the Cardinal of *Vendoſm*, the Mareſchals of *Aumont*, and *Retz*, *Monthelon* the *Garde des Seaux*, *Francois* Sieur *d' O*, *Nicholas* Sieur *de Rambouillet*, the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and at laſt appeared the Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom Captain *Larchant*, ſtepping forward with a greater number of Souldiers than the night before, preſented him a Petition for their pay, and with that excuſe accompanied him, and brought him to the Hall-door, where being entered, and the door ſhut, the Souldiers made a long lane to the bottom of the ſtairs, ſeeming to ſtay there to wait for an anſwer of their Petition, and at the ſame time Monſieur *Grillon* cauſed the Gates of the Caſtle to be locked, whereupon many ſuſpected what would be the event, and *Pelicart* the Dukes Secretary writ a little Note in theſe words, *My Lord, ſave your ſelf, or you are dead:* And having put it up into a Handkerchief, gave it to one of the Dukes Pages, to carry it to the Keeper of the Council-Chamber-door, pretending, that the Duke had forgot to take it, when he went forth of his Chamber; but the Souldiers would not ſuffer the Page to paſs. In the mean time the Duke being come into the Council, and ſet near the fire, fell into a little ſwoon, whether it were that he remembred himſelf of the danger in which he was, being ſeparated from all his dependents; or that Nature (as it often happens) preſaging his future misfortune, did of her ſelf give that ſhew of reſentment; or whether (as his ill-willers ſaid) it was becauſe he had weakened himſelf too much that night with Madam *de Marmoutier*, whom he extreamly loved; but being quickly recovered, Secretary *Revol* came into the Council out of the Ante-chamber, and told him, that the King asked for him, and would have him come to him into the Cloſet: The Duke aroſe, and having with his accuſtomed courteſie ſaluted all the Counſellors, entered into the Ante-chamber, which preſently being locked after him, he ſaw not that ſtore of company which was wont to be there, but only thoſe eight Gentlemen of the Kings Guard, which were well known to him; and as went from thence into the Cloſet, the hanging at the door not being held up for him as it was wont to be, he ſtretched forth his hand to lift it up, and at that inſtant St. *Malin*, one of the eight, ſtabbed him into the neck with a Dagger, and the reſt preſently fell upon him on every ſide; he ſtriving to lay hold of his Sword, was never able to draw it above half way out: and after many wounds given him in the head, and all the other parts of his body, being at laſt ſtruck by *Lognac*, (upon whom he had moſt violently thrown himſelf) he fell down at the door of the Wardrobe, and there he breathed forth the laſt groans of his life, without being able to ſpeak one word. The Cardinal of *Guiſe*, as ſoon as he heard the noiſe in the Ante-chamber, was certain that they were about his Brother; and riſing up ſuddenly with the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, they ran both to the Hall-door, to call for the help of their Servants; but having found the door ſhut, they were ſtaid by the Mareſchals of *Aumont* and *Retz*; who giving them notice that they were the Kings priſoners, led them up a little pair of ſtairs into an upper room, where they were ſhut up and diligently guarded. At the ſame time the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, by reaſon of his age and weakneſs being yet in bed, was ſeized on in the Caſtle; as alſo *Charles* Prince of *Jainville*, *Charles* of *Lorain*, Duke of *Elbeuf*, *Charles* of *Savoy*, Duke of *Nemours*, and *Anne d' Eſtre*, Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, and Mother to the *Guiſes*. Then having opened the Caſtle-Gates, and redoubled their Guards very ſtrongly, Monſieur *de Richelieu*, * Grand Provoſt *de l' Hoſtel*, went into the Town, where he took Preſident *Nully*, *La Chapelle Martel*, the Provoſt of *Merchands* of *Paris*, *Compan* and *Cotteblanche*, Deputies for that City, the Lieutenant of the City of *Amiens*, the Count *de Briſſac*, the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin*; and at laſt *Pelicart* the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Secretary was likewiſe taken, with all the Writings which belonged to his Lord; among which, they found many Letters containing divers practices within and without the Kingdom, the accounts of moneys which he had received from *Spain*, which were reported to amount to the ſum of Two millions of Ducats. The reſt, which the King deſired to get into his hands, were either favourably hid by their Landlords in whoſe houſes they lay, or by their Friends in the City, or ſaved themſelves by ſeveral ways and means; ſo that they eſcaped the fury of that preſent revenge. The body of the dead Duke being laid up in a Green Cloth, was carried by the Door-keepers into the great Room beyond the Kings Cloſet, and there it was laid till further orders. Theſe buſineſſes were performed without much noiſe or tumult, every one being amazed and aſtoniſhed

*Pelicart* the Dukes Secretary ſends him a Note in a Handkerchief, to bid him ſave himſelf, but it comes not to his hands.

The Duke of *Guiſe* ſwoons in the Council-Chamber: An ill omen of his approaching death.

The Duke of *Guiſe* is ſlain as he lifts up the hanging of the Cloſet-door.

The Cardinal of *Guiſe* and Archbiſhop of *Lyons* are made priſoners, as alſo all the Lords and other chief adherents of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

* *The ordinary Judge of the Kings houſhold, his command extends to all places within ſix leagues of the Court.*

It was reported, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had received from *Spain* the ſum of two millions of Crowns.

aſtoniſhed at what was done; and the moſt fierce and daring among thoſe of the League, with down-caſt looks and dejected countenances, profeſſed moſt perfect obedience and profound ſubmiſſion. 1588.

The firſt thing the King did, was to ſend *Revol* the Secretary of State to the Cardinal Legat, to give him notice of all that had paſſed, and to intreat him to meet him at Maſs: And at the ſame time he ſent alſo to give account of it to the Venetian Ambaſſador, ſhewing how great a deſire he had to be excuſed to the Pope, and how much he eſteemed the opinion of the Venetian Senate; and then having walked a turn or two in the Cloſet, he thought it time to lay off the Foxes out-ſide, which for ſo many years he had worn with infinite patience contrary to his own *genius*, and to take up again the generoſity of the Lyon, which in his younger years he had ſhewed in ſo many famous actions: And having cauſed the doors to be opened, and every one to be admitted into his Chamber, he ſaid with a loud voice, That from thence forward he would have his Subjects learn to know, and to obey him: For ſince he had known how to reſolve to puniſh the Heads of Inſurrections, much more reſolutely would he proceed againſt the Members: That every one therefore ſhould from that time, forget ſtubbornneſs and rebellion: For he would be a King, not only in words, but in deeds alſo; and it would be neither a new nor difficult matter to handle his Sword again. So with an angry look, and a ſour countenance, he went down the ſtairs into his Mothers lodgings.

The King admitting every one into his preſence, ſpeaks very reſentingly.

The Queen lying in her Bed, and very much troubled with her pain, had heard the buſtle that was above in the Kings lodgings, and had often asked what noiſe it was; nor had any body courage enough to tell her the news. Now the King appearing, he firſt asked her how ſhe did; to which ſhe having anſwered, that ſhe felt her ſelf ſomething better, he replied, And I alſo now find my ſelf much better; for this morning I have made my ſelf King of *France*, having put to death the King of *Paris*. To which words the Queen replied, You have made the Duke of *Guiſe* be ſlain; but God grant you be not now made King of nothing: You have cut out work enough; I know not whether or no you will be able to make it up as well: Have you foreſeen the miſchiefs that are like to follow? Look carefully to that: Two things are neceſſary, Speed and Reſolution. After which words, being exceedingly tormented with the Gout, and much afflicted in mind, ſhe held her peace; and the King went to meet the Legat, that they might go to Maſs together.

The King ſays to his Mother, Now I am King of *France*, for I have put to death the King of *Paris*.

They met before Maſs, and walking up and down, conferred a great while together; in which diſcourſe the King laboured to perſwade him that he had been forced by neceſſity to take that reſolution. He told him, that the ends, practices, deſigns, leagues and negotiations of the Duke of *Guiſe*, were better known to his wiſdom than to others; That by them he had been brought to ſuch extremities, that he could not ſave his own life and Crown, without his death; which as by Gods aſſiſtance, it had been happily enough effected, amongſt a thouſand unconquerable difficulties; ſo was it conformable to the Juſtice of all the Laws in the World: That the heinous offences were notorious, and manifeſt to every one, which had been committed by him a natural Subject, againſt the Majeſty of the Royal Name, and againſt his lawful Prince, without any reaſonable occaſion; which he had long born withal and diſſembled, out of his deſire of the general quiet, and out of the gentleneſs of his own diſpoſition: But that after the laſt Pacification, in which he had profuſely granted more to the League, than they knew how either to demand or deſire; notwithſtanding the Act of Oblivion of all things paſt, and the Prohibition of all ſuch-like practices for the time to come, the Duke of *Guiſe*, perſiſting obſtinately in his firſt deſigns, violating ſo many Oaths, ſo many Promiſes, and ſo many Sacraments reiterated among the holy Ceremonies, and in the preſence of the Aſſembly of the States, which repreſented the majeſtick face of the whole French Nation, had both begun again, and continued the ſame things, leagues, and intelligences with Foreign Princes, receiving of moneys and penſions from *Spain*, agreements with the Duke of *Savoy* to the prejudice of the Crown, factions, and practices with the States to tie up the liberty of his Prince, to exclude the rightful Succeſſors of the Crown, and by ſeditious wicked acts to transfer the whole Government upon himſelf; by which things he made himſelf guilty of High Treaſon, and had often manifeſtly incurred the crime of Rebellion; inſomuch as Juſtice neither could nor ought to forbear to puniſh him, thereby once to remove the perpetual danger and unquietneſs in which he kept the whole Kingdom and all good men: That

The King diſcourſeth a long while with the Cardinal of *Moreſini* about the Duke of *Guiſes* death.

1588. the ordinary forms of judging and ſentencing could not poſſibly be obſerved: For no Priſons were ſecure, nor Bonds ſufficient to reſtrain his power; that no Officers would have dared to examine him, no Judge to ſentence him, nor no Power would have been able to execute the ſentence: That the King himſelf was Juſtice, and that he had ſo many proofs as did more than abundantly condemn and convince him to be guilty: That he was aſſured he had ſatisfied God's Juſtice, his own Conſcience, and the good and quietneſs of his Kingdom; and therefore he intreated the Legat to repreſent the truth as it was unto the Pope, to the end, that the arts of his Enemies might not by their falſe relations, transform the face of ſo neceſſary, ſo juſt an action. Theſe things were no news unto the Legat, being fully informed of the reports already divulged; and the Kings reaſons contained peradventure what he thought himſelf: And becauſe he firmly believed, that, the Shepherd being ſtruck, the flock would eaſily be ſcattered; the greater part of the Heads being taken, and the reſt much unprovided of ſtrength and force to reſiſt the Kings power in ſo ſudden an accident, not much valuing the popular commotion which he foreſaw might enſue, becauſe he thought the ſeditions of the people were like a fire of ſtraw, which riſeth with great violence, but preſently ceaſeth, and is extinguiſhed; he judged it not fit to alienate the Kings mind from the Apoſtolick Sea, but to confirm and eſtabliſh it to the protection of Religion, and with a gentle rein, and moderate reſpect, to withhold him from agreeing precipitately with the Hugonots: Wherefore, ſeeming to believe that the Pope, as diſintereſſed and as a common Father, would kindly give ear unto his reaſons, he only exhorted him to ſhew that his words and excuſes were true, by a firm and principal argument, which was, To perſevere in the reſolution of protecting the Catholick Religion, and extinguiſhing Hereſie; that by that means he might perſwade the Pope, and the whole World, that he had been conſtrained by neceſſity, and not drawn by hatred to the Catholick party: Whereas, not perſiſting in that ſafe, Chriſtian determination, he ſhould authorize the falſe reports of the League, and give occaſion to have it thought that his inclination to favour the King of *Navarre*, and uphold the Hugonots, had moved him to put to death the Head, and impriſon the principal Members of the Catholick party. This point ſeemed ſo important to the Legat, that he enlarged himſelf long upon it, till the King gave aſſurance by an Oath, that if the Pope would unite himſelf with him in mind and Forces, he would endeavour the extirpation of Hereſie with more fervour than ever, and that he was firmly reſolved to ſuffer only the Catholick Religion in his Kingdom: After which aſſeveration, accompanied with effectual words and geſtures, the Legat made no ſcruple of treating with him with the ſame intimacy and confidence as before, thinking he had obtained that point which would ſerve to ſatisfie the Pope, ſince the King, though exaſperated with the injuries of the League, did yet confirm himſelf in his wonted obedience and veneration of Religion; and that though the Duke of *Guiſe* were removed, he yet continued the Catholick Union, and the determination of making War againſt the Hugonots: wherefore he gave the King no doubtful hope, that the Pope would be ſatisfied with his reaſons: Nor did he think fit to paſs any further at that meeting, but believing he ſhould have time enough afterwards to ſpeak about the enlargement of the Cardinals, he would not (in a time of ſo great diſtraction, and in a conjuncture wherein the Kings mind might waver) anticipate buſineſſes unſeaſonably, but proceed with well-pondered counſels, firſt ſetling the publick, and then private intereſt.

The King ſeeing that the Legat ſhewed no trouble at the impriſonment of the Cardinals, commands that *Lewis* of *Loraine*, Cardinal of *Guiſe* be alſo put to death.

But the King having entertained great hopes by the Legats words, and ſeeing that he ſeemed not much troubled at the impriſonment of the Cardinals and other Prelates, reſolved to go forward, and to free himſelf from the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, a no leſs fierce and terrible Head of the League than his Brother had been: To which end, having found the Five and forty unwilling to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Cardinal, he commanded *du Gaſt*, one of the Captains of his Guard, that he ſhould cauſe him to be put to death the next morning by his Souldiers. So upon the Four and twentieth day, being Chriſtmas-Eve in the morning, Captain *Gaſt* being come into the Chamber, where he was with the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and where they had been all night in moſt terrible fear, confeſſing one another, and watching in continual prayer, he bad the Archbiſhop come along with him, for the King called for him: At which words, the Cardinal believing that he was led to death, ſaid to him, My Lord, think upon God: But the Archbiſhop gheſſing better than he, and not willing to fail in the ſame Office, replied, Nay, rather do you think of him, my Lord; and going away, he

he was brought into another room. A while after, *du Gaſt* returned, and told the Cardinal that he had Commiſſion to put him to death. To which he only anſwered, that he deſired time to recommend his Soul to God: And having kneeled down, he made a ſhort Prayer; and covering his head with the lower part of his Robe, he undauntedly bad him execute his Commiſſion; when preſently four Souldiers armed with Partezans, ſlew him with many wounds; and his body was carried to the ſame place where the Dukes Brother lay. The King doubted, that if the bodies were ſeen, they might occaſion ſome tumult; and therefore having by the counſel of his Phyſitian cauſed them to be buried in quick Lime, within a few hours all their fleſh was conſumed, and afterward the bones were ſecretly interred in an unknown place; removing in that manner, thoſe tragical Objects, which uſe to work ſtrange and ſudden motions in the common people: neither had he himſelf the heart to look upon them; nor did any of the Court ſee them after their death, except thoſe few who of neceſſity were preſent; the King not deſiring that ſo ſad a ſpectacle ſhould argue him guilty, either of cruelty, or ambitious pomp of oſtentation.

1588.

*Du Gaſt*, a Captain of the Kings Guard, cauſes the Cardinal of *Guiſe* to be ſlain by four Souldiers.

The bodies of the two Brothers were burned in quick Lime, and their bones buried in an unknown place.

In this manner died *Henry* of *Lorain*, Duke of *Guiſe*; a Prince very remarkable for the height of his Extraction, and for the merit and greatneſs of his Anceſtors; but much more conſpicuous for the great eminency of his own worth: For he abounded with many excellent endowments; vivacity in comprehending, wiſdom in reſolving, boldneſs in executing, courage in fight, magnanimity in proſperity, conſtancy in adverſity: popular in behaviour, affable in converſation, infinitely induſtrious in gaining the minds and affections of every one, liberality worthy the moſt plentiful fortune, ſecrecy and policy equal to the greatneſs of his deſigns; a ſpritely turning wit, readily ſtored with determinations and reſolves according as occaſion required, and juſt proper for the times in which he lived. To theſe qualities of the mind were joyned ornaments of the body no leſs commendable; patient ſufferance of labour, ſingular ſobriety, a venerable, yet gracious aſpect, a ſtrong ſouldierly conſtitution, agility of members ſo well diſpoſed, that he was often ſeen to ſwim in all his arms againſt the ſtream of a ſwift River; and wonderful activity, whereby both in Wreſtling, Tennis, and Military exerciſes, he did far exceed the ability of all other men; and finally, ſuch concording union in the vigour of his mind and body, that he gained not only an univerſal admiration, but extorted praiſes from the mouths of his very Enemies. Yet were not theſe vertues without the defects of humane frailty: For doubleneſs and diſſimulation were in him turned into nature; and vain-glory and ambition were ſo powerful over the temperature of his diſpoſition, that from the very beginning they made him embrace the command of the Catholick Faction, and in proceſs of time, from the neceſſity of defending himſelf from the Kings ſubtil policies; put him eaſily upon the precipitate deſign of attaining by moſt difficult hidden ways to the ſucceſſion of the Crown: and finally, the boldneſs of his own nature, and his uſual contempt of all others, brought him unadviſedly to utter ruine.

The Duke of *Guiſe*'s Virtues and Endowments, both in body and mind

*Lewis* the Cardinal, though he came far ſhort, imitated the courage and vertue of his Brother: for he always ſhewed a ready wit, a lively ſpirit, a conſtant mind, and magnanimity equal to his birth; but the turbulency of his thoughts, and precipitate boldneſs of his nature, took off very much from the opinion which at firſt was conceived of him: for his too much ardour, his deſire of new things his deſpiſing of dangers, and his unquietneſs of mind, (which have ſome kind of luſtre in a Military profeſſion) ſeemed not to have the ſame decency in a Spiritual life, and an Eccleſiaſtical habit.

The execution of the two Brothers being paſt, the others that had been impriſoned were diverſly kept and guarded. The Duke of *Nemours* either having corrupted his Keepers with money, or taking opportunity by their negligence, or by the Kings aſſent and connivance, (as many thought, becauſe knowing his nature, he believed him rather more apt to hinder and diſturb, than to favour and compoſe the affairs of the League) eſcaped the fourth day from the place, where he was not very ſtrictly looked to, and by unknown ways, with only one Servant, went ſecretly toward *Paris*. *Anne d' Eſte*, Mother to him, and to the dead Princes of *Lorain*, was alſo voluntarily freed by the King, having ſhewed her many demonſtrations of compaſſion; whether he was moved with the pity of her age, or that the ſplendour of her blood, or her being born of one of the Daughters of King *Lewis*, made him give her the more reſpect. *La Chapelle*, *Compan*, *Cotteblanche*, the Lieutenant of *Amiens*, the Count *de Briſſac*, and the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin*, becauſe they were in the number of the Deputies, (the Aſſembly of the States having

1588. The Archbiſhops of *Lyons* being often examined, would never anſwer; alledging, that as Primate of all *France* he had no other Superiour but the Catholick Church.

having made an appeal, complaining that the Law of Nations was violated, foraſmuch as the Deputies were Ambaſſadors and Meſſengers from their ſeveral Provinces) were ſet at liberty. But the ſame happened not to the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, though he was one of the Deputies, nay Preſident of the Clergy: for the King often deſired to have him examined by the Archbiſhop of *Beauvois*, as a Peer of *France*, ſometimes by the Cardinal of *Condy*, ſometimes by the Judges of the Great Council, he had always refuſed to anſwer, leſt he ſhould prejudice the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, wherein, as Primate of all *France*, he ſaid he had no other Superiour but the Apoſtolick Sea; though the King and his Miniſters alledged that they impeached him not as Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, (though ſo in caſes of Rebellion and Treaſon the King pretended to have Juriſdiction over him) but as a Counſellor of State: for which cauſe the King being exaſperated, and thinking that his refuſal to anſwer proceeded from a foul, guilty Conſcience, would not conſent to his enlargement, though his Nephew the Baron *de Lux* took much pains about it, and though the Deputies were much troubled at the Kings denial. *Pelicart* the Secretary of the dead Duke, and ſome others of his neareſt Servants, were often examined; and having drawn as much from them as they could, by the Kings command (who ſcorned to defile himſelf with mean blood) were ſet at liberty. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who wept like a Child for the death of the Lords of *Guiſe*, and was much afflicted for his own misfortune; the Duke *d' Elbeuf*, who by deſpair was fallen into an exceſs of melancholy, ſo that he would neither endure to change his clothes, cut his hair, or uſe wonted decency about his perſon; the Prince of *Jainville*, who by the death of his Father began to be called Duke of *Guiſe*; together with the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, were (after not many days) brought by the King himſelf to the Caſtle of *Amboyſe*, and there, under the command of Captain *du Gaſt*, were left in ſeveral Lodgings, but with a good Gariſon, and ſtrict order to keep them faſt.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Prince of *Jainville*, now called Duke of *Guiſe*, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and the Duke *d'Elbeuf*, are all put into the Caſtle of *Amboyſe*.

*Charles* Duke of *Mayenne*, third Brother to the *Guiſes*, being advertiſed of his Brothers death, flees from *Lyons*.

At the very inſtant of the Cardinals death, Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo* went away poſt to *Lyons*, where *Charles* Duke of *Mayenne* the third Brother of the *Guiſes* ſtayed, being appointed for the War in *Dauphine*, with order to take him there upon the ſudden, and make him priſoner: but he was prevented by *Camillo Tolomei*, and the Sieur *de Chaſeron*, who being gone ſecretly from *Blois* the ſame day the Duke was killed, and got unknown to *Orleans*, took the way towards *Lyons* with infinite ſpeed; ſo that upon Chriſtmas-day in the evening, about Sun-ſet, the Duke left the City to retire to *Dijon*, a place under his Government, at the ſame time the Colonel entered the City by another Gate, to execute the Commiſſion he had received; and ſo of the three Brothers he eſcaped free from danger, into whoſe valour and wiſdom all the foundations and hopes of the League were now reduced.

1589. *Katherine de Medicis* Wife to *Henry* the Second, died on Twelfth-Eve, in the 70 year of her age, thirty whereof ſhe ſpent in the Regency, and in the management of the greateſt affairs and troubles of the Kingdom of *France*.

The death of the Queen-Mother ſhut up the laſt act of the Tragedy of *Blois*, who in the 70th year of her age having been long afflicted with the Gout, and at laſt oppreſſed with a ſlow Feaver, and extream abundance of Catharrs, departed this life upon the fifth day of *January* 1589. being the Eve of the *Epiphany* of our Lord, a day which was wont to be celebrated with great joy by the Court, and the whole Kingdom of *France*. The qualities of this Lady, conſpicuous for the ſpacious courſe of thirty years, and famous thorow all *Europe*, may better be comprehended by the context of things that have been related, than deſcribed by any Pen, or repreſented in a few words. For her prudence always abounding with fitting determinations to remedy the ſudden chances of Fortune, and to oppoſe the machinations of humane wickedneſs, (wherewith in the minority of her Sons ſhe managed the weight of ſo many Civil Wars, contending at once with the effects of Religion, with the contumacy of her Subjects, with the neceſſities of the Treaſury, with the diſſimulations of the Great Ones, and with the dreadful engines raiſed by Ambition) is rather to be admired diſtinctly in every particular action, than confuſedly dead-coloured in a general draught of all her vertues. The conſtancy and greatneſs of courage wherewith ſhe, a Woman, and a Stranger, durſt againſt ſo potent Competitors, aſpire to the whole weight of Government; having aſpired, compaſs it; and having compaſſed, maintain it againſt the blows of art and fortune, was much more like the generoſity and courage of a man verſed and hardned in the affairs of the world, than of a woman accuſtomed to the delicacies of the Court, and kept ſo low during the life of her Husband. But the patience, dexterity, ſufferance and moderation, with which arts in the ſuſpicion which her Son (after ſo many proofs) had conceived of her, ſhe knew ſtill how to maintain the authority of Government in her ſelf,

(inſomuch,

(inſomuch, as without her counſel and conſent he durſt not reſolve of thoſe very things wherein he was jealous of her) was as it were the higheſt pitch and moſt eminent proof of her great worth. To theſe vertues, which appear plainly in the courſe of her actions here related, were added many other endowments, wherewith baniſhing the frailties and imperfections of the Female Sex, ſhe became always Miſtreſs of thoſe paſſions which uſe to make the brighteſt lights of humane prudence wander from the right path of life; for in her were a moſt elegant wit, royal magnificence, popular courteſie, a powerful manner of ſpeaking, an effectual inclination, liberal and favourable to the good, a moſt bitter hatred and perpetual ill-will to the bad, and a temperature, never exceſſively intereſſed in favouring and advancing her dependents. Yet could ſhe never do ſo much, but that being an Italian, her vertue was deſpiſed by the French pride, and thoſe that had a deſire to diſturb the Kingdom hated her mortally as contrary to their deſigns; wherefore the Hugonots in particular, both in her life-time, and after her death, blaſted and tore her Name with poyſonous Libels, and with malicious Narrations and Execrations: and a certain Writer (who deſerves rather the name of a Satyriſt than a Hiſtorian) hath laboured to make her actions appear very different from the truth; attributing often either ignorantly or maliciouſly the cauſes of her determinations to a perverſity of nature, and an exceſſive appetite to govern; abaſing and diminiſhing the glory of thoſe effects which in the midſt of ſo certain dangers did more than once ſecurely produce the ſafety, and divert the overthrow of the Kingdom. Not but among ſo many excellent vertues, ſome weeds of worldly imperfections did alſo ſpring up: for ſhe was eſteemed of a moſt deceitful Faith, a condition common enough in all times, but very peculiar to that age; greedy, or rather prodigal of humane blood, much more than became the tenderneſs of the Female Sex: and it appeared in many occaſions, that to attain her own ends (though good) ſhe thought no means unfit which ſeemed conducing to her deſigns, though of themſelves they were unjuſt and perfidious. But the eminence of ſo many other vertues may certainly, to reaſonable Judges, cover many of thoſe defects which were produced by the urgency and neceſſity of affairs. 1589.

The King was preſent with demonſtrations of extream griefs, at the laſt gaſps of her life, which ended very Chriſtianly, and her death was honoured with his tears, and with exceeding great lamentations by the whole Court, though the preſent diſtractions did in the haſty Funeral of the Mother very much hinder the wonted Magnificence of the Son. Her Heirs were *Chreſtienne de Lorain*, Wife to *Ferdinando* Grand Duke of *Thuſcany*, and *Charles* Grand Prior of *France*, Baſtard-Son to *Charles* the Ninth, who was therefore called the Count of *Auvergne*; and to her Servants ſhe left many Legacies, but the unquietneſs of the times that followed, and ſome debts contracted by her liberality, did by divers ways ſwallow up in great part both the Inheritance and the Legacies.

*The End of the Ninth* BOOK.

THE

1588.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The TENTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*IN the Tenth Book are related the Insurrections caused by the death of the Cardinal and Duke of* Guise; *the* Union *renewed in* Paris, *and many other Cities of the Kingdom: The Authority of command, and Title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown given to the Duke of* Mayenne. *The King commands process to be made against the actions of the dead Princes; he continues the States, but breaks them up at last, the Deputies being variously inclined. The King strives to appease the Pope, who is highly offended at the Cardinal of* Guise's *death: He dispatcheth the Bishop of* Mans *to* Rome *for that purpose; but the Pope persists, and makes grievous complaints in the Consistory: The King endeavours to make peace with the Duke of* Mayenne; *but neither doth that design take effect: The Duke goes to* Paris, *and begins several ways to take up Arms; he establishes the General Council of the League, and the particular one of the* Sixteen *at* Paris: *He dispatches Ministers to* Rome *to confirm the Popes inclination; who afterward publisheth a* Monitory *against the King of* France, *and foments the League exceedingly. The King being necessitated to make War, agrees with the King of* Navarre, *and concludes a Truce with him: The Spanish Ambassador leaves the Court, and goes to reside in* Paris *with the Heads of the League; the Popes Legat departs also, and not having been able to perswade the Duke of* Mayenne *to consent to peace, goes out of the Kingdom. The war is begun furiously in every place. The Duke of* Montpensier *defeats the* Gautiers *in* Normandy. *The Kings of* France *and* Navarre *meet in the City of* Tours. *The Duke of* Mayenne *takes the Duke of* Vendosm, *and the Count* de Brienne *prisoner; he assaults the Kings Infantry in the Fauxbourgs of Tours, and takes and possesseth himself of many Posts. The King of* Navarre *comes up with his Army, and the Duke going away, takes many places in his march toward* Normandy. *The Duke of* Aumale *besieges* Senlis, *fights with the Duke of* Longueville *and Sieur* de la Noue, *and loses the day. The Duke of* Mayenne *to recover this loss marches towards* Paris. *The King*

*King with his Army follows the ſame way, takes* Gergeau, Piviers, Chartres, Eſtampes, Montereau, Poiſly, *and other places: he joyns with the Duke of* Montpenſier. *The Swiſſes and Germans raiſed for his aſſiſtance, arrive; He takes the adjacent Towns, and layes ſiege to* Paris; *where the Duke of* Mayenne *and the People (having but ſmall hopes to defend themſelves) reſolve to ſtand it out to the utmoſt. Frier* Jaques Clement *a Dominican goes out of the City, is brought into the King's Chamber, and ſtabs him into the belly with a knife; the King dying, declares the King of* Navarre *his lawful ſucceſſor, and perſwades him to turn Catholick. The Army, and particularly the Nobility, waver in their reſolutions, at laſt they reſolve to acknowledge the King of* Navarre, *provided Religion might be ſecured. He makes them a promiſe in writing to imbrace the Roman-Catholique-Faith. He riſes from* Paris *by reaſon of the waſting of his Army, makes ſhew as if he would beſiege* Rouen, *and goes to* Diepe. *The Duke of* Mayenne *much encreaſed in ſtrength follows him; they fight at* Pollet, *at* Arques, *and under the Walls of* Diepe. *Supplies come to the King from many parts. The Duke of* Mayenne *marches off and goes into* Picardy; *the King enlarges himſelf towards the Iſle of* France: *He takes and ſacks the ſuburbs of* Paris, *goes directly to* Tours, *and by the way ſeizeth upon many places: He enters into that City; is received with great pomp; ſits in the Parliament; excuſes to the Nobility his delay of changing his Religion; Marches into lower Normandy, and reduceth all that Province into his power.* 1589.

After the bloody Tragedy which ended the year 1588, followed a dreadful, terrible alteration of the *Scene*; for the news of the death of the Lords of *Guiſe* being come the ſame day to *Orleans*, the next to *Paris*, and from hand to hand into all parts of the Kingdom, it is not poſſible to believe how much it troubled and diſturbed the mindes, not onely of the common people (inclined by nature and cuſtom to embrace all emergent occaſions of change) but of all degrees, and all qualities of perſons; and, which ſeemed very ſtrange, of many alſo, who, in times paſt, had been eſteemed prudent, moderate men. This ſo great perturbation of mens minds, produced in their firſt fury raſh precipitate effects: for the City of *Orleans*, which for a long time before had held the party of the League, and moreover had been wont, in all the courſe of the Civil Wars, to be firſt up in Armes, having heard of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s death, and the impriſonment of all the reſt, by them who fleeing haſtily from *Blois*, were gotten thither at the firſt ſtage, and particularly by the Sieur *de Roſſieux* one of the Counſellors of the League; without any determinate reſolution, and without ſtaying for a Head to order them, they took Arms openly the very ſame night; and having driven away or ſuppreſſed the King's Magiſtrates, who endeavoured to hinder the Inſurrection, they went all confuſedly to aſſault the Fortreſs, in which Monſieur *d' Entraques* his Lieutenant was for the King, with a very few Soldiers, and (as in a ſudden accident) in want of all thoſe things which are neceſſary to make good a place. The Citizens of *Chartres* did the ſame, though in the late Commotions it had been of the King's party; and having taken Arms, thruſt out all that favoured the King's name, or that would have oppoſed the Inſurrection, and began to govern it ſelf without the conſent of the Magiſtrates. But the news being come to *Paris* upon Chriſtmas-eve, at the ſhutting in of the day, brought firſt by a Poſt diſpatched from *Don Bernardino Mendozza*, and afterward by Captain *Hippolito Zanzala* of *Ferrara*, one of the Captains entertained by the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Shops were haſtily ſhut up, and the multitude in their wonted tumult, ran ſome to the *Hoſtel de Guiſe*, where were the Dutcheſſes of *Guiſe* and *Montpenſier*, the Dukes Wife and Siſter, and ſome to the City Gates to look for more certain news, and more diſtinct particulars of the buſineſs; which when they had learned by the arrival of thoſe, who, having fled from *Blois*, came all running without ſtay to *Paris*; the people ſometimes with howlings, ſometimes with lamentations, ſometimes with

The Inſurrection of the Pariſians, at the news of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s death.

1589. exceeding fierce cries, wavered in their resolutions, there not being yet any one ready to govern the violence, and direct the determinations of the confused giddy multitude: For the Dutchess of *Guise*, with a Womanish softness, was all in tears; and the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, a Lady of a haughty mind, and full of bold manly spirits (who had torn the Kings name and credit more with her Tongue, than her Brothers had done with their Swords, and all their practices) being from her birth lame of one foot, and subject to frequent infirmities, was then lying in her bed, and had already been indisposed for many dayes: Wherefore the Council of the League being come together in the midst of the tumultuous people, resolved to send for *Charles* of *Lorain*, Duke of *Aumale*, who fleeing from the States at *Blois*, out of a certain presaging fear, had staid in *Paris*, and that very day was retired to his devotions to the Covent of Carthusians hard by the City; at whose arrival, though late at night, all the multitude ran to his house, but onely spent the time in bewailings and lamentations.

The next day, the whole City being in grief, they dispatched Divine Service quickly, without their wonted Musick and Singing, and from the Churches being come to the Town-house, the same Council met again there; at which were present the most noted Citizens, and also many of the Magistrates; some drawn by an anxious curiosity, some driven by the fear of being torn in pieces by the fury of the multitude, and some came with a desire to find remedy against the unbridled rashness of the common people. But it was all in vain: For in stead of Counsels, there being nothing heard but bitter Invectives, and Injurious Threats against the King's name, they resolved in the first place, that till a further determination, the Duke of *Aumale* should be declared Governor of the City, and that under his obedience they should from new advertisements, expect new occasion of taking another resolution: Yet he not having power to do or determine any thing without the Council of *Sixteen*, and because every one cried out tumultuously, that the City ought to be kept from the machinations and violences of the *Hugonots* and *Politicks*, who upon occasion of the slaughter of *Blois*, might plot against the general peace and safety; the Duke having taken the name and authority of Governor, put the people in Arms, and under their Commanders distributed them to the keeping of the principal places, taking care that the goods and houses of the Citizens might not be pillaged by the Seditious Rabble.

*Charles* of *Lorain*, Duke of *Aumale*, being made Governor of *Paris* by the City, armes the people, and orders them regularly under Commanders.

The same evening, and the next day, the Preachers thundered from their Pulpits the praises of the Duke of *Guise*'s Martyrdom, and detestations of that slaughter, most cruelly committed by the King; in such manner, that not onely the mindes of the baser people, but also of the most noted Citizens, were won by their perswasions, and kindled with an infinite desire to take revenge: Which boldness both in the Preachers and People was doubled, when they heard the news of the Cardinals death also, which brought them to the highest pitch of rage and madness; so that upon the Eight and twentieth of *December*, being Innocents day, the Council of *Sixteen* caused a Writing to be presented to the Colledge of Divines called the *Sorbonne*, in the name of the *Provost* and *Eschevins* of the City, wherein relating how much the Lords of *Guise* deserved of the Catholick Church, and their being murdered by the King as Protectors of the faith, they demanded whether he might not lawfully be said to have forfeited his Crown; and whether it were not lawful for his Subjects (notwithstanding their Oath of Allegiance) to withdraw their obedience from him, as an Hypocrite Prince, an open favourer of Heresie, and a persecutor of the holy Church, who had bloodied his hands in the sacred Order and eminent Person of a Cardinal. The Colledge of *Sorbonne* being assembled, there was no great debate about the matter: For though *Jehan Fabray*, Dean of the Colledge, a man of profound Learning, followed by *Robert Vauvarrin* and *Dennis Sorbin*, two of the Senior Doctors, argued, that though it were true, that the business had passed as the Writing related (which was doubtful) yet neither for all that could the King be said to have forfeited the Kingdom, nor was it lawful for his People to withdraw their obedience from him; so great nevertheless was the ardour of the younger men, excited by the Preachings of *Guilliaume Roze* Bishop of *Senlis*, of the Curats of St. *Paul*, and St. *Eustache*, of *Jehan Vincestre*, *John Hamilton*, Father *Jaques Commolet*, a Jesuit, Father *Bernard*, a *Fuillant*, and of Father *Francois de Feu-ardant*, a Franciscan; that they unanimously concurred to determine both the points, and with concurring votes declared, That the King had forfeited his right to the Crown, and that his subjects not onely might, but ought to cast off their obedience; and that, providing for the Government, they justly had power to make confederacies,

The Preachers detracting from the King, celebrate the Duke of *Guise* his Martyrdom with exceeding high praises.

The Colledge of *Sorbonne* declares *Henry* the Third to have forfeited his Right to the Crown, and his Subjects free from their Oath of Allegiance.

confederacies, to impoſe Subſidies, raiſe Soldiers, diſpoſe of the Revenues of the Crown, and to do all other things which were opportune or convenient for the defence of Religion, and their own ſecurity. They added, with the ſame univerſal conſent, that the Decree of this Declaration ſhould be ſent to the Pope, that he might confirm it, and make it ſo authentick, that the validity of it might not at all be called in queſtion for the time to come; after which Declaration, the people as it were looſened from the bonds of obedience, and having broken the rein of Modeſty, ran violently to the breaking down of the King's Armes and Statues, whereſoever they found them, and began furiouſly to ſeek out all thoſe which could be accounted dependents of his party, by them called *Navarriſts* and *Politicks*; which inſolent tumultuous ſearch forced many quiet men, and ſuch as were averſe from thoſe turbulent wayes, to leave their houſes to ſave their lives; many others were fain to compound with money; and ſome (notwithſtanding the Duke of *Aumale* took great pains to prevent it) loſt their lives unfortunately in the buſineſs: while which things were done with infinite diſorder, all the ſtreets were full of Arms, noiſes, and confuſions; and the meaneſt people raging againſt the marks of Royalty, committed ſcandalous and intolerable inſolencies: all Churches eccho'd with voices of the Preachers, who aggravated the Parricide committed by *Henry* of *Valois*, no longer called King of *France*, but the Heretick, Tyrant, and perſecutor of the holy Church; and all places were full of Libels, both in Verſe and Proſe, which contained and amplified the ſame things ſeveral wayes. 1589.

The King's Arms and Statues are thrown down, the *Navarriſts* and *Politicks* perſecuted and ſlain.

But the Council of *Sixteen* deſiring to reduce the City totally into their power, and ſeeing the Parliament divided, part being inclined to follow the popular commotions, part diſpoſed to perſevere in their obedience to the King, determined, that the Preſidents and Counſellors which held the King's party, ſhould, as enemies to the publick good, and adherents to the Tyrant, be not onely removed from their Offices, but alſo ſhut up cloſe priſoners in the *Baſtille*; foreſeeing well, that if they continued at liberty, and had power to manage their affairs, it would infinitely croſs their deſigns, and with very great danger interrupt the union and concord of the other Citizens. Wherefore, having reſolved among themſelves what was to be done, and brought all the Heads of the people to their opinion, upon the Sixteenth of *January*, they, with a great number of armed men, beſet the Palace-Hall, where, according to the cuſtom, the Counſellors of Parliament were met together, and having made good all the paſſages, and ſet guards at every door, they called forth *Achille de Harlay* firſt Preſident of the Parliament, and all the reſt by name, whom they had determined to lay hold on, who being come readily forth to know what they would have with them, already preſaging very well what would come to paſs, the Sieur *de Buſſy*, deputed to execute that buſineſs, gave them order to follow him; which command, grounded rather upon force than reaſon, being by them obeyed without reſiſtance, they were led thorough the cries and injurious uſage of the people, to the *Baſtille*; onely *Pierre Seguier*, and *Jaques Auguſte de Thou*, by the help of fortune ſecretly ſaved themſelves; who depending upon the King's party, had laboured ſtoutly to keep the Parliament from medling in the Inſurrection. The favourers of the League being encouraged, and the oppoſers of it terrified by this vehement reſolution, the remaining Preſidents and Counſellors choſe *Barnabe Briſſon* firſt Preſident and Head of the Parliament, a man of deep learning and ſingular eloquence, but of a violent various inclination, and therefore very ſubject to alter his opinions eaſily; and afterward the Parliament being ſolemnly aſſembled to the number of 160, they, with a publick Declaration aſſented to the depoſing of the King, and to the freeing of the City; and ſubſtituted new men in the places of thoſe whom they had put out and impriſoned. Nor did the buſineſs end there; but to give form to their proceedings, the Parliament being aſſembled again upon the Thirtieth day of *January*, they made an ample Decree to unite and combine themſelves for the defence of the Catholick Religion, the ſafety of *Paris*, and thoſe other Cities that ſhould enter into that League, to oppoſe the power of thoſe, who having violated the publick Faith, had, in the Congregation of the States, taken away the lives of the Catholick Princes, and defenders of the holy Church, to take juſt revenge for their murther, and do juſtice to thoſe that were injured, and finally to defend the Liberty and Dignity of the States of *France* againſt all perſons whatſoever, without exception: which Decree was ſubſcribed and ſworn to by the Preſidents and Counſellors of the Parliament, by the Duke of *Aumale*

All the Counſellors of Parliament and Officers who adhered to the King are impriſoned in the *Baſtille*.

A Decree is made to combine themſelves for the defence of Religion, and it is called the *Holy Union*.

1589. Governour, the *Prevoſt des Marchands*, the *Eſchevins* of the City, and afterwards by a great number, as well of the Gentry and Clergy, as of the common people; and this confederacy, with the wonted name and title of the League, was alſo called the *Holy-Union*. After this Decree, Madam *de Guiſe*, the late Duke's Wife came to the Parliament; where, having in her wonted form made her complaint, and demanded Juſtice for the Murther committed upon her Husband, and the Cardinal her Brother-in-law, reckoning up all the ſervices which the Houſe of *Guiſe* had done to the Catholick Religion and to the Crown; and exaggerating the cruelty of that ſlaughter, under the Publick Faith, and in the preſence of the States-General of the Kingdom: The Parliament (all the ſeveral *Chambers* being ſolemnly aſſembled) decreed, that Juſtice ſhould be done her; and choſe two Counſellors, who with the publick ſolemnities ſhould form the Proceſs; forbidding all other to meddle about taking any information in that buſineſs, which they added, becauſe they knew that there was diligent inquiry made by the King's order concerning thoſe things which had been done by the Princes of *Lorain* in their life-time.

The Dutcheſs of *Guiſe* comes to the Parliament and demands juſtice; they determine to do it her, and chuſe thoſe that ſhould form the Proceſs.

At the Inſurrection of the Parliament and City of *Paris*, as at a Beacon or ſignal of War, the greateſt Cities, and moſt warlike people of *France* took arms likewiſe, and roſe with a very great and univerſal commotion; for as the news of the death of the Princes of *Lorain*, and of the reſolutions of the Pariſians was divulged from hand to hand, ſo like a dangerous fire ſpreading all abroad, did this popular tumult ſucceſſively dilate it ſelf, in ſuch manner, that not onely *Orleans*, and *Chartres*, which had taken Armes from the beginning, but *Meaux*, *Creſpy*, the Caſtle of *Pierre-font*, *Corbeil*, *Melun*, *St Denis*, *Pontoyſe*, *Senlis*, *Creil*, *Clairmont*, and all the Towns about the Iſle of *France* joyned themſelves to the Union of the Pariſians; with the ſame inclination revolted the City of *Rouen*, with the greater part of the Parliament of *Normandy*, *Louviers*, *Mante*, *Vernon*, *Liſieux*, *Ponteau-de-Mer*, *Havre de Grace*, *Honfleur*, *Eureux*, *Fougeres*, *Falaiſe*, *Argentan*, *Montivilliers*, *Dreux*, and except *Caen*, and the Country of *Conſtantine*, all the Cities and ſtrong places of that rich ſpacious Province. *Picardy* followed the ſame example; where *Amiens*, *Cambray*, *Abbeville*, *Soiſſons*, *Laon*, and many other places ſided with the *Union*. *Champagne*, a Province governed by the Duke of *Guiſe* did the like; for *Rheims*, *Troye*, *Vitry*, *Chaſteau-Thierry*, and all the other Towns except *Chalon*, took part with the League without any demur. Nor were mens minds any quieter, or the people more moderate in *Bourgongne*; for *Dijon* with the Parliament of that Province, *Maſcon*, *Lux*, and many other Towns betook themſelves to the ſame party. The like did the Parliament of *Aix*, the head of *Provence*, which was follow'd by *Marſeilles*, *Carcaſonne*, and *Narbonne*, as alſo by the City of *Bourges* (where the Law is chiefly ſtudied) *Mans*, a principal Town in the Confines of *Anjou*, and many other leſſer Villages. In **Gaſcogne*, the Parliament and City of *Tholouſe* took Arms violently, to which many other places joyned themſelves. In *Auvergne* the Count *de Randan*, with *Clairmont*, *Montferrant*, *St Porcin*, *Iſoire*, and other Towns and Fortreſſes followed likewiſe the party of the *Union*. In *Bretagne* the Duke *de Mercœur* Governor thereof, forgetting that he was Brother-in-Law to the King, and by him enriched, exalted, and put into that Government, being drawn, not onely by the intereſts of his Family, but his own private pretenſions, which by his Wife he had unto that Province, took part with the League; *Nantes*, a City of great conſequence, revolting with him, as alſo *Vannes*, *Quimberlay*, and in a manner all that Province full of Nobility and riches. In *Guienne* the tumult was exceeding high, at *Bourdeaux*, a very great City, where the Governor of the Province reſides, and which is the ſeat of the Parliament: But the Mareſchal *de Matignon*, who held that Government in the King's name, with his wonted courage, and prompt reſolution, made ſo brave an oppoſition, that having driven out the ſeditious, and got the upper hand with little blood, he retained it happily at the King's devotion: Yet, *Agen*, *Perigueux*, and many other Towns of that Province went over to the League. The City of *Lyons* was the laſt that roſe, by reaſon of Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo* his reſiſtance, and the oppoſition of the Swiſſe and Italian Merchants: But the great abundance of common people got the beſt at laſt, ſo that they generally reſolved to turn to the party of the *Union*, and to call the Duke of *Nemours*, who had eſcaped from priſon at *Blois*, and had had that Government conferred upon him by the King to gratifie the Duke of *Guiſe* a while before his death.

Places and Cities which riſe and unite themſelves with the Pariſians.

* Rather in *Languedoc*.

The example of the Cities and common people was followed by no ſmall number of

of the Nobility in the ſeveral Provinces, drawing with them not only the Train of their Tenants and Peaſants, but alſo many Caſtles and ſtrong Holds, in which, both for their ſecurity and decency, the Gentry uſe to inhabit in all parts of *France*: So that the party of the League was not onely grown very great, by the conjunction of the principal Cities, but was alſo ſtrengthned by the abetting of the Nobility, in whom, for the moſt part, the Forces of that Crown conſiſt. By the commotion of this Univerſal Inſurrection (as it were miraculouſly foreſeen and foretold by the Queen-Mother upon her Death-bed) all the Provinces of the Kingdom were divided and diſmembred, in ſuch ſort, that not onely Cities were againſt Cities, and Caſtles againſt Caſtles; but alſo Lords, Gentlemen, and meaner perſons againſt one another, became enemies in ſuch a furious hoſtile manner, that treading down the Laws, breaking the bond of common charity, and driving away the Magiſtrates from all places, they of themſelves, without expecting order from their ſuperiors, began a moſt fatal, cruel Civil War, with fire, ſlaughter, blood, and rapine: For neither the Commotions of the Cities, nor the inclinations of this or that particular man being yet know, every one mingling his private intereſts and revenges in the publick combuſtions, did, after their own wills, fortifie places that were quitted, ſeize upon thoſe already fortified, take rich men priſoners, lay wait for the lives of their adverſaries, pillage the goods of the Country people, rob upon the high-wayes; and with horrible unheard of wickedneſs, and without fear of Juſtice or Form of Government, filled every thing with terror, mourning and confuſion; ſo that all commerce being broken of it ſelf, the Wayes beſet, the Gentry and Commons armed, and even the very Clergy encompaſſed with Guards and Weapons, ſometimes under the names of *Hugonots* and *Catholicks*, ſometimes of *Royaliſts* and *Leaguers*, ſometimes of the *Holy Union* and * *White Forces*, ſometimes of *Navarriſts* and *Lorains*, they were as with a fatal general frenzy bent upon the deſtruction of their common Country.

1589.

A deſcription of the miſerable condition that *France* fell into by the means of the Duke of *Guiſe* his death

The Names which the Factions gave one another.

* *Bandes Blanches.*

But the King, to whom the news of theſe Inſurrections were brought every hour from all parts, was exceeding ſollicitous to appeaſe the Deputies, and to ſhew them the neceſſity he had to free himſelf of the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*: For he thought, that they, returning into their own Countries, with the impreſſion of his reaſons, might help very much to ſettle thoſe mindes that were violently ſtirred up, and to reſtore their Cities unto the wonted obedience; and therefore did very carefully cauſe inquiſition to be made concerning the intelligences held by the Lords of *Guiſe*, both within and without the Kingdom, about the penſions which they had received from *Spain*, and particularly, that they had conſented to the conſpiracy of the Duke of *Savoy*, whereby he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo* (though beyond the Alpes) a moſt important member of the Crown; and in this they proceeded, by the Writings, Letters and Accounts, that had been found, and the depoſitions of priſoners; Monſieur *de Monthelon Garde de Seaux*, and two Maſters of the Requeſts, aſſiſting to form the *Proceſs* and examine Witneſſes.

But the ſecret opinions of the States were divers, though they all reſulted to the ſame end: For thoſe who before held for the King, being confirmed and encouraged by what had paſſed, ſtood more boldly and ſtoutly for the Royal Authority, and that all things might be concluded according to his intentions: But thoſe that were for the League, and that depended upon the Houſe of *Guiſe*, being in fear for themſelves, ſought all manner of means, to the end, that the Congregation of the States breaking up of any faſhion, they might have leave to depart freely; having reſolved afterwards to diſpoſe of themſelves according to their own inclinations, notwithſtanding all that ſhould be determined in the Aſſembly, as things extorted violently by fear and force: Which though the King perceived by more ſigns than one, and knew clearly, that every one, making a fair ſhew, endeavoured to withdraw himſelf and depart; yet deſiring to juſtifie his actions, he again confirmed the Edict of the *Union* in the States, hoping to take away all ſuſpicion from the Legat, who did very much preſs for that Declaration, and from his Catholick Subjects, of his adhering to the *Hugonots*, or of labouring to procure the King of *Navarr*'s ſucceſſion, whilſt he was diſobedient to the Roman Catholick Church. Afterwards the Edicts being confirmed which had been made for the moderation of Taxes, and leſſening the number of Offices, in all other things he kept on the ſame way, being diligent to ſhew, that he had done all of his own accord, and not as having been conſtrained by the Duke of *Guiſe*. Finally, many Decrees were made about the form of Judicature, and other matters touching the eaſe and relief

of

1589. of the People; and in this manner the States concluded; the moſt ſuſpected of them, with deep diſſimulation ſtriving (in emulation of one another) to ſhew themſelves the King's dependents, and affectionate to his ſervice: Among which, were the Count *de Briſſac*, the Sieur *de Bois Dauphin*, *Bernard* the Advocate, and others, who, aſſoon as they were gone from *Blois*, joyned again unto the party of the *League*.

The King, beſides the frequent news of ſo many Inſurrections, was infinitely troubled at the loſs of *Orleans*; for he took great thought about it, and had laboured with all poſſible diligence to keep it, as a City that was near unto him, ſeated upon the great road of *Paris*, and very convenient to make the ſeat of the War: And though preſently after the death of the Lords of *Guiſe*, he had ſent thither firſt Monſieur *de Dunes*, Brother to Monſieur *d' Entraques*, and then the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, with ſome of the Soldiers of his own Guard, yet *Claude de Lorain*, Knight of *Jeruſalem*, Brother to the Duke of *Aumale*, being come to aſſiſt the People with ſupplies ſent by the Pariſians, the obſtinacy of their ſollicitouſneſs in aſſaulting it, was ſo great, and ſo great the want of Ammunition, and other things neceſſary to defend it, that in the end of *January*, the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* marching away with Four hundred men, gave way, that ſome few who remained ſhould render it up unto the people; and ſo that City was left totally in the power of the League.

But above all things, the means of appeaſing the Pope kept the King in greateſt perplexity: for though the Legat, knowing all things that had paſſed in *France*, ſhewed himſelf from the beginning very favourable to his party, and ready to repreſent what had been done advantageouſly for him at *Rome*; yet was he not certain what the Pope would think of it, being far from the place, and perchance having received an ill impreſſion, both by the relations of the League, and the ill Offices of the Spaniards: Wherefore preſently after the Cardinal of *Guiſe*'s death, he diſpatched moſt particular informations to *Jehan de Vivonne*, Marquiſs of *Piſani*, his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, that he might have wherewithal to anſwer thoſe things which might be objected, and wherewithal to make good his reaſons; and having before ſent *Girolamo Gondi*, a Florentine to the Pope, to intreat him to make the Cardinal of *Guiſe* his Legat at *Avignon*, now changing his Commiſſion, he gave him order to take Poſt, and make all poſſible haſte to *Rome*, to excuſe the death of the ſame Cardinal unto the Pope, and if need were, to intercede for his abſolution for it.

*Sixtus* 5. being told of the Cardinal of *Guiſe*'s death, is highly offended and anſwers the King's Ambaſſadors very ſharply, who came to excuſe it to him.

But the Pope having received the news of the Duke's death firſt, ſeemed to make no great reckoning of it; and turning to the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe*, who was there preſent, he ſaid, See what becomes of ſuch men as commit errors, and afterwards know not how to look to themſelves. But four dayes after, the news being arrived of the Cardinals death, and the impriſonment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and Archbiſhop of *Lyons*; being a man of a moſt fierce, precipitate nature, he broke forth into ſo great wrath, that thundering on every ſide, he cauſed the Ambaſſadors to be called before him, to whom with very ſharp words he told the news he had received, complaining beyond meaſure of the King, That he had had the boldneſs, contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, and contrary to the Priviledges of the dignity of Cardinal, and contrary to all laws, Divine and Humane, to put a Cardinal to death, and impriſon cloſely two moſt principal Prelates; at the ſame time highly threatning the Cardinal-Legat, who being preſent, had not withheld the King from ſo heinous an offence. The Marquiſs *de Piſani*, and *Girolamo Gondi* (who was then arrived) with modeſt and obſequious, but yet conſtant and grave diſcourſes, laid open all the King's reaſons, the crime of high-Treaſon which the Cardinal of *Guiſe* had incurred, and whereof the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and Arch-biſhop of *Lyons* were likewiſe guilty; their forces and power, whereby the King was ſo far diſabled to puniſh them with the wonted forms in a judiciary way, that they a few months before had unworthily driven him out of his own Palace, and made him fly unknown from the City of *Paris* to ſave his life: the ſtate of affairs brought to ſuch extremities by the conſpiracies managed by the Brothers of *Lorain* in the States, that unleſs the King, as a *Ward*, would be brought into ſubjection, or deprived of his Crown, he was neceſſitated to cauſe them to be puniſhed, though without form of judgment, yet not without moſt apparent reaſon, their crimes being moſt heinous and manifeſt, which he as King and Head of Juſtice had power to judge and puniſh in any manner whatſoever: That if nothing elſe, the very contempt they had ſhown of Religion, in making uſe of ſo many ſolemn Oaths, and Sacraments of the holy Church as means to deceive him, had made them unworthy of the protection

of

of his Holineſs, who might eaſily inform and certifie himſelf, by many proofs, that it was not to protect and defend the Catholick Faith ( which no man could hold in greater veneration than the King) but for their own ambition, and to uſurp the Kingdom from the lawful Heirs, they had ſo often, with the loſs of ſo many mens lives, diſturbed and diſtracted the whole Kingdom: Finally, they added, that the King was an obedient Son of the Church, deſirous to ſatisfie the Pope in all things poſſible, and that therefore he had ſent *Girolamo Gondi* to intreat and beſeech his Holineſs to grant him his bleſſing, in token that he was appeaſed and pacified. The Pope, neither perſwaded nor appeaſed, replyed, that *Girolamo Gondi* had been diſpatched about another buſineſs, and that he knew it very well; that the King was ſo far from ſubmitting to his obedience, and ſuing for abſolution, that perſevering yet in his ſin, he ſtill kept priſoners the two chief Prelates in all *France*, who were immediately under the Apoſtolick See, and that if the Cardinal of *Guiſe* and the reſt had offended ſo much, as the Ambaſſadors reported, the King might have demanded Juſtice from him to whom it belonged to judge them, and that he ſhould have known very well how to adminiſter it: And becauſe the Ambaſſadors anſwered, that they were Ambaſſadors, and publick perſons, and therefore ought to be believed in whatſoever they repreſented touching the King's deſire, and the Bleſſing which they demanded in his name: The Pope replyed, that they were Ambaſſadors to treat of matters that concerned the affairs of the Kingdom of *France*; but that Contrition and Confeſſion in *Foro Conſcientiæ* were to go before abſolution; and that therefore it was needful to ſend an eſpecial Embaſſie, and a perſon expreſly for that purpoſe; that in token of his Repentance he ought firſt to ſet at liberty the Prelates that were in Priſon; that the King and the Ambaſſadors ſought to deceive him, but they ſhould be aſſured they had not to do with a young Novice, but one, who, even with the ſhedding of his blood, was ready to uphold the dignity of the Holy-Chair; and having with ſharp words, and ſharper looks diſmiſſed them, he cauſed the *Conſiſtory* to be called the next morning, in which, with a vehement Oration, and full of reſentment, he accuſed the King in preſence of the Cardinals reprehended thoſe who excuſed and defended him, and threatned ſeverely to puniſh Cardinal *Moreſini*, who forgetting the perſon he repreſented, had, without any ſenſe of the affront, ſuffered the Liberty and Dignity of the Holy-Church to be trampled under foot: then electing a certain number of Cardinals, who were to conſult about thoſe matters that appertained to the Kingdom of *France*, the chief whereof were the Cardinals, *Serbeloni*, *Fachinetto*, *Lancellotto*, *Caſtagna*, and *Sancta Severina*, he ſet the buſineſs in a high reputation, and filled the whole World with exceeding great expectation. 1589.

*Sixtus Quintus* chuſeth a congregation of Cardinals, who were to conſult about the affairs of *France*.

In the mean time the affairs of the League gathered ſtrength, and took form in *France*; for the Duke of *Mayenne* being departed ſecretly from *Lyons* the ſame night that he heard the news of his Brother's death, doubting ( as it was true ) that the King had taken order, and would ſend to lay hold on him, came much perplexed and uncertain of his condition into the Province of *Bourgongne*, which was governed by him, and retired to *Maſcon*, from whence he began practices with the other Towns of that Province, and particularly with the City and Caſtle of *Dijon*, commanded by the Baron *de Lux*, Nephew to the Arch-biſhop of *Lyons*; and having found the City, Parliament, and Governour of the Caſtle ready to receive him, and to run his fortune, recovering courage he went thither, from whence he preſently ſent unto the Pope the **Commendatory Francois Diu*, Knight of *Jeruſalem*, a man vers'd in the Court of *Rome*, and one of the chief ancient abettors of the League, to the end that he might complain about the death of his Brothers before the Holy-Chair, and beſeech the Pope, that he would take into his protection the relicks of the Catholick party, extreamly trodden down and afflicted. While the Duke ſtayed there, not well reſolved in his thoughts, Letters came from Madam *de Montpenſier* his Siſter, which gave him notice of the revolt of the Pariſians, and of all the adjacent Towns, and exhorted him to take heart, and putting himſelf into the place of his Brothers, to become head of the *Union*, with aſſured hopes, not onely to revenge their death, but happily to proſecute the contrived and begun deſign of the League. This exhortation, and theſe letters added to the news of the revolt of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, confirmed the Duke's courage in ſuch manner, that the Kings letters, written very kindly to him, which came to his hands a while after, had not power enough to make him yield to peace, which, at firſt perhaps he would have greedily embrac'd. The King writ, that he had been conſtrained by neceſſity to forget his own nature to free himſelf

* The French ſayes *Commandeur*. *Un Commandeur* is one, that having Eccleſiaſtical Livings may not Marry, and yet is not compelled to be a Prieſt; as the Grand Prior of *France*, and all the Knights of St *John's* in *Jeruſalem*. *Comines*, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 9.

1589. himſelf of thoſe conſpiracies which the Duke and Cardinal his Brothers had plotted againſt him, and in a manner brought to a concluſion; that nevertheleſs he had not been ſo ſevere as any other would have been, ſatisfying himſelf with taking away the principal Heads, and leaving all the reſt alive, who he hoped might acknowledge and amend their former errors; that he had not been moved by any hatred or paſſion, for he had alwayes loved, favoured, and exalted their family, as he deſired to do again for the time to come; and that therefore he prayed him not to let himſelf be guided and tranſported by his affection to his Brothers, but to remember that he had been forced by thoſe attempts, which he certainly knew had ever been unpleaſing to him, as one averſe from the ambition and evil deſigns of his Brothers; that for that reaſon he had ever deſired to exalt him, and had alwayes conferred upon him the commands of his Armies, becauſe he knew him to be far from thoſe wicked arts which the others had intended to practice; He exhorted him to perſevere in that good and laudable reſolution, not to make himſelf an inſtrument to divide the Catholick party, and tear in pieces their common Countrey, nor to joyn himſelf to the ambition of factious men, from which, even in the fervour of his youth he had ever been averſe: but ſhewing that he made more account of the general good, and his own duty towards his Prince, than of thoſe private paſſions which uſe to draw and govern mean vulgar ſpirits, he would ſincerely unite himſelf to him to preſerve the peace of the Catholicks, and make War againſt the Hugonots; which if he would conſent unto, he offered him all manner of ſecurity, and the moſt reaſonable ſatisfaction he could deſire. But the Duke's mind was already ſet upon other thoughts, never believing that he could be ſecure, much leſs favoured by the King, who gave him thoſe fair words, becauſe he was eſcaped out of the net; and ſeeing the great diſtractions of the Kingdom, he hoped for a much higher power and greatneſs then what his brothers had poſſeſſed: wherefore his inclinations and hope meeting both together in the ſame end, and thinking that it ſo became his honour, he leaned toward revenge and the command of that faction; which reſolution was abſolutely concluded, after that Madam *de Montpenſier*, not valuing her own health, nor the inconveniency of the ſeaſon, came with great ſpeed to *Dijon*, whoſe vehement effectual exhortations, and the Letters of the Duke of *Aumale*, and many others of the faction exciting him, he at laſt determined to conſent to the taking up of Arms, and to proſecute the deſigns of the League, making himſelf Head of the *Holy-Union*.

The King writes kind Letters to the Duke of *Mayenne*, promiſing him very great things.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, notwithſtanding the Kings promiſes, being perſwaded by Madam *de Montpenſier*, his ſiſter, makes himſelf Head of the *Holy Union*.

The reſolution being taken, he preſently gave order to the Sieurs *de Rhoſne*, *de St. Paul*, *Chamois* and *d' Eſchavoles*, to receuit their Regiments of French Foot; and began to ſummon the Nobility and Gentry his dependents, and to win the hearts of the people in every place. And becauſe the foundation conſiſted in the City of *Paris*, the Duke determined to go thither with Madam *de Montpenſier*, the way being now ſecure by the taking of the Caſtle of *Orleans*, and by the revolt of *Bourges*, *Troye*, and *Chartres*. The Duke paſſed through all theſe Cities, gathering Forces, and drawing men together; ſome raiſed with his own Money, ſome brought in by his friends and adherents, and ſome furniſhed by the People; and being already grown to the number of Four thouſand ſoldiers and Five hundred Gentlemen, he came upon the fifteenth of *February* into the City of *Paris*. There the Duke and *Chevalier d' Aumale*, putting themſelves willingly under his authority; and the Councel of the *Union*, with moſt ready conſent of the Citizens, acknowledging him for their Head; the Parliament having aſſembled all the * *Chambers*, *Bernabe Briſſon* firſt Preſident of the *League*, making the Propoſition, declared him Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, giving him (except the name) the very power and authority which uſes to be natural to their Kings; which yet they intended ſhould continue but till the States-General of the Kingdom ſhould determine otherwiſe, they being appointed to meet in the City of *Paris* in the month of *July* following. Thus the Duke of *Guiſe*'s death did with admirable facility, and the univerſal inclination of that party, produce that power in his brother, which he with ſo many toils, and ſo long machinations had ſo eagerly laboured for in his life-time, yet never could obtain it for himſelf. Upon the two and twentieth of *February*, the Duke took poſſeſſion in the Parliament of this extraordinary dignity, having taken a publick Oath, to protect and defend the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion againſt every one, To preſerve entire the State belonging to the Crown of *France*, To defend the Priviledges of the three Orders, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons; and, To cauſe the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom

* Or, *ſeveral Courts*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being come to *Paris*, is declared Lieutenant-General of the Crown of *France*.

Kingdom to be obſerved, as alſo the authority and power of the Parliaments. After which Oath, many Prayers and Proceſſions having been made, he choſe and appointed the Council of the Union, conſiſting of Forty of the moſt eminent perſpicuous perſons of the League, which, with his aſſiſtance, was to treat of, and conclude all the moſt weighty buſineſſes, the Council of *Sixteen* being nevertheleſs ſtill left, and particularly appointed for the eſpecial Government of *Paris*.

1589. The Council of the Union is choſen, conſiſting of forty of the chiefeſt perſons of the League.

Having taken the command of the *League* upon him, the Duke began to increaſe the Body of his Forces to form an Army of them, with which he might march whither need ſhould require: But in every Province he allotted both Forces and Commanders to order the affairs of the League, and to make War againſt thoſe who were yet of the Kings party. *Bretagne* was governed by the Duke *de Mercœur*, who, not at all moved with the Kings, and his Sifters Exhortations, to unite himſelf unto them, was very ſtrong and powerful, having with his authority made all that Province to revolt, except the Parliament of *Renes*, and ſome few Towns and little Caſtles. In *Normandy* it hapned otherwiſe: for though the greateſt part of the Towns had declared for the League, yet the Nobility held of the Kings party; ſo that the Heads were few and divided: The Sieur *de la Londe* at *Rouen*, *Andre Braneace* Sieur *de Villars* at *Havre de Grace*, *Long-champ* at *Liſieux*, and the Baron *d' Eſchauſour* in the Country of *Perche*: Wherefore the Duke ſent the Count of *Briſſac* thither with authority to command them all. The Duke of *Aumale*, who was Governour of it, went into *Picardy*, a divided Province, yet one of the moſt favoured by the League, becauſe it bordered upon the Territories of the Catholick King. The Count *de Chaligny*, and Col. St. *Paul*, an old Servant bred up in that Family, went into *Champagne*, a Province deſtined (in ſucceſſion of his Father) to the young Duke of *Guiſe*, who was yet in priſon. The Viſcount *de Tavannes*, an old experienced Souldier, had order to command in *Bourgongne*, the particular Government of the Duke of *Mayenne*. The care of *Lyonois* was given to the Duke of *Nemours*, and in his abſence to his Brother the Marqueſs of St. *Sorlin*. The command of *Berry* continued under the Sieur *de la Chaſtre*, who being Field-Mareſchal in the Duke of *Nevers* his Army, aſſoon as he could free himſelf of that obſtacle, followed the party of the League as he had formerly done. The Count *de Randan* held the command in *Auvergne*; and in *Provence*, the Marqueſs *de Villars*, and the Sieur *de Vins*, an old adherent to the Houſe of *Guiſe*. The Dukes of *Joyeuſe* (Father and Brother to him that was ſlain in the Battel of *Contras*, fighting againſt the King of *Navarre*) had the Government of *Gaſcogne*; in which Province, except the City and Parliament of *Tholouſe*, the party of the Confederates was not very ſtrong; and in *Dauphine*, *Languedoc*, and *Guienne*, the League had but very ſlender Forces.

But before all theſe preparations, the Duke diſpatched *Lazare Coqueille*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, to *Rome*; and with him were gone two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, to confirm the Decree of their Colledge, by which they had determined, That the King had forfeited his right to the Crown, and that his Subjects might juſtly withdraw their obedience from him; the Duke foreſeeing well that the popular Cauſe, wholly founded upon the pretence of Religion, was to look for, and take its increaſe and nouriſhment from the Apoſtolick Sea, and the Popes approbation.

But the King, who, afflicted with his wonted melancholly, though he diſſembled it, had ſince the death of his Mother been many days troubled with a Bloody Flux, was no leſs ſollicitous, concerning the affairs at *Rome*, than the Duke of *Mayenne*, as well becauſe being a very great honourer of Religion, he could not be ſatisfied to live diſobedient to the Apoſtolick Sea, as becauſe, making the ſame judgment as they of the League, he ſaw that the greateſt foundation of the adverſe party conſiſted in the approbation and encouragement from *Rome*: Wherefore, though he had cauſed abſolution to be given him for the death of the Cardinal, by vertue of a *Breve* granted to him a few months before by the preſent Pope, to make himſelf be abſolved in all reſerved caſes by his own Ordinary Confeſſor; yet ſeeing that that was not enough, he ſent *Claude d' Angennes*, of his beloved Family of *Rambouillet*, Biſhop of *Mans*, a man of profound Learning, and ſingular Eloquence, to the end, that being informed of all his Reaſons, he might, as his Sollicitor, ſue for an abſolution from the Pope, and endeavour to reconcile him to the Apoſtolick Sea; to which (ſo he might but ſecure himſelf) he was ready to give the moſt exact ſatisfaction. The Biſhop of *Mans* came to *Rome*, and having conferred with the other Ambaſſadors, they went together to

The Biſhop of *Mans* is ſent by the King, on purpoſe to demand abſolution for the Cardinal of *Guiſe* his death

1589. receive audience from the Pope; where after words of compliment, full of moſt deep ſubmiſſion, they firſt argued that the King had not incurred any Cenſure, not having violated the Eccleſiaſtical Liberties and Immunities; for the Cardinal was guilty of the crime of Rebellion, in which caſe the Prelates of *France*, notwithſtanding any dignity whatſoever, are underſtood to be ſubject to the Secular Juriſdiction; and ſo much the rather, becauſe he having been a Peer of *France*, his cauſes naturally ought to be judged in the Court of Peers, which is no other but the great Court of Parliament, with the aſſiſtance of the Princes and Officers of the Crown: ſo that if the King had infringed any Juriſdiction, it was that of the Parliament, and not the Eccleſiaſtical one, which hath nothing to do with the Peers of *France*: But becauſe this reaſon was not only diſapproved by the Pope, but that alſo he ſeemed more diſpleaſed and offended at it, alledging, that the eminency and Priviledges of the dignity of Cardinal, were immediately ſubject to the Pope, and no other; the Ambaſſadors began to diſpute, that the Kings of *France* could not incur Cenſure for any Sentence they ſhould give; and urged the Priviledges of the moſt Chriſtian Kings, and the Juriſdiction of the *Gallique* Church: But this incenſed the Pope ſo much the more, who bad them take heed how they propoſed things that had a touch of Hereſie, as this had; for he would cauſe them to be puniſhed. To which, though the Marquiſs replied, That as Ambaſſadors they could not be medled withal, nor puniſhed, and that no fear ſhould make them forbear to propoſe the Kings right; yet, having received Commiſſion to appeaſe and not to exaſperate the Pope, they alledged in the third place, That the King, by virtue of the Apoſtolick *Breve* granted to him by his Holineſs, had cauſed himſelf to be abſolved; and therefore they inſiſted only, that his Holineſs, knowing the Pardon he had granted him, would either confirm it, or not be diſpleaſed, if the King, valuing it as he ought, had made uſe of it in a ſeaſonable occaſion: For not having, in the heat of danger, conſidered ſo particularly, and having never had any intention to offend the Juriſdiction of the Apoſtolick See, after he had been made ſenſible of it, he being moved with ſcruple of Conſcience, had proſtrated himſelf at the feet of his Confeſſor, and had begged and obtained abſolution, for as much as need ſhould require, though he thought he had not tranſgreſſed effectively. To this the Pope anſwered, That the *Breve* was granted for things paſt, but could not extend to future ſins, the abſolution whereof cannot be anticipated: That ſuch a caſe as this, in which the Apoſtolick See was directly offended, and all Chriſtendom ſcandalized, was not comprehended under that *Breve*; and that the Expoſition was to be demanded from him who had granted it, which now he declared, affirming, that it had never been his intention to enable the King to receive abſolution for his future faults, and for ſo evident a violation of the Dignity of Cardinal.

This Treaty having been often repeated, and diſcuſſed with great allegations of Right and Authority, in the end, the Ambaſſadors were contented to petition in writing for the Popes abſolution; who expreſſed a deſire to have it ſo, and that it was the means to appeaſe and ſatisfie him. Wherefore, after good Offices done by the Venetian and Florentine Ambaſſadors in favour of the King, having received order from their Princes to take great pains in his behalf, the Biſhop with a Petition of a very ſubmiſſive form demanded abſolution of the Pope; who with pleaſing words anſwered, That he would willingly grant it, when he ſhould be aſſured of the Kings contrition, whereof he would have this token, that he ſhould ſet at liberty the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, it being vain to grant him abſolution for one thing whilſt he perſiſted in the act of another, which did infer the ſame prejudice to the Apoſtolick See, which he could not diſſemble. At this the Ambaſſadors, and thoſe that favoured them, were exceedingly perplexed, conceiving themſelves to have been deceived, and thinking that another kind of moderation ought to be uſed towards a King of *France*; wherefore laying together all thoſe reaſons already alledged in the former Conferences, they concluded, that the King by ſetting thoſe Prelates at liberty, ſhould but increaſe the fire in his Kingdom, with the evident danger of his own Life and Crown, and that therefore it was not fit to free them: To which the Pope replied, That they ſhould be ſent priſoners to him; for if he found them guilty, he knew which way to puniſh them: But the Ambaſſadors anſwered; firſt, that the judgment of things in his own Kingdom belonged to the King; and then that the whole State (thanks to their Conſpiracies) was ſo diſturbed, that they could not be ſent; for all the Country

Country near the *Alps*, and round about the place where they were being up in Arms, it was not poſſible to remove them, nor to conduct them ſecurely, and that therefore the King was not obliged to impoſſibilities. But the Pope obſtinately perſiſting in his demand, the Ambaſſadors agreed at laſt to write about it into *France*, and inſiſted that in the mean time, the King having humbled himſelf, and ſubmitted to the Apoſtolick See, the Decree of *Sorbonne* ought to be revoked and nullified, being not only exorbitant and unjuſt, but inſolent, and prejudicial to the Holy Chair, whereof thoſe Divines made ſo little reckoning, that they had dared to determine a point of ſo great conſequence as the depoſing of a King; a thing, which though it ſhould be granted to appertain to the Eccleſiaſtical power, yet would it be ſimply proper to the higheſt power, which is in the Vicar of Chriſt, and not to that of a petulant Colledge conſiſting of a few paſſionate corrupted perſons: but neither could this be obtained; for the Pope confeſſing that the Decree was preſumptuous, and worthy cenſure, ſaid that he would reſerve himſelf to do it when the King had given him full ſatisfaction. 1589.

This ſeemed very ſtrange to the Ambaſſadors, and ſeeing that they had propoſed all thoſe ſpiritual ſatisfactions which they (even to the prejudice of the Crown) could offer, with ſo great humiliation, that more could not be deſired from a King, they intended to try another way; and the Marqueſs, whoſe Wife was a Roman, began by means of that alliance to treat with *Donna Camilla* the Popes Siſter, offering (amongſt other rewards which the Popes Kindred ſhould have, if by their means the Abſolution was obtained) to give the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo* in Fee-farm to *Don Michele* his Nephew, which the King proffered (the peace being made with the Catholicks of his Kingdom) to recover at his own charge from the Duke of *Savoy*; but neither could this prevail with the obdurateneſs of the Pope; partly, becauſe the Marqueſate was now in the power of another, nor could it be regained without a tedious War; partly, becauſe he ſaw the Kingdom involved in ſo great a diſtraction, and the Catholick party ſo ſtrong, that he doubted whether his Abſolution would be able to ſettle and reſtore its peace. Moreover, about this very time the Abbot of *Orbais* was arrived at *Rome*, ſent by the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, Madam *de Montpenſier*, and other Heads of the League, on the one ſide to magnifie the Forces of the Union, into which almoſt all the chief and moſt noted Cities of *France* were entered, with an infinite concourſe of the Nobility and Commons, ſo that now the King was thereby, not in writing, but in deed depoſed and robbed of his Crown; and on the other, to complain of the inclination which the Pope ſhewed to abſolve *Henry* of *Valois*, (ſo they called him) whereby he, who was Head of the Catholick Church, and to whom more than to any other it belonged to promote the Holy Union, contracted for the defence of Religion, and the liberty and dignity of the Apoſtolick See, ſeemed to make but ſmall account of it; that the imputations of Rebellion and Treaſon which were caſt upon the memory of the Duke and Cardinal of *Guiſe* were falſe and vain; for they had never taken Arms againſt the King, nor conſpired any thing againſt him; but always with due obedience and veneration of the Royal Name, had ſuſtained and defended the Catholick Religion, againſt the powerful plots and forces of the Hugonots: that it was known how *Francis* the Duke their Father had loſt his life in the ſervice of the Crown, and of the Church of God, as alſo the Duke of *Aumale* their Uncle, ſlain fighting under the walls of *Rochel* for the Catholick Faith: that it was likewiſe certain how much the Duke of *Guiſe* had laboured, ſuffered, and endured bearing Arms for the Kings ſervice, and for Religion: that he had all his life-time born the ſcars in his face of the wounds he had received fighting againſt the Army of the *Reiters*, for the defence of the Provinces and Confines of the Kingdom: that he had defended the City of *Poictiers* againſt the long ſiege of the Hugonots, led up the firſt Squadrons of the Army, fighting victoriouſly againſt them at *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*; that, laſt of all, with a handful of men, he had expoſed himſelf, and the lives of all his Souldiers, againſt that formidable Army of the Lutherans of *Germany*, conquered it, and diſperſed it for the ſafety of the Kingdom, and of all Chriſtian people; nor in all thoſe toils and dangers had he ever pretended any other thing but to ſerve the King, and defend the Catholicks from the imminent oppreſſion of the Hugonots: that if the King went from *Paris* upon the Inſurrection of the Pariſians, the fault was his own, in having put a Gariſon into a City where there never had been any, and in having gone about to take away the lives of the chief Citizens; but no conſpiracy of the

The Abbot of *Orbais* ſent to *Rome* by the Duke of *Mayenne*, treats of the affairs of the League very effectually.

1589. Duke of *Guiſe's*, who rather had appeaſed the people and quieted the tumult; that ſince then the King had been reconciled, and had agreed to the pacification, wherein the Lords of *Lorain* had neither demanded, nor obtained other, than that the publick exerciſe of the Hugonot Religion might be taken away, and that War might be made againſt them; and though ſome little ſhadow of ſuſpicion ſhould have remained, the King ought to have forgotten it, after ſo many Oaths taken, among the ſacred Ceremonies; and not to make two moſt innocent Princes be murther'd under the Publick Faith, for no other cauſe but to foment the Hugonot Forces, and ſuppreſs the Catholick party, and the Religion of God. But though the Duke and Cardinal had committed ſome errour, what crime could be objected againſt the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, a moſt innocent peaceful old man, who was moſt cruelly kept priſoner? That theſe were arts and violent ways to take away that prop alſo from the Catholick party, and to reduce the Succeſſion into the relapſed, excommunicate Hugonot Princes; that the Pope ought to oppoſe his authority to this ſo evident deſign, to puniſh what was paſt, and provide againſt the future; not being faulty to ſo many people, who had unanimouſly reſolved to ſpend their lives for the defence of Religion, and to piece up and reſtore the trodden-down honour of the Holy Church: that it became him, being the Shepherd, to go before his Flock, and encourage them all to ſo holy, ſo pious a work; but that it was as unſeemly, that while all took Arms boldly, he being ſo far from danger, ſhould be more afraid than all the reſt. With theſe reaſons the Princes of the League endeavoured to animate the Pope, and he receiving news daily from many places of the tumultuous inſurrections in *France*, as a man not well vers'd in Government, and ignorant how eaſily popular commotions are extinguiſhed, gave the King already for abſolutely loſt, nor would he ſhew himſelf a favourer of the weaker ſide, to the diſhonour of himſelf, and of the Apoſtolick See, as the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, and thoſe of the League, did perpetually urge unto him.

In the mean time the King, anxious and ſollicitous about the determinations at *Rome*, kept his reſolutions in ſuſpence, and ſeemed to have laid down the courage of a Lion, which after the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, he made ſhew to have taken up again; for the Duke of *Nevers*, who made War in *Poitou* againſt the Hugonots, having in this interim taken *Ganache*, could not after the news of the death of the Lords of *Lorain*, keep his Army (compoſed for the moſt part of men depending upon the League) from diſſolving of it ſelf; and therefore the Duke being returned to Court, the King ſtraightned for money, and inclined to an agreement, did not think of ſetting his Army again on foot, but minded only thoughts of peace, having deſired the Cardinal Legat to interpoſe for the attaining of it, promiſed to refer all buſineſſes to the Popes arbitrement; which condition the Legat having made known to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and moved him to yield to a Truce, that the accommodation might be negotiated at *Rome*, he denied to conſent unto it, alledging that he could no more truſt him, who notwithſtanding ſo many Sacraments and Ceremonies, violated the Publick Faith, and the Law of Nations, in the face of the Aſſembly of all the States of *France*; and that this was another trick of the Kings, to gain the benefit of time, by means of the Truce, being now unarmed and unprovided: That the Legat ought not to make himſelf the inſtrument of that deceitful policy; for it tended to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, and of Eccleſiaſtical Liberty, perfidiouſly trampled under foot and violated; but that it was rather fit to expect the reſolutions from *Rome*, where he had given the Pope information of all occurrences. But having at the ſame time received the Duke of *Mayenne's* refuſal of the Truce, and the Ambaſſadors Letters from *Rome*, which contained the Popes ſtiffneſs and obſtinacy in deſiring to have the priſoners; and the King not knowing how to releaſe them without fomenting the preſent diſtractions: For it was certain, that they of the Union, having already declared him to have forfeited his Crown, would have elected the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King; the face of affairs was altered; and the King thinking he had uſed all poſſible means, even to his own diſhonour, to appeaſe the Pope, began to change his reſolution, leſt he ſhould be ſuppreſſed without defence, by the power of his Enemies. This neceſſity was ſo apparent, that even the Duke of *Nevers*, who had ever perſwaded him to ſatisfie the Pope, leſt he ſhould divide the Catholick party, had not any reaſon to alledge againſt it; the urgency of affairs did by force conſtrain all opinions to take to one ſide or other: Wherefore the Count *de Soiſſons*, who, a few days before, had defeated ſome Troops of the League, being come to *Blois* with certain Forces, and

The Legat propounds a Truce to the Duke of *Mayenne*; but he refuſeth it.

and having begun to introduce a Treaty of Agreement with the King of *Navarre*, applied himſelf diligently to that buſineſs. The King (as he had always been) was averſe from this Agreement; his nature being (as a man may ſay) incompatible with the commerce of the Hugonots: But neceſſity ſhewed, there was no other way; and all his Counſellors ſaid with one accord, That it was needful for him to reſolve, and take ſome courſe, if he would not be left alone, between two potent Enemies; who, one on this ſide, and the other on that ſide of the *Loyre*, had made themſelves Maſters of all places: And with what Moneys, with what Friends, with what Armies, and with what Forces, could he at the ſame time contend with both Factions? That it was clear, which way ſoever he turned himſelf, he ſhould have one Enemy before him, and another behind him; and that his Kingdom being divided, and likewiſe foreign Princes, between the two Religions, he with a new example ſhould have them both his Enemies: That in this diviſion, whilſt others uſurped the Royal Authority on either ſide, he remained without Forces, without Treaſury, without Money, and that he was now what he had ever feared to be, *dry between two Rivers*: That he had done as much as well he might to appeaſe the Pope: That he had forgotten his own dignity, to agree with thoſe that were up in Arms, and to give ſuch ſatisfaction to Rebels and Deſpiſers of his Name, as they deſerved not: That he had with unheard-of patience, born the injuries of the People, the invectives of the Preachers, the villanous inſolencies of the Factions, the preſumptuous Decrees of the *Sorbonne*, and expoſed the Royal Majeſty to the pleaſure of the remnants of the Houſe of *Guiſe*: That he had done that at *Rome*, which never any King had yielded to do, not only to ask abſolution in writing for a reaſonable, juſt and neceſſary action, but alſo offered to refer all all differences to the Popes arbitrement: What was there more to be done? but only (by reaſon of the appetite of the Spaniards, who governed all in the Court of *Rome*, and of the fierce obdurate nature of the Pope) to expect to be miſerably torn in pieces by his Enemies without defence, and to have thoſe outrages committed upon his own perſon which had been done unto his Statues at *Paris* and *Thouloufe*? That now indeed was the time to ſhew the Heart of a Lyon, and, making uſe of the King of *Navarre*'s aſſiſtance, *De inimicis ſuis vindicare inimicos ſuos*: That this was neither a new, nor an unheard-of thing: That King *Charles* his Brother often, nay, he himſelf, in leſs extremities, had granted Peace to the Hugonots; and that the laſt breach was not occaſioned by his will and conſent, but by the conſpiracies and violences of the League: That he had in vain taken away the lives of the Brothers of *Guiſe*, if he muſt be in the ſame fear of them now they were dead; and if, that obſtacle being taken away, he endeavoured not to bridle the ſeditious, to recover his own power; and finally, to reſtore peace and tranquility to his Kingdom. 1589.

And the King of *Navarre* already knowing, that the occaſion required, and neceſſity forced the King to that reſolution, did by favourable Writings and Declarations, open the way unto it: For many Towns of *Poictou* and *Xaintonge* having yielded themſelves unto him after the departure of the Duke of *Nemours*, he had in all of them forbidden any harm to be done unto the Catholicks, and whereſoever he had to do, ſuffered them to enjoy Liberty of Conſcience, favouring and honouring the Clergy, and giving way every where, that Maſs ſhould be publickly celebrated without any hinderance; and being come to *Chaſtelrault*, which together with *Niort* he had taken by compoſition, he publiſhed a *Manifeſt*, whereby deteſting the Rebellions and Inſurrections of the people againſt their natural King, he proffered, ſubmitting himſelf to his due obedience, to take Arms againſt them; and exhorted all thoſe of his party to follow him in ſo good a work; ſhewing to all the world, what their mind had ever been, and how they had fought ſimply, not for any intereſts, but only for Liberty of Conſcience. After which Proteſtations and Declarations, becauſe the King had juſtified his actions in writing, and ſet forth the occaſion of the death of the Lords of *Guiſe*, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* had done the like on his ſide, endeavouring to lay a fair colour upon their taking up of Arms, and upon the proceedings of the League, a Truce was begun to be treated of with the King of *Navarre*, by means of the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who after the death of the *Guiſes* was returned to his former greatneſs with the King; and after having ſupplied him with One thouſand two hundred Gaſcon Firelocks, under the command of Colonel *Moncaſſin*, had ſent the Abbot *del Bene* to him about the preſent buſineſs. But becauſe many difficulties aroſe, and that the King concurred in it, as it were, perforce, Madam *Diane d' Angouleſme*, his Baſtard-ſiſter, a Lady of

The King of *Navarre* grants Liberty of Conſcience in thoſe places he had taken, and publiſheth a *Manifeſt*, offering to take Arms againſt thoſe that rebelled againſt their natural King.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* returned into his former Greatneſs, treats a Truce with the King of *Navarre*.

1589. of great wiſdom, and well verſed in matters of Government by the experience of times paſt, was employed to treat about this Accommodation; which aſſoon as it was known unto the Cardinal-Legat, he made great complaint of it to the King himſelf, ſhewing him how contrary it was to the promiſes which he had often made to him, that notwithſtanding the death of the Lords of *Guiſe*, he would not forbear to make War with the Hugonots; upon which ground he had endeavoured by favourable advantageous relations, to promote his affairs to the Pope and Court of *Rome*, which now would become vain, to the leſſening of both their reputations, nay, to their blame and infamy, if the Agreement with the Hugonots ſhould be ſo eaſily concluded; and that the Arms deſtined againſt them, ſhould be turned to the deſtruction of the Catholick party; and of thoſe that depended upon the Apoſtolick See, and the Popes authority. But the King, concealing the depth of the buſineſs from the Legat, denied that he had concluded any thing with the Hugonots; but that, if he ſhould do ſo, the fault was not to be imputed to him, who was ſtill the ſame, and always ready to pull down Hereſie; but to the obduratenes of the Pope, who obſtinately denied to abſolve him, and fomented the Inſurrections of thoſe that rebelled againſt him; and to the ſtubbornneſs of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the reſt of the League, who abhorring Peace, had refuſed to refer the differences to the Popes arbitrement: That he had deſired no better, nor more certain witneſs than himſelf, to whom he had ever imparted his thoughts ſincerely, and upon whom he had impoſed the truſt of negotiating that buſineſs: That he ſhould conſider the great ſtraights into which he was reduced by the wickedneſs of others, and not attribute that to Will, which was forcibly extorted by meer neceſſity.

Cardinal *Moreſini* the Legat makes grievous complaints unto the King.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſador departs from Court without taking leave, and goes to *Paris*.

But *Don Bernardino Mendozza*, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, aſſoon as it was divulged, that an Accommodation was treating with the Hugonots, went preſently away from Court without taking leave; and being come to *Paris*, made his reſidence there, as Ambaſſador with the Lords of the League. The Legat ſtood doubtful, believing it not good to forſake the King, and deprive himſelf utterly of the hopes of keeping him with the Catholick party; and on the other ſide, fearing he ſhould be reproved, if he ſhewed himſelf leſs jealous of Religion, than the Spaniſh Ambaſſador had done: And yet thinking that the aſſiſtance of the Phyſician was there moſt needful, where the danger of the diſeaſe was greateſt, he reſolved to ſtay till he ſaw the event of things, not failing in the mean time to write, and preſent his opinion at *Rome*. But his perſon being ſuſpected, his counſels were ſo much more; the Pope accounting him rather a Criminal, than a Legat or Ambaſſador. There were often meetings between him and the Cardinal of *Vendoſme*, who, though the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his Uncle and Benefactor were a priſoner; yet in reſpect of the intereſts of his Family, had never left the King, and there was preſent with them *Rene de Beaune* Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, a Prelate of deep wiſdom and copious eloquence, who being driven away by thoſe of his Dioceſs, for having gone about to withſtand their inſurrections, was retired to Court; and many times the Duke of *Nevers* likewiſe was at the conferences. All of them could have wiſhed the King would not have made a Peace with the Hugonots; but the Pope was ſo obſtinate, the Duke of *Mayenne* ſo ſtubborn, and the inſurrections ſo great through the whole Kingdom, that though they all abhorred it, yet none of them durſt blame that agreement. Wherefore Madam *d' Angouleſme* having treated perſonally with the King of *Navarre*, and then being come to *Blois*, negotiated with the King himſelf; the differences were in a manner compoſed; for the King of *Navarre*, intent upon the great conjuncture of the preſent occaſion, to riſe again with his party, and fight under the Kings Standard and obedience, againſt thoſe Enemies which had ſo many years kept him down, had accepted all conditions impoſed on him by the King, and they only diſagreed in this, that a place being to be aſſigned unto him upon the *Loire*, to the end that he might paſs and return with his Forces, as need required; the King would have given him *Gergeau*, or *Pont de Sey*, weak Towns, and hard to be made good, and he demanded *Saumur*, a City ſeated in a convenient place near *Tours*, and which might eaſily be fortified and defended; yet he inſiſted upon this modeſtly, and rather by way of requeſt, than condition or article of agreement.

Cardinal *Moreſini* ſtays with the King; and the Pope falling into ſuſpicion of him, accounts him guilty.

The peace is concluded between the King of *France* and the King of *Navarre*.

Capt. *du Gaſt* who killed the Cardinal of *Guiſe* treats an agreement with thoſe of the League by the perſwaſion of the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*.

Two weighty accidents did abſolutely neceſſitate the King to conclude the Treaty; one that Captain *du Gaſt*, Governour of *Amboiſe*, to whom, after he had killed the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, the other priſoners had been delivered into cuſtody, being dealt withal

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by thoſe of the League with infinite promiſes, and put into doubts and jealouſies, began to ſtagger; for the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* had made him believe, that the King, to ſhift off the fault of the Cardinal of *Guiſe*'s death from himſelf, had alledged at *Rome*, that Captain *du Gaſt* had, of himſelf, for ſome private injuries, cauſed him to be ſlain without his order, and that now likewiſe for private covetouſneſs he kept the other Prelates in priſon without any order. Wherefore that vain ſuſpicious man having eaſily believed this invention, treated an agreement for himſelf, and to releaſe his priſoners; ſo that the King being driven into great anxiety, was fain to give him thirty thouſand Crowns of that little money he had by him, to recover them out of his hands, and to keep him from freeing them, and from going over to the party of the League, which he could hardly obtain of him with ſo great a reward; and it was neceſſary to diſtribute the priſoners into ſeveral places, with ſeveral guards, and with a much greater charge; for the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was ſent to *Chinon*, the Duke of *Guiſe* to *Tours*, the Duke of *Elbeuf* to *Loches*, and the Archbiſhop (*du Gaſt*, not being to be perſwaded otherwiſe) remained alone in the Caſtle of *Amboiſe*. 1589.

The priſoners given in cuſtody to Captain *du Gaſt* Governour of *Amboiſe*, are ſent to ſeveral fortreſſes, under ſafer guards.

The other accident which did much perplex the King, was the tumult in *Tours*, one of the chief Cities of *Poictou*, ſeated upon the *Loire*, and in which he had deſigned to eſtabliſh the foundation of his party: for the people being ſtirred up by many favourers of the League, and by certain Fryars, with their wonted ſuggeſtions, began to make an uproar, and to riſe againſt the Magiſtrates, the common people having been perſwaded, that that Town was to be aſſigned to the King of *Navarre*, for his habitation: wherefore the King with the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, the Count *de Soiſſons*, and that ſmall company he had about him, leaving *Blois*, was fain to run toward that danger: which being diverted, and the buſineſs of that City ſetled, he began to ſee clearly that it was neceſſary to take reſolution, and that the delays of *Rome* did too much prejudice the ſtate of his affairs, reduced to the extream hazard of an evident ſuppreſſion.

So cutting off all delays, the Truce was concluded for a year between the moſt Chriſtian King, and the King of *Navarre*, with theſe conditions: That the publick exerciſe of the Catholick Religion ſhould be reſtored in all places held by the Hugonots, without any exception: That the Goods of the Clergy ſhould be reſtored to them, whereſoever they were, and that all priſoners which were in their hands ſhould be ſet at liberty: That the King of *Navarre* ſhould be obliged to ſerve the King perſonally, with four thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe, whereſoever he ſhould be commanded; and that all the Cities, Towns, and places of his party ſhould obſerve the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, obey the Parliament, and the Kings Magiſtrates, and receive all thoſe Ordinances which the preſent King had made, or ſhould make. On the other ſide, that the King of *Navarre* ſhould receive the City of *Saumur*, and keep it in his power, to have a paſs over the River *Loire*, that might freely be his own; which nevertheleſs he ſhould be obliged to reſtore at the Kings pleaſure without any contradiction. Which Capitulations after they were agreed upon and ratified, *Beaulieu* the Secretary of State delivered up *Saumur* to the King of *Navarre*; who gave the Government thereof to Sieur *du Pleſſis Mornay*, his old Confident.

The Truce is concluded for a year between the moſt Chriſtian King and the King of *Navarre*.

The ſame Truce was made in *Dauphine* between Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo* on the Kings part, and Monſieur *de Leſdiguiers* for the King of *Navarre*, and they united their Forces for their common defence. The Hugonots rejoyced exceedingly at this reconciliation, magnifying their faith and obedience toward the Royal Majeſty, to the confuſion of thoſe who, till then, had publiſhed and defamed them as tumultuous and diſobedient Rebels

And truly, it was a thing worthy of very great wonder, and one of the ſecret myſteries of Gods Divine Wiſdom, that the King of *Navarre* being weak, and forſaken of all, reduced into a narrow corner of the Kingdom, and for the moſt part in want of things neceſſary for his own maintenance, ſo that he was fain to live more like a Souldier of fortune, than a great Prince; his Enemies by too much eagerneſs in purſuing him, and by too ardent a deſire to ſee him utterly ruined, ſhould labour to plot ſo many ways, to raiſe ſo many Wars, to treat ſo many Leagues, to make ſo many Conſpiracies, and practiſe ſo many arts, from all which reſulting to his advantage, his greatneſs and exaltation did as it were miraculouſly ſucceed: for there was no man verſed in the affairs of *France*, and far from the paſſions of both parties, who ſaw not clearly, that if the King had been ſuffered to live, and rule as peaceably as he ought to have done,

1589. done, the King of *Navarre* would by little and little have been deſtroyed and brought to nothing; for peace and length of time would abſolutely have diſſolved that little Union which was among the Hugonots, and by thoſe occaſions and neceſſities which length of time would have produced, the obſtinacy of the Rochellers, wherein the ſum of affairs conſiſted, would finally have been overcome and broken; and the King, a moſt bitter Enemy to Hereſie, would in a manner inſenſibly by divers arts have rooted it out and deſtroyed it: whereas, on the contrary, the revolution of the Wars and Factions did not only foment the ſtubbornneſs of the Hugonots, who were ſo much the more hardened to reſiſt, by how much they thought they were wrongfully perſecuted; but alſo in the end made way for the King of *Navarre*'s reconciliation with the King, and with the French Nobility; furniſhed him with Arms and Power; and at laſt, contrary to his expectation, and the natural courſe of things, opened him a paſſage to attain unto the Crown.

As ſoon as the Truce was concluded, though but in words only, (for the Writing was not publiſhed till many days after) the King being reſolved to change the courſe of his proceedings, to ſhew himſelf, and to re-aſſume indeed the face of a Lion, diſpatched the Sieur *de la Clielle* to the great Duke of *Thuſcany*, to intreat him to lend him Two hundred thouſand Ducats to make a levy of Swiſſe Infantry, and German Cavalry, with which, by reaſon of the alliance lately contracted, (for the Lady *Chreſtienne* his new Dutcheſs was but then paſſing into *Italy* to her Marriage) the great Duke was ready to pleaſure him, having ſent a hundred thouſand to *Ausbourg* by Cavalier *Guicciardini*, and promiſed the reſt as ſoon as the Leavy was begun; wherefore the King diſpatched Monſieur *de Sancy* to the Switzers, he having been many years Ambaſſador in that Country, with Commiſſion, if he could not have the ten thouſand Foot he required from the Catholick Cantons, by reaſon of the oppoſition he doubted he ſhould receive from the Spaniards, to make his Leavies in the Proteſtant Cantons; and at the ſame time appointed *Gaſpar* Count of *Schombergh* to raiſe a Body of German Horſe; who for fear of being taken by the Enemies, took a long, and (in the end) a fruitleſs voyage. He ſent alſo *Jaques Auguſte de Thou* to the Emperour, under colour of condoling for the Queen-Mothers death, and upon the ſame pretence *Pierre Forget* Sieur *des Freſnes*, newly choſen Secretary of State, into *Spain*; but the true intent was, that the one might diſpoſe *Rodulphus* not to meddle in thoſe Leavies which were to be made in his name in *Germany*; and that the other might, if he could in ſome meaſure withhold the Catholick King from the open favour which he was ſeen to lend unto the Union, to which *Mendozza* did manifeſtly perform the Office of an Ambaſſador.

Having thus provided in the beſt manner he could for matters without the Kingdom, he began to take care of thoſe within it; and having called all the Preſidents and Counſellors of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Rouen* and *Dijon*, who were fled from the popular fury, he determined, that the Parliament of *Paris* ſhould reſide in the City of *Tours*, that of *Rouen* in the City of *Caen*, in the ſame Province of *Normandy*, and that of *Dijon* at *Chalons*, a City alſo of the ſame Dutchy of *Bourgongne*: and then by a moſt ſevere Edict, declared them all Rebels, who being choſen to the dignity of the Parliaments, ſhould continue to reſide in thoſe Cities and places which had withdrawn themſelves from his obedience, and forbad all men to have any recourſe to them to ſeek for juſtice, declaring all ſentences to be void, which they ſhould pronounce under the name and title of Parliament. The ſame Declaration he made againſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, againſt the Duke and Chevalier *d' Aumale*, and others, who having cauſed Cities to revolt, took Arms againſt him; intimating to them, that if within the term of fifteen days they returned not to their due obedience, deſiſted not from diſturbing and moleſting the Kingdom, and laid not down their Arms, they ſhould be judged guilty of Rebellion, and ſhould be ſo declared, with the Confiſcation of their Eſtates. After theſe Writings, followed Actions; and having appointed Governours in all Provinces, he gave Commiſſion to make Levies, to draw Souldiers together, and that the War ſhould be begun in every place: The Count *de Soiſſons* was made Governour in *Bretagne*; the Duke of *Montpenſier*, in *Normandy*; the Mareſchal *de Martignon*, Lieutenant to the King of *Navarre*, in *Guienne*; the Mareſchal of *Momorancy*, in *Languedoc*; Monſieur *de la Valette*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, in *Provence*; *Alfonſo Corſo*, in *Dauphine*; the Count *de Tavannes*, Lieutenant, in *Bourgongne*; the Duke of *Longeville*, Governour of *Picardy*; the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* of *Champagne*, and

and Monſieur *de Tinteville* his Lieutenant; *Filibert* Sieur *de la Guiche* of *Lyonois*; Monſieur *de Montigny* of *Berry*; Monſieur *de Sourdis* in *Beauſſe*; the Sieur *de Entraques* in the Dutchy of *Orleans*; and with himſelf he kept the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* to command the Army; and gave order, that the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, and the King of *Navarre*, ſhould come unto him; the agreement with whom, after ſome delay, was accepted, and publiſhed the 28 of *April*. 1589.

But after the Peace was concluded, and before the publication of it, the Cardinal-Legat, not thinking it decent for him to ſtay longer near the Kings perſon; and on the other ſide, not being willing, by his preſence and reſidence, to authoriſe the League in the taking up of Arms, reſolved, after many doubts, to go towards *Moulins*, and thence out of the Kingdom, aſſoon as he ſhould have received orders from *Rome*, where he knew himſelf to be wonderful ill thought of by the Pope, and his name blaſted by thoſe who, favouring the affairs of the League, endeavoured to make his counſels be excluded. And yet the King, after he had tried all means to make him ſtay in his quarters, and excuſed his agreement with the King of *Navarre* by the urgency of neceſſity; and after he had promiſed that howſoever he would preſevere in the Catholick Religion, which received rather help, than any hurt at all from the Accommodation with the Hugonots; at laſt he prayed the Legat, that he would once again try the Duke of *Mayenne*, by meeting perſonally with him, and endeavour to bring him to an agreement, ſince that, neither by means of the Duke of *Lorain*, to whom he had written, nor by means of Madam *de Nemours*, with whom he had cauſed the Queen to treat about it, had he been able to make him vouchſafe to lend an ear to any Treaty of Peace. And that all the World might ſee his deſire to remove the neceſſity of agreeing with the Hugonots, and to take away the credit from the Arms of the League, he gave the Cardinal a Paper ſubſcribed with his hand, which contained thoſe things he was contented to grant to the Lords of the *Union*.

Cardinal *Mortſini* the Legat, aſſoon as the Peace is concluded with the Hugonots, departs from Court, to go out of the Kingdom.

He offered the Duke of *Lorain* the Cities of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, under the title of Government, and promiſed to uſe his endeavours to get the Heir of *Bouillon* in Marriage for the Count *de Vaudemont*, by which means he might gain the poſſeſſion of *Jamets* and *Sedan*, places ſo conſiderable, and ſo much deſired by thoſe Lords: He was contented to leave the Duke of *Mayenne* the Government of *Bourgongne*, To confer all the Governments of Cities and Fortreſſes in that Province upon ſuch as he ſhould name, To permit that it ſhould paſs in the ſame manner to his eldeſt ſon, To give him an Hundred thouſand crowns ready money, To ſatisfie thoſe debts he was run into upon the preſent occaſion, and a penſion of Forty thouſand Crowns *per annum*. To the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Government of *Champagne*, *St. Diſier*, and *Rocroy*, for the ſecurity of his perſon, Twenty thouſand Crowns of annual penſion; and Thirty thouſand of Eccleſiaſtical revenues for one of his Brothers, whom he would endeavor to get advanced to the Dignity of Cardinal. To the Duke of *Nevers*, the Government of *Lyons*, and Ten thouſand Crowns a year. To the Duke of *Aumale*, *St Eſprit de Rue* for his ſecurity, and likewiſe Ten thouſand Crowns in penſion. To the Knight his Brother, the Generalſhip of the Infantry, and * Twenty thouſand franks a year. To the Duke of *Elbeuf*, the Government of *Poictiers*, and Ten thouſand Crowns penſion. He referred himſelf to the Pope for the Declaration of the Edicts and Agreements made in time paſt, and was contented, that as a friendly Mediator he ſhould compoſe all differences; leaving it to his own liberty, if he pleaſed, to join the Venetian Senate with him, or the Great Duke of *Thuſcany*; being contented, if he took the Venetian Senate, that the Duke of *Ferrara*, Uncle to the Lords of *Guiſe*, ſhould be added for the League: And if he choſe the Great Duke, that they on the other ſide ſhould take the Duke of *Lorain*, the Head of their Family.

* Two thouſand pounds ſterling.

But neither did this Writing produce any effect: For the Duke of *Mayenne* having had an Interview with the Legate at *Chaſteau-dune*, refuſed to give ear to Peace, excuſing himſelf, that he could not accept of any Condition without aſſembling the States of the League, and all the Princes of his Family, to have their conſent unto the buſineſs; and added, that he could no more have commerce nor ſecurity with him that had violated his Faith. This he ſaid, becauſe he thought himſelf much ſuperior to the King in ſtrength, and becauſe the Catholick King, and the Duke of *Savoy* promiſed him aſſiſtance of Men and Money; and at *Rome* the affairs inclined already to favour him.

The Legat moves the Duke of *Mayenne* to an accommodation, who refuſes to hearken to it.

1589. The Pariſians at the news of the Truce between the King and the Hugonots, beſides many publick ſigns of contempt, forbid the King to be prayed for any longer in the Canon of the Maſs.

But the news of the Truce with the King of *Navarre*, and then of the Legats departure, being come to *Paris*, it is impoſſible to believe the hatred that ſprung up from it, againſt the King, and all thoſe that followed him, and the exorbitant demonſtrations of it which were made, even to the prohibiting by publick Decrees, that in the Canon of Maſs they ſhould pray any longer for him, as the cuſtom is to do for all the Kings of *France*, and as the Catholick Church doth often very piouſly, eſpecially in the Solemnity of Good-Friday, for Heretieks, Pagans, and Idolaters: And it is impoſſible to relate the innumerable company of Libels, Writings, and Declarations printed and divulged againſt him, which were neither limited by any reaſon, nor bridled by any modeſty. But the noiſe of Arms which were clattering in every place, did quickly drown that of the Libels and Sermons.

The firſt encounter of War, was in the Province of *Normandy*. The Duke of *Montpenſier*, Governour for the King, was gone to the City of *Caen*, whither the Counſellors and Preſidents were fled from *Rouen*, and *Pierre Seguier*, and where by virtue of the Kings Edict they had placed the ſeat of the Parliament. At the Dukes coming, all thoſe Lords and Gentlemen ran thither, who followed the Kings party, and by his order the Sieurs *de Lorges*, *de Colombieres*, *de St. Denis*, and the Baron *de Ally*, had raiſed four Regiments of Foot; ſo that he had under his Colours Three thouſand Foot, and Eight hundred Horſe. With this Army, which increaſed daily, the Duke reſolved to beſiege *Falaiſe*, a conſiderable place, and defended with a Fortreſs or great Tower called the *Dongeon*, being aſſured, that that Town once taken, *Argentan*, *Vire*, and the other places about *Caen* would preſently yield themſelves, whereby that City which was very populous by reaſon of the new concourſe of Clients, and of the number that were come thither for refuge, might have the greater means of ſubſiſtence. But the ſecond day after their departure from *Caen*, there had like to have hapned a tumult among his own men, which if it had faln out, would have diverted the whole enterpriſe. *Jehan de Hemery* Sieur *de Villiers*, commanded the Army in the Office of Camp-Maſter-General, he who in the firſt Wars had, by aſſaulting *Danfront*, taken the Count *de Montgomery*, who afterward by order from King *Charles*, was executed at *Paris*. The Vanguard was led by the Count *de Torigny*, Son to the Mareſchal *de Matignon*: The Sieur *de Baqueville* commanded the Light-horſe; and the Rear was led by the Count *de Montgomery*, Son to the aforenamed; ſo that between him and the Camp-Maſter-General there was very little correſpondence, fomented on the one ſide by the Catholick party, and on the other by the Hugonots. It happened, that marching thorow the Enemies Country, it was neceſſary to quarter cloſe, that the Country people who were up in Arms, might not have opportunity to do miſchief to thoſe they ſhould find ſtragling, whereupon *Villiers* was conſtrained to appoint ſtraighter quarters to the Count *de Montgomery* than the Hugonots (little accuſtomed to the diſcipline of War, and uſed to the liberty of plundering, which they commonly called *la picoree*) thought fitting; wherefore having torn the billet which was brought him by his Quarter-Maſter, the Count enlarged himſelf above three miles from the Army, and would needs lodge in certain Villages where he had full conveniency to feed his Horſe; which being told to *Villiers*, he ſent to command him to return to his quarters, the diſcipline of War ſo requiring, as alſo the order given by the Duke of *Montpenſier*; to which the Count having anſwered arrogantly enough, *Villiers* commanded his Quarter-Maſter to be laid hold of, made him preſently to be hanged up for having had the boldneſs to aſſign other quarters than thoſe appointed by the Camp-Maſter-General; and having given the Duke notice of the buſineſs, he cauſed the Count *de Torigny* with the Van-guard to draw into order, to force the Count to return to his appointed quarter; and there would have happened ſome great miſchief (*Villiers* being reſolved, whatſoever came on it, that he would be obeyed, and the Hugonots on the other ſide being obſtinate to defend their action) if the Duke himſelf getting on horſe-back, had not by his preſence quieted the buſineſs, having with reſolute words commanded the Count *de Montgomery* to obey; who the next day after, under colour of going into the Confines of the Country of *Conſtantine*, where his Eſtate lay, to defend certain Caſtles of his own from the incurſions of the Duke *de Mercœur*, left the Army; and the charge of leading the Rear-guard was given to the Sieur *de Hallot*, and the Sieur *de Grevecœur* his Brother.

The Duke of *Montpenſier* begins the war againſt thoſe of the League, and beſieges the *Falaiſe*.

After the tumult was appeaſed, they proceeded with order and military diſcipline, the Duke not ſuffering any injury to be done to the Country people, nor any thing

to

to be taken away from them, except victual; for it was neceſſary (his ſoldiers not being paid) to take free quarter upon them. The ſiege was laid to *Falaiſe*, and they began to batter it with a Culverin and two Canons, with aſſurance they ſhould take it if it were not quickly relieved: but the Count *de Briſſac*, who not having been able to get into *Angiers* his Government, had been ſent by the Duke of *Mayenne* to command in that Province, being accompanied with ſome Gentlemen, and other his dependants, to the number of 300 Horſe, went to aſſiſt the *Gautiers*, that he might be able in time to relieve that place. 1589.

The *Gautiers* were Country people, who at firſt had taken Arms againſt all ſoldiers that paſſed thorough their Territories, to prevent the loſſes and outrages which they might ſuffer by them; and after having received an impreſſion, that the King was cauſe of all thoſe miſeries, and that to the calamities of War he added the burthen of impoſitions, they had taken part with the League, and having broken the ways, made up paſſages with bars and pales, and fortified their Towns and Villages, were up in Arms, to the number of Sixteen thouſand, and called themſelves *Gautiers*, becauſe they had firſt begun their inſurrections in a Town called *la Chappelle Gautier*, to which afterwards *Vimotier*, *Bernay*, and many other leſſer Towns had united themſelves. They had choſen three Commanders, the Barons *de Maillot*, and *d'Eſchaufourd*, and the Sieur *de Longchamp*, Governor of *Liſieux*, they had appointed Captain *Vaumartell* their Sergeant-Major-General, and exerciſed themſelves with order and military diſcipline in the profeſſion of Arms The Count of *Briſſac* obtained that Four thouſand of theſe men, ſo arm'd and diſciplin'd, ſhould go with him to relieve *Falaiſe*; and thinking the number ſufficient to accompliſh his deſign, with thoſe Horſe he had with him, beſides an hundred Harquebuſiers on horſe-back, under Captain *Valage*, and two Field-pieces, he marches that way, believing that the Duke of *Montpenſier*, leſt he ſhould have thoſe Forces behind him, and *Falaiſe* before him, would retire, and then he might fortifie it better, and put in a ſtronger Garriſon. But the *Gautiers* being come within four Leagues of *Falaiſe*, quartered in a great Bourg, which they fortified at the entry of the great high-way towards the enemy with their two Pieces, and with a Barricado made with barrels full of earth and ſoil, that they might not be unexpectedly aſſaulted without defence; and the Count *de Briſſac* at a little diſtance from them, but out of the great high-way, took up his quarters, and ſent forth parties of Horſe to ſcour the Country.

The *Gautiers* (Country people) up in Arms, to the number of 16000, fight for the League.

*Villiers*, the King's Field-Mareſchal, little valuing the number of thoſe inexpert tag-rag fellows, having been out himſelf to diſcover their quarters, perſwaded the D. of *Montpenſier* preſently to raiſe the ſiege, and without delay to aſſault the Enemy; and the Duke deſirous to try the encounter, and being very confident of *Villiers* his experience, quitting the ſiege the ſame night, and drawing off his Canon from the wall, reſolved to aſſault the *Gautiers* the next morning. *Villiers* ordered the aſſault on this manner; that the Culverin and the Canon ſhould play along the great way upon the enemies Barricado and Field-pieces, and that then the Infantry ſhould make the aſſault ſeverally under their Colonels upon that part; that the D. of *Montpenſier* with his own Troop ſhould fall on by a way that led into the field on the right ſide, and the Count *de Torigny*, with the Cavalry of the Vanguard, by another on the left hand; and that the Sieurs *de Surene*, and *de Baqueville*, with two bodies of horſe ſhould ſtand ready to oppoſe the Count *de Briſſac*, if he with his horſe ſhould make any attempt to divert the aſſault. The Culverin and Canon hit ſo luckily, that they beat down all the enemies Barricado, and took off the head of Captain *Vaumartell*, who was encouraging and ordering his ſoldiers: whereupon the ſign was preſently given, to aſſault the enemy on all ſides The Duke of *Montpenſier*, a brave generous Prince, trotted on at the head of his Cavalry to attaque the Enemy; but whatſoever the occaſion was, leaving the place appointed him on the right hand, he came to fall on juſt in the place where (the barricado being thrown down) the enemies two Pieces were planted, which had not yet given fire, and he was in great danger to have many of his men ſlain, and that the aſſault would have a bloody iſſue. The wind was very high, by reaſon whereof, together with the noiſe of the Armies, no mans voice could be heard; ſo that the Duke would certainly have been in danger, if *Villiers*, ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, running full ſpeed to overtake him, and hitting him with his Truncheon upon his Helmet, to make him ſtay, had not told him his error, and brought him by a plain free way to charge the Enemy in the Flank; which the Count *de Torigny* having done likewiſe on the other ſide, and the Infantry

1589. in the Front ( where about twenty ſoldiers were ſlain by the Faulconets) the Enemy was defeated in leſs then an hour, with the loſs of about Two thouſand men, all their Baggage, Colours and Cannon. The Count *de Briſſac*, who, during the conflict, appeared upon a hill hard by, ſeeing himſelf without compariſon inferiour in force, retired ſtreight to *Falaiſe*, without making any further attempt; having, though with ſo great a ſlaughter of his men, made way to relieve that place, and the Kings Army victorious, quartered that night in the adjacent Villages.

*Montpenſier defeats the Count de Briſſac's Forces, who came to divert the ſiege of Falaiſe.*

It was debated in the Council of War, whether they ſhould return to the Siege of *Falaiſe* or no; but the opinion of *Villiers* prevailed, who (the Count *de Briſſac* being within it, with the reſt of his Forces) thought it would be a difficult, and a tedious buſineſs, and adviſed, that the Army, in the heat of the Victory, ſhould proſecute the *Gautiers*, to take their places, and pull up the root of that Inſurrection; for that obſtacle being taken away, there would be no Forces left in the Province, which could hinder them from taking in the Towns. With this reſolution, the Army increaſed with above Four hundred freſh Horſe, marched towards the *Gautiers*, who being reſolved to make reſiſtance to the laſt man, put themſelves in three places, *Vimotier*, *Bernay*, and *la Chapelle Gautier*, into which the Commanders ſhut not up themſelves, but *Longchamp* retired to his Government, and the reſt gave out, that they went to the Count *de Briſſac* to prepare aſſiſtance.

*Vimotier* was firſt aſſaulted, where with ſmall trouble, it being an open place, the *Bourg* was entred, above a Thouſand of the *Gautiers* ſlain, and thoſe that fell into the Enemies hands alive, having taken an oath not to bear Arms any more, but to follow their Tillage, were ſet at liberty; ſo that having found very great gentleneſs and good order in the Army, by the care which the Duke and *Villiers* uſed, in puniſhing thoſe who dared to commit any outrage or inſolence, they were quieted, and returned to the managing of their own affairs. Greater was the difficulty in aſſaulting *Bernay*, which was both walled round, and had the beſt men within it; but the Cannon having battered from morning till noon, the Foot made the aſſault, which having been ſtoutly received by the defendants, they renewed the Battery the next morning; and having made a wider breach, many Gentlemen alighted from their Horſes, and put themſelves in the head of the Infantry, to facilitate the aſſault: Wherefore it being valiantly redoubled in the morning, the ſervice laſted hot and bloody for the ſpace of four hours; at laſt young *l'Archant*, and the Sieur *de Baqueville* entered the Town, and after them the whole Army, putting the *Gautiers* to the Sword, whereof a very great number was ſlain; and a Houſe being ſet on fire by a Boy of Colonel *St. Denis*, who, for that fault, was condemned by *Villiers* to ſuffer death, the greater part of the Town was burned to the ground. There were killed on the King's ſide, the Sieur *de la Fountain*, one of *Villiers* his Adjutants, 14 Gentlemen, and about 100 Soldiers. The priſoners upon the ſame oath and conditions were ſet at liberty. But the remainder of the *Gautiers*, reduced into *la Chappelle*, ſeeing their companions defeated, and that the Commanders appeared not with relief from any place, reſolved to yield themſelves; and having ſent two Curates of their Pariſhes, they were received to mercy on the ſame termes: whereupon, leaving their Arms and Colours, they returned to their houſes, and to their wonted employment of Tilling the Earth.

*The Gautiers being fortified in three places, after they had fought a long time, ſome are cut in pieces, and ſome yield.*

This was the firſt proſperous ſucceſs of the War, and the news thereof was carried with great joy to the King to *Tours*, where he was buſie in increaſing his Army, and giving order about his Interview with the King of *Navarre*. To which purpoſe the Sieur *du Pleſſis-Mornay* was come to the King a great many dayes before, and the Abbot *del Bene* was likewiſe gone to the King of *Navarre*; nor were they yet fully agreed concerning the place or manner of their meeting: For the King would rather have deſired the *Hugonots* ſhould make War apart; and alſo the King of *Navarre* was unwilling to come to Court, being diſſwaded by thoſe about him, who ceaſed not continually to put him in remembrance of *Paris*, and the danger of the Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomews* day. But neceſſity took away thoſe doubts, by the coming of the Duke of *Mayenne*; who ſerving in a popular Cauſe, and deſiring to put his name in reputation, to confirm and increaſe his party, having left *Paris*, was come to *Chaſteau-Dune*, and there made up his Army from all parts; which, with two Regiments ſent by the Pariſians, was Eight thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe. His firſt exploit was upon the City of *Vendoſm*, a great Town, and of the King of *Navars* Patrimony, and into which, the Counſellors of the Great Council were reduced by the Kings order, as into a place

which

which he thought ſecure; but the Governour holding ſecret intelligence to go over to the League, the Duke of *Mayenne* ſent the Sieur *de Rhoſne* thither unexpectedly with Two thouſand Foot, and Six hundred Horſe, who being brought in according to the agreement, made himſelf Maſter of the City, and took priſoners all the Magiſtrates of the Great Council, and many Clients who followed them, and who were fain afterward with great ſums of money to free themſelves. 1589. *Vendoſme* taken by the League, by agreement with the Governour.

*Vendoſme* being taken, and it being believed (as it was probable) that the Duke would proceed further, the King ſet forward the Duke of *Eſpernon* with the Vanguard of his Army toward *Blois*, to the end, that lying in the way, he might hinder the march of the Enemy: But the Duke doubting leſt the City might remain a prey to the Duke of *Mayenne*, went thither with all the Foot, and left the Count *de Brienne* with the Horſe, quartered upon the way that leads from *Blois* to *Amboiſe* neat unto St. *Ouyn*. The Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, with the reſt of the Army incamped near the City of *Tours*, to keep it ſufficiently guarded: And the King diſpatched the Abbot *del Bene* the ſecond time, to haſten the King of *Navarre*'s coming; who, when he had ſent the Sieur *de Chaſtillon*, General of his Infantry before, to preſent his duty to the King, and to receive his commands, at laſt waited upon the King himſelf in the * *Parc du Pleſſis*, without the Walls of *Tours*; where being met by the King, he not only alighted from his horſe a great while before he came near him, but aſſoon as ever he was come unto him, kneeling down, he would by all means have kiſſed his feet; but the King having raiſed him up, and embraced him cloſely, laying aſide all former enmities in a moment, led him talking along into the City, paſſing thorow the Army that was imbattelled, and thorow the people which were come out of the Gates, and with infinite applauſe, and loud acclamations of the Souldiers, they went unto the Kings Lodgings, every one admiring, on the one ſide the Kings courteſie, and on the other, the King of *Navarre*'s ſubmiſſion and obedience. The next day, after two long hours of ſecret conference, the King of *Navarre* returned to his Forces which were yet quartered beyond the River: And the King having put the Foot into the Suburb of St. *Syphorien*, kept only his Guards in the City, and the Nobility about his perſon.

* Or, *Pleſsis les Tours*. The Interview between the moſt Chriſtian King, and the King of *Navarre* at *Tours*.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* ſeeing *Blois* ſo ſtrengthened by the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s arrival, that there was no hope at all to take it; leaving that City, and the Duke of *Eſpernon*, he paſſed on with his Army as far as *Chaſteau Renard*, but ſeven leagues diſtant from *Tours*, and from the Body of the Kings Army: And having had intelligence that the Count *de Brienne* ſtaid at St. *Ouyn*, where he quartered careleſly with ſmall Guards, his forces (according to the liberty of the times) being diſperſed and divided in thoſe Villages, he marched nine leagues out of his direct way with infinite ſpeed, and coming unexpectedly, found the Count ſo negligently unprovided, that many of his men were cut off and taken priſoners in a moment, and he in great diſorder fled away, and ſhut himſelf up in the Town, without any proviſion to defend himſelf; where the Duke being arrived, and having with equal haſte planted his Cannon, though the Marqueſs *de Canillac* (who as General of the Artillery commanded the Works which were made there) and many of the ſtouteſt Souldiers loſt their lives; the Count *de Brienne* was yet fain to yield himſelf, he being kept priſoner: But the Souldiers, upon promiſe of not bearing Arms for a certain time, were ſet at liberty.

The Duke of *Mayenne* defeats the Count *de Brienne*, and takes him priſoner.

The Count *de Brienne* being defeated and taken, the Duke of *Mayenne* reſolved to aſſault the Camp of the King himſelf, thinking that not being united to the King of *Navarre*, and the Foot not well fortified in the Suburb of St. *Syphorien*, a vaſt uneven place, it would not be very difficult to overcome it, if the aſſault were unexpected: Wherefore having raiſed his Camp upon the Seventh day of *May* in the evening when it began to grow dark, bringing two Culverins along with infinite trouble, he arrived near *Tours* with all his Forces about Sun-riſing. The Kings Foot were quartered in the Suburbs; and becauſe the place, being ſomething low, was commanded (as by a Cavalier) by a Hill, on the top whereof were certain houſes, Colonel *Moncaſin*, who led the Van, drew a line about the houſes, and placed himſelf there with a ſtrong *Corps de Garde*, to keep the Enemy from poſſeſſing it, it being juſt in the way that comes from *Blois* and *Chaſteau-Renard* ſtraight to the Town. The Duke of *Mayenne* having cauſed his Army to make a halt in the Plain beyond the Hill, to give his Souldiers a little reſt, who were tired with the length and ſpeed of their march, ſent two Regiments before, commanded by the Sieurs *du Cluſeau* and *du Bourg*, to make themſelves Maſters of thoſe houſes which annoyed and obſtructed all the High-way. Theſe arrived very

1589. The Duke of *Mayenne* aſſaults the Kings Army at *Tours*, where they fight a long time. The King himſelf orders and diſpoſes his Souldiers, puts himſelf among thoſe that fight. At laſt, ſupplies coming from the King of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Mayenne* gives off the enterpriſe.

very unexpectedly; yet not ſo much, but that they were diſcovered by the Scouts: Wherefore having put their Arms in a readineſs on both ſides, there began a very fierce skirmiſh, juſt at the very time when the King being come to viſit that poſt was there preſent. His preſence did much good: for beſides his being ready to diſpoſe matters in good order for the fight, the Sieur *de Montigny*, who was with him, ran at the firſt noiſe of the ſhot into the forefront of the Battel, and by his words exhorting, and by his example animating every one to do their duty, did confirm the courage of thoſe Guards; who remembring that they fought in the Kings own ſight, made ſo gallant reſiſtance againſt the greater number of the Enemy, that their fury was bravely repelled, till relief came up unto them. The King not at all diſmaid, but with a free ſecure countenance, though he was unarmed, and but ſlenderly attended, cauſing the Regiments of *Jarſey* and *Rubempre*, who were upon the right and left hand of the skirmiſh, to be ſupplied with Ammunition, commanded them to charge the Enemy; and having himſelf drawn up the Swiſſes led by Colonel *Galati*, he ſent them preſently to guard the City: for he was no leſs in fear of an uproar within the City, than in doubt of the aſſault without. Above all things, the King was moſt troubled to reſtrain the Gentry, who, ſtirred up by their courage and thirſt of honour, deſired to engage themſelves in the action; and falling on ſcattered and diſperſed, were without doubt likely to receive ſome great miſchief: But he oppoſing both his own command and perſon to the violence of their forwardneſs, ſtaid and withheld them; and putting them in order in ſmall ſquadrons, kept them near himſelf, that he might be able to aſſiſt in more places than one, if need ſhould require.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* had planted his Culverins upon the Hill, and with his furious ſhot had forced the defendents to quit the poſt of the little houſes, where the Sieur *de Montigny*, who fought in the firſt ſquadrons, received a Musket-ſhot, Colonel *Jarſey* was ſlain, and above Two hundred Souldiers: But though the Enemy had the higher ground, and that the Duke ſtill brought up freſh Forces where there was moſt need; yet *Moncaſſin* and *Rubempre* continued ſtoutly diſputing it, with an infinite thick hail of Musket-bullets, whereby many fell on either ſide. But the Duke having commanded on the Regiments of *la Chataigneraye*, and *Ponſenac*, made up of the old Souldiers of the late Duke of *Guiſe* his Brother, and both the Kings Colonels being wounded, the Foot began to retire, and the Enemy putting couragiouſly forward at laſt made themſelves Maſters of all the Suburb. The King deſiring to have it recovered, leſt with ſo little proviſion he ſhould be beſieged in the City, which was all he had left behind him, commanded Monſieur *de Grillon*, who as Colonel of his Guards commanded the Infantry, that he ſhould make a charge to drive out the Enemy. *Grillon* advanced valiantly with the flower of his men, and two gallant Squadrons of Gentlemen advanced with him, who having alighted from their horſes by the Kings permiſſion were ready to fall on with Sword and Piſtol. Theſe at their arrival renewed the battel; and having in their firſt charge recovered one of the ſtreets of the Suburb, made ſo fierce a conflict, that they fought with various fortune, and very great obſtinacy, till the declining of the day, at which time the Dukes Artillery playing hotter than ever from the higher ground, and *Claude Chevalier d' Aumale* being come with two freſh Squadrons to relieve his party, *Grillon* very much wounded, and his men ſpent, with the toil of the whole day, were conſtrained to quit the Suburb, and retreated to defend the Bridge, upon which the King himſelf was, with all the Nobility that attended him. The fight was ſore and ſharp; but ſome ſmall Field-pieces being planted at the entry of the Bridge, they kept back the Enemy, who being already Maſters of the whole Suburb, ſtrove moſt eagerly to get poſſeſſion of it.

But whilſt they fought with doubtful event, and equal courage on either ſide, the King of *Navarre* having ſuddenly had intelligence of the buſineſs, was moved with his whole Force to relieve the King; and that delay might not hinder the effect of his intentions, he had ſent Monſieur *de Chaſtillon* before, with fifteen hundred of the beſt Foot of his Army, who arriving about Sun-ſet, marched readily to the place of Battel. They being come in freſh, and deſirous to make themſelves remarkable in the moſt dangerous ſervice, repelled the violence of the Enemy in ſuch manner, that night coming upon them, put an end to the buſineſs, as it were with a common conſent, expecting the next days light. The defence of the Bridge was given in charge to Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*, becauſe his men were freſheſt; and the King, with the Duke of *Monbaſon* and the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, betook himſelf to guard the City, having with him the Swiſſe Infantry, and the Nobility of the Court. There were killed that

day

day above four hundred ſoldiers on the King's ſide, and many Commanders, *Chevalier Berton* Nephew to Colonel *Grillon*, and St. *Malin*, the ſame who with his dagger gave the firſt wound to the Duke of *Guiſe* at *Blois*. Of the Army of the League were ſlain above an hundred, but onely two Commanders, and few perſons of quality. The *Chevalier d' Aumale*, as General of the Infantry to the League, was left to make good the Suburb they had taken, and the Marqueſs *de Pienne*, with his Regiment, drew up juſt over againſt the Sieur *de Chaſtillon* at the entry of the Bridge; both ſides labouring all night, with infinite diligence, to entrench themſelves. 1589.

Many outrages were committed in the Suburb, both to things ſacred and profane; nor were the Soldiers of the League more modeſt againſt Churches and Monaſteries, then the Hugonots would have been if they had entered it, though the Duke of *Mayenne*, by nature averſe from Military inſolencies, did ſtrive, with all poſſible diligence to hinder them: but the licence of a voluntary Army, which is unpaid, is very difficult to be reſtrained. They lay in continual ſuſpicion, and many alarms were given all the night; but upon Thurſday the ninth of *May*, the Regiments of *Charboniere*, ſent by the King of *Navarre* to their relief, appearing about break of day, and it being known that he himſelf was hard by, advancing with the reſt of his Army; the Duke of *Mayenne* having loſt all hopes of making any further progreſs, cauſed his dead to be buried, and leaving the Suburb which he had taken, retreated in good order to his former quarters.

This day (though they loſt the Suburbs) ſeemed very remarkable, and gave exceeding great hopes to them that followed the King's party, becauſe that after ſo many years of eaſe and reſt, they ſaw in him a fearleſs Majeſty, firſt putting his Army in array himſelf, though with but a little Company, and utterly unarmed; and then (having taken his arms at the head of his Nobility) in overſeeing and ordering the Fight, providing againſt all accidents, and reaſſuming that name and authority of a General, which having been practiſed by him with ſo much glory in his younger years, had, by reaſon of his hidden deſigns, been for a time utterly laid down.

St. *Malin*, who gave the firſt wound to the Duke of *Guiſe* at *Blois*, ſlain in the Fight at *Tours*; his death is boaſted of, as a Miracle, and as a preſage of Victory.

But on the other ſide, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and all thoſe of the League, making uſe of the outward appearance in having taken the Suburbs, and beaten out the King's Infantry from their Poſt, with Writings publiſhed in Print fit for the popular cauſe, did, by all manner of wayes, magnifie and augment every circcumſtance of that action, amplifying the number and quality of thoſe that were ſlain, exalting the valour of their own ſoldiers, boaſting of the death of St. *Malin*, as a miracle of publick vengeance, and prognoſticating within a while an abſolute victory to their party.

But about the ſame time they received a much greater loſs; for the City of *Senlis*, ten Leagues diſtant from *Paris*, and very opportune for the ſtate of preſent affairs, which at firſt had taken part with the League, having now declared for the King, and called in *Guilliaume de Momorancy*, Lord of *Thore*; there paſſed not many dayes before the Duke of *Aumale*, knowing there were but ſmall Forces there, reſolved to lay ſiege unto it, thinking aſſuredly to take it before it could be relieved: wherefore having called unto him the Sieur *de Balagny* Governor of *Cambray*, and thoſe Gentlemen which in *Picardy* and the Iſle of *France* followed his party, with ſeven hundred Horſe, and nine thouſand Foot (but moſt of them tumultuouſly liſted in *Paris*, under the command of the Sieur *de Meneville*) and nine pieces of Cannon, ſate down before it the ſeventh day of *May*. The beſieged defended themſelves ſtoutly from the beginning; and the next day after the Enemy had entrenched, they made ſo bold a Sally, that above an hundred of the Pariſians were ſlain, and among them the Sieur *de Chamois*, an old ſervant of the Houſe of *Guiſe*: but after the Artillery was planted, there being but ſmall ſtore of ammunition in the Town, and none of thoſe things which were neceſſary for their defence, they called the Duke of *Longueville* to their relief, who, with Monſieur *de la Noue* was come to *Compeigne*. But the Forces were very unequal, and the Gentry of the Province was not met together; wherefore the beſieged were forced to treat of yielding, being deſtitute of all hope to hold out longer, and being as it were aſſured they ſhould not be relieved; and yet news being come to *Compeigne*, that the beſieged were capitulating, the Gentlemen began to intreat the Duke of *Longueville*, that he would lead them on to fight, thinking it a great affront to them to ſuffer that Town to be loſt before their very faces, without ſtriking a blow. The Duke of *Longueville* was a young Lord, and one, who though full of ſpirit, did yet refer all things to the advice of Monſieur *de la Noue*, and of the Baron *de Guiry*, who commanded

1589. manded the light-Horſe. Theſe thought the inequality of Forces ſo great (for they had not above eight hundred Horſe, and leſs than two thouſand Foot) that they eſteemed it extreme folly to adventure themſelves, eſpecially if the Enemy, drawing into Battalia, ſhould plant their Canon before them. But ſo obſtinate was the forwardneſs of the young Gentry, who were grieved to ſtand idle without doing any thing, that the Commanders reſolved to go within ſight of the Enemy, and expect the opportunity of ſome occaſion, believing it eaſie to retreat without danger, as they thought it moſt difficult by any means to relieve the Town. Being come to the top of a hill which over-looks the Plain where the City ſtands, they ſaw that the Duke of *Aumale* having had notice of their coming, began to draw up his Army in the field, which *la Noue* being advanced before all the reſt, began diligently to obſerve, and perceiving (as a ſoldier of very long experience) the unreadineſs of his men, who went confuſedly into their ranks, with their Pikes tottering unſteadily, (a wonted manifeſt ſign of inexpert ſoldiers) and above all, that having left their Artillery, either for want of knowledge in the affairs of War, or too much confidence, they were deprived of ſo great an advantage, he turned back to *Giury*, and told him, that the Enemies faintneſs did almoſt perſwade him to hazard the encounter; which being heard by the Gentry, and the Duke of *Longueville* deſirous to make his youth renowned by ſome glorious exploit, all prayed him to yield unto that motion: and he taking courage from the boldneſs and forwardneſs of them all, having drawn the Cavalry into five Diviſions, commanded out the Musketiers, with three Faulconets, which they had brought along, to begin the Battel in the Plain. The Faulconets were ſo hidden and encompaſſed by the Foot, that they were hardly ſeen; and marched ſo faſt, that keeping pace with the Soldiers, they were not diſcovered by the Enemy: Wherefore the Sieur *de Balagny* that led their Vanguard, being inconſiderately advanced, his ſquadron at the firſt encounter was ſo torn and diſordered by the Artillery, which gave fire three times very happily, that before they had time to rally, the Baron *de Giury* ruſhing upon them with his Light-horſe, and the Sieurs *d' Humieres*, and *Bonivet* following with two valiant Squadrons of Gentlemen, he was not onely forced manifeſtly to give ground, but to turn his back without reſiſtance: Which beginning being followed by the Duke of *Longueville*, and on the other ſide by the Sieur *de la Noue*, they routed the Cavalry, which made ſmall oppoſition; and having purſued it not above three hundred paces, they wheeled about, and fell in upon the Pariſian Infantry; which being charged in the front by *La Noue*'s Muskettiers, and there being no Commander who knew how to order them ſecurely in time of need, their ranks being broken, they never defended themſelves, but having caſt away their Pikes and Muskets, began to flee in diſorder; in which flight, being purſued by the Cavalry, and the beſieged at the ſame time ſallying out on their Rear, there was a very great ſlaughter of them; the Field won, the Trenches entered, the Artillery taken, which were kept by the Conquerors, with above thirty Colours. Of the Kings Army, not above twenty men were ſlain, and no Officer of note: The Army of the League loſt above One thouſand and two hundred, and among thoſe, the Sieur *de Meneville*, an old ſervant of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, who making reſiſtance where the Artillery was, received a Musket ſhot thorow the ſide.

The Duke of *Aumale* beſieges *Senlis*; Monſieur *de Longueville* goes with ſmall forces to relieve it, and raiſes the ſiege with a great ſlaughter of the Leaguers.

The Duke of *Aumale* loſes the day, with his Artillery, Baggage, and thirty Colours.

The Duke of *Aumale* retired to St. *Denis*, not having the heart to carry that news to *Paris*; which being related by the Sieur *de Belagny*, filled the whole City with infinite terror, inſomuch as Madam *de Montpenſier*, and Madam *de Guiſe*, could hardly confirm their fickle mindes; as eaſily loſt, as ready and forward to rebel. But the Council of the *Union* being come together, they reſolved to call back the Duke of *Mayenne* aſſoon as poſſibly they could, not being confident of any other bodies ſufficiency to deliver them from the danger of the enemies Army, which, much increaſed ſince the Victory, overran all the Country.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, after he had left *Tours*, having no hope by longer ſtay, to be able to make any progreſs againſt both the Armies joined together, had marched back with very great ſpeed towards *Normandy*; and being come to *Alancon*, a great important City, had (in a manner unexpectedly) gotten it by compoſition; by which he reaped this benefit, That the Duke of *Montpenſier*, already victorious in that Province, could not turn to unite himſelf with the King's Forces, and increaſe his Camp any more: And therefore having taken *Alancon*, he intended to paſs on further, with certain hopes, that he ſhould every day make greater progreſs: But the ſum of all affairs

fairs consisting in the City of *Paris*, and seeing that people not onely straightned for victuals, because the Duke *de Longueville* cut off all passages, but also dejected, discouraged, and without his presence, ready to break out into some tumult, he resolved to leave all other attempts, and return presently to settle it. So with his whole Army, making great marches, and without offering at any enterprise by the way, he came in the beginning of *June* into the Isle of *France*, which invirons the City of *Paris*. 1589.

In the mean time, the King, to whom *Poictiers* had lately revolted, having put his men in order at *Chastelrault*, resolved to pass the *Loyre*, and, marching towards *Paris*, either to straighten that City, or meet the enemy if he advanced to fight in the open field. The King of *Navarre* with his Forces led the Vanguard; and before all, the Sieur *de Chastillon* with the *Avant Coureurs*. The King commanded the Battel, with whom were the Duke of *Montbason*, the Mareschals of *Biron* and *Aumont*, Monsieur *d'O*, and many other Lords and Commanders. The Duke of *Espernon* brought up the Rereguard. At the Kings second quarters, he received Letters from Monsieur *de Sancy* by an Expres, (who coming disguised along by-ways, brought them secretly put up in the cover of a Breviary) by which he gave them to understand, that having obtained from the *Swisses* of the Canton of *Berne*, not onely to leavy men; but also a certain sum of Money lent him, upon promise, that the King should defend them, and those of *Geneva* from the molestation of the Duke of *Savoy*; he had raised Ten thousand Foot of that Nation, Two thousand German Horse, and Three thousand French Firelocks; and that having begun the War with the Duke in the Confines of *Geneva*, and engaged the Canton of *Berne* to make resistance in those parts, till the King having disintangled his affairs, could be able to assist them with powerful Forces; he being come into the Territory of *Langres*, was marching thorough the Province of *Champagne*, the straight way to *Paris*.

Monsieur *de Sancy* having raised great Forces in *Switzerland*, and begun the War with *Savoy*, marches towards *Paris* against the Leaguers.

This news did not onely rejoyce the King, who was sollicitous about that business, but the whole Army also; there being no man but believed, that with those Forces they should in a few weeks be able to curb the Insurrections of the League: And the Kings intent upon that celerity, which he thought necessary above all things, made made present dispatches several wayes; to the Duke of *Longueville*, and Monsieur *de la Noue*, commanding them, that having gathered as many Forces as possibly they could, they should move without delay, to meet that Army in *Champagne*; and gave the Duke of *Montpensier* direction to follow the Duke of *Mayenne* (who from the confines of *Normandy* was turned toward *Paris*) and come to joyn with him in some convenient place. This order being taken, they continued their intended voyage, with so general a gladness in the Army, that they held the Victory in a manner assured.

But this common joy was something troubled by the misfortune of the Count *de Soissons*, who having been dispatched by the King with Monsieur *de Lavardin* to command in *Bretagne*, while he was about to unite himself in the City of *Renes*, with the Gentry of the Province who expected him, being lodged carelesly, and with slender Guards at *Chasteau-Gyron*, was assaulted about midnight by the Duke *de Mercœur*; who coming from *Vitry* with his Forces, had marched a great many Leagues thither; where, after such resistance as the place would permit, and his strength was able to make, the Count at last was taken prisoner by the Enemy. By this accident the King was forced (though he was not in a condition to diminish the Body of his Army) to send some number of men into that Province, under *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Dombes*, son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, who being a youth of but tender years, began to give proof of a generous spirit, and of a very great courage.

The Count *de Soissons* assaulted at *Chasteau-Gyron* by the Duke *de Mercœur*, is taken prisoner.

The Army marched on its way with very great order; and the Vanguard being come to *Beugency*, upon the One and twentieth day of *May*, the Sieur *de Chastillon* with his Troops advanced to get intelligence, and discover the wayes of the Country, while at the same time Monsieur *de Saveuse* marched with Three hundred Lances, and One hundred Light-horse to joyn with the Duke of *Mayennes* Army. He not being advertised of the Kings arrival, having left *Bonneval* a very rich Monastery within the Territories of *Chartres*, went on his way. But the parties sent out before on each side, having met, and begun to skirmish without knowing one another; the Sieur *de Chastillon* stronger in Forces, and more ready to fight, fell on and charged *Saveuse* so on all sides, that

The Sieur *de Saveuse* going with 400 horse to joyn with the Duke of *Mayenne*, is routed by the Sieur *de Chastillon*, and taken prisoner.

1589. that having killed an Hundred and fifty of his men, who fought valiantly, he, with Sixty Gentlemen, was taken priſoner; and having received two wounds in the encounter, died of them within a few dayes after.

Thus matters going on proſperouſly, upon the Three and twentieth they encamped at *Gergeau*, a Town of a convenient bigneſs, plentiful, and which hath in it one of the principal Bridges of the River *Loire*. In this place commanded the Sieur *de Jalanges*, who being ſummoned to yield, and not to hazard the battery of a Royal Army, having refuſed to do ſo, the Canon was planted, and after not much difficulty, the Wall being entred forcibly by aſſault, he was condemned preſently to be hanged. The Town was ſacked by the Army, and the Defendents cut in pieces; the King, contrary to his nature, uſing very great ſeverity, as one who often alledged, that he made not War againſt a lawful Enemy, but perſecuted the obſtinate ſtubborneſs of Rebels. After the taking of *Gergeau*, followed that of *Piviers*, where the ſame rigor was uſed againſt the Magiſtrates of the place: Wherefore *Chartres* not ſtaying ſo much as for a Summons, ſet open their Gates, received the King with all his Army; and having driven out the dependents of the League, ſubmitted it ſelf to his obedience.

The King takes *Gergeau* and *Piviers*.

*Chartres* voluntarily ſets open the Gates.

Thither the news was brought by the Sieur *de la Clielle*, how the Pope, by a *Monitory*, had declared, that the King ſhould incurr cenſure, if within the term of Sixty days he releaſed not the Prelates out of Priſon; and if within the ſame time he made not his due ſubmiſſion for the death of the Cardinal of *Guiſe*; which ſtruck the King ſo deeply, that he was above Forty hours without eating or drinking. This laſt reſolution had been obtained by the Dean of *Rheims*, who lately diſpatched to *Rome* by the Duke of *Mayenne*, had, by amplifying, not onely the reaſons of the League, but alſo the Forces of the Confederates, and the King's weakneſs, at laſt induced the Pope unto it, ſo much the more eaſily, after the report was divulged, that the King treated an agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and was about to call the Hugonots unto his party. The *Monitory* was poſted up in *Rome* upon the Three and twentieth of *May*, and within a very few dayes after publiſhed at *Meaux*, ten Leagues diſtant from *Paris*, the Biſhop of which place was made High-Chancellor by the Duke of *Mayenne* in the Council of the *Union*. The King was ſo grieved for this determination of the Pope, that it produced an univerſal ſadneſs, and the progreſs of the Army was very much ſlackened by it. Wherefore the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* began publickly to comfort him, ſaying, That as the Pope ill-informed, by the ſuggeſtion of the Confederates, believing what they did was out of zeal to Religion, had pronounced that Sentence: ſo when he ſhould be better informed, and aſſured that they fought for Paſſion and Ambition, and not for the Apoſtolick See, nor for the Faith, he certainly, as a common Father, would change his opinion. But the King, after a deep ſigh, replied, That he thought it very hard, that he who had ever fought and laboured for Religion, ſhould be raſhly excommunicated, becauſe he would not ſuffer his own throat to be cut by the Armes of his Rebel-Subjects; and that thoſe who had ſacked *Rome*, and kept the Pope himſelf priſoner, had never been Excommunicated: to which the King of *Navarre*, who was preſent, anſwered; But they were victorious, Sir: Let your Majeſty endeavour to conquer, and be aſſured the Cenſures ſhall be revoked; but if we be overcome, we ſhall all die condemned Hereticks. The King aſſented, and all the by-ſtanders did the like; and upon that hope, order was given the Army ſhould march, and having laid ſiege to *Eſtampes*, and that Town being taken by aſſault, the King very much exaſperated, and moved by his natural melancholly, now outwardly ſtirred up by ſo many provocations, cauſed all the Magiſtrates to be hanged, and gave the pillage of the Town freely to the ſoldiers. From *Eſtampes*, the King being deſirous to ſhut up all the paſſages of thoſe Rivers that were fit to ſtreighten the City of *Paris*, marched on with the body of his Army to beſiege *Poiſſy*, and the Duke of *Eſpernon* enlarging himſelf with the Reer, took, and with the ſame violence ſacked *Montereau* upon the River *Yonne*. *Poiſſy* made very little reſiſtance, and the Town yielding it ſelf, the King was Maſter of that brave ſpacious Bridge, which there gives paſſage over the *Seine*, by the help whereof he was able to enlarge himſelf on both ſides the River. In this place the D. of *Montpenſier*, who had followed the track of the D. of *Mayenne* out of *Normandy*, without receiving any oppoſition, joined with the King's Army, who intended to make that Town his Magazine, gave the Government of it to the Sieur *de Villiers*, and leaving his Baggage, Ammunion, and part of his Artillery there, put in a Garriſon of 2000 Foot.

The Pope by a *Monitory* declares the King liable to Cenſure, if within 60 dayes he releaſes not the Prelates, and does not Penance for the Cardinal of *Guiſe*'s death.

The King troubled at it, faſts forty hours.

Words of *Hen.* the Third, upon the Excommunication thundered out againſt him.

The King of *Navarr*'s Anſwer.

The King taking *Eſtampes* hangs the Magiſtrates, and gives the pillage of the Town to the Soldiers.

*Poiſſy*

*Poiſſy* being taken and manned, the King of *Navarre*, with his Van-guard, went without delay to beſiege *Pontoiſe*, in which Monſieur *d'Alincourt* was Governor, and with him the Sieur *de Hautfort*, put in alſo by the Duke of *Mayenne*, to ſupply what ſhould be defective; theſe having fortifi'd a Church which ſtood in a corner of the Town, and reduced it to the form of a *Raveline*, ſtood conſtantly upon their defence. The firſt force was imployed againſt the Church, which battered and aſſaulted, and no leſs reſolutely defended, maintained it ſelf for the ſpace of nine dayes: at the end of which, *Hautfort* being killed with a Cannon-ſhot, the Church was alſo taken and utterly demoliſhed, and the defendents retired to make good the Walls. But the Sieur *d'Alincourt* being wounded in the ſhoulder, and the moſt valiant of the Defendents being ſlain by the violence of the Artillery, and in the fury of a bloody aſſault, the reſt were neceſſarily forced to yield; who marched out of the Town upon the four and twentieth of *July*, with this condition, that they ſhould not bear arms again in ſervice of the League, till after three months. 1589.

The next day after the taking of *Pontoiſe*, the forreign Army arrived at *Poiſſy*-bridge; for Monſieur *de Sancy*, being firſt met by the Count *de Tavannes*, with Five hundred Horſe, in the Confines of *Bourgongne*, and then in *Champagne* by the Duke *de Longueville*; and the Sieur *de la Noue* with Twelve hundred Horſe, and Two thouſand French Muskettiers, had advanced with great diligence; nor durſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had made ſhew that he would oppoſe his paſſage, meet him with ſo much weaker Forces; ſo that upon Saint *James*'s day they paſſed the Bridge at *Poiſſy*, being received with great joy, and provided for, with great plenty, to refreſh themſelves, by Monſieur *de Villiers*, who had cauſed many carts full of Wine, and proviſions, to be brought beyond the Bridge, to welcome the Swiſſes and the Germans. The next morning, which was Saint *Annes* day, the King deſired to ſee them, and view them in their Diviſions, largely ſpread over the fields; and being accompanied by the King of *Navarre*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, he welcomed and cheriſhed the Commanders with great familiarity, honouring them with ſuch warlike preſents, as the ſtate of things, in the fury of Arms would permit. There were 10000 Swiſſes, 2000 German Foot, 2000 *Reiters*; to which the Forces of the King, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Baron *de Giury*, the King of *Navarre* being added, the Army amounted to the number of Two and forty thouſand fighting men. The terror of this Army made all the places thereabout to yield; and the Bridge of St. *Cloud*, a place within a League of *Paris*, having had the boldneſs to ſhut their Gates, upon the nine and twentieth day, was victoriouſly forced open, and the relief which the Sieurs *de Bourdaiſiere*, and *Tremblecourt* had attempted to put into it, with two Regiments of Foot, and Four hundred Horſe, was likewiſe furiouſly driven back by the Cavalry.

The Swiſſes arrive and joyn with the King at *Poiſſy*

The affairs of *Paris* were already reduced into an exceeding ill condition; for all the Bridges being loſt, all the neighbouring Towns ſurrendred, all the paſſages of the River ſtopped, and the City ſtreightned on all ſides, there was no other hope left than what the preſence of the Duke of *Mayenne* and of the Army afforded, which was all ſhut up within the circuit of the Suburbs of *Paris*. The Army was 8000 French Foot, and 1800 Horſe; but ſo great was the ſcarcity of victual, and the terror that had ſeized every one by reaſon of the Kings's proſperous ſucceſſes and ſevere reſolution, that within two dayes the French Foot were reduced to Five thouſand, and the Germans demanding meat and money, began to threaten, that they would go over to the Enemies Camp. Nor were the inhabitants more reſolute, or more unanimous than the ſoldiers; for the common people following the ordinary courſe, as they had been precipitate to rebel; ſo hoping by their meanneſs and obſcurity to lie hid, and eſcape unpuniſhed, were eaſily induced to ſubmit themſelves to the King; and thoſe who from the beginning had been inclined to his devotion, but durſt not declare themſelves, now by his being ſo near, and by the danger of the reſt, being become bold and fearleſs, began to perſwade the people through the ſeveral quarters, and to put them into ſuch deſpair of the preſent affairs, that the Duke of *Mayenne* was no leſs troubled with the inconſtancy of the Pariſians, than with the potent Forces of the King; yet ſhewing courage anſwerable to the greatneſs and urgency of the neceſſity, he diſpatched young *Meneville* to the Duke of *Lorain* (to whom *Jamets*, having been beſieged by him a whole year, was at laſt ſurrendred) deſiring him to come perſonally to his relief, and had given order that Four thouſand Germans, leavied by his Commiſſion, ſhould make

The King with a victorious and numerous Army lays ſiege to *Paris*; having taken all thoſe places that furniſht it with victual.

1589. haſte to join with him, that they might advance together to raiſe the ſiege of *Paris*. But theſe Succours were too late, too far off, and too uncertain; for the Germans were yet in their own Country, the Duke of *Lorain* was not well reſolved what he ſhould do, the reputation of the League was ſuddenly fallen in every Province, and the people, the firſt violence of their paſſion being over, and they full of infinite fear, thought every where of returning to the Kings obedience, who having taken St. *Cloud*, had himſelf begirt the Fauxbourg of St. *Honore*, and all that ſide of the *Lovre* to the River; and the King of *Navarre* on the other ſide beſieged from the Fauxbourg of St. *Marceau*, to that of St. *Germain*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was quartered in the Fauxbourg of St. *Germain*, and defended both St. *Marceau* and St. *Victoire*, having cauſed his poſts to be ſhut up every where with trenches: the Sieur *de la Caſtre*, with the Germans and a Regiment of Walloons guarded the Fauxbourg of St. *Honore*, *Montmartre*, and St. *Dennis*, which was likewiſe encloſed and fortified with trenches. In the City the Dutcheſſes of *Nemours*, *Montpenſier*, and *Guiſe*, with the Preachers (though much fallen in courage and reputation) were buſie in animating the people, who appeared manifeſtly ſad and dejected. Monſieur *de Rhoſne* executing the Office of Camp-Maſter-General, ran up and down to every place; and the Prieſts and Fryars had taken up Arms, putting themſelves generally upon Military duty.

The City of *Paris* being in ſo great a ſtraight, and in ſo much terrour, (a thing very well known to the King, by the frequency of thoſe which ran every hour from the City to his Camp) upon the laſt day of *July*, would needs perſonally view the Enemies poſts; and by the advice of the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, and Monſieur *de la Noue*, who were with him, reſolved to refreſh his Army the next day, and upon the ſecond of *Auguſt* to aſſault their Works on every ſide; being not only confident of a happy iſſue, but as it were certain that the Germans would mutiny, and that many in the City would take up Arms on his ſide; ſome out of their old conſtant inclinations, and ſome by their preſent ſervices, to cancel their former faults and inſurrections. In his return toward St. *Cloud*, ſtopping his horſe upon a Hill, from whence he ſaw all the City diſtinctly, he broke forth into this ſaying; *Paris, Thou art the Head of the Kingdom, but a Head too great and too capricious; it is neceſſary, by letting Blood, to cure thee again, and free the whole Kingdom from thy madneſs: And I hope, that within a few days, here ſhall be neither Walls nor Houſes, but only the very footſteps of* Paris. And there was no man who did not already make that Prognoſtick: And the Duke of *Mayenne* being reſolved not to out-live his ruine, had determined to get on horſe-back with the Sieurs *de Rhoſne*, and *de la Chaſtre*, and to die honourably by fighting, in that ſpace that lies between the modern Walls of the Town and the Suburbs, which they ſaw they could not defend.

A ſaying of the Kings, who having been to diſcover the Enemies Works, ſtaid at a place from whence he looked upon the whole City of *Paris*.

But as in the revolutions of this War, ſtrange marvellous accidents have ſtill happned; ſo an unexpected and unthought-of chance, provided againſt the exigency of that danger, which neither the prudence nor valour of the Commanders were able to prevent. There was in *Paris* one *Jaques Clement*, a Fryar, (of the Order of St. *Dominick*, which commonly are called *Jacobins*) born of mean parentage in a Village called *Sorbone*, in the Territory of the City of *Sens*, a Young-man, about Two and twenty years of age, and always thought by his Fellow-Fryars, and many others that knew him, to be a half-witted Fellow, and rather a ſubject of ſport, than to be feared, or that any ſerious matter of conſequence was to be hoped for from him. I remember, that (having been often to viſit Fryar *Stephano Luſignano*, a Cyprian Biſhop of *Limiſſo*, and Brother of the ſame Order, when the Court was at *Paris*) I have ſeen him, and heard the other Fryars make ſport with him. This Fellow, either led by his own fancy, or ſtirred up by the Sermons which he heard daily made againſt *Henry* of *Valois*, called the Tyrant, and Perſecutor of the Faith, took a reſolution to hazard his life in attempting ſome means to kill him: Nor did he keep this bold thought of his ſecret, but cried out among his Fellow-Fryars, That it was neceſſary to take Arms, and cut off the Tyrant: Which words, heard by them with their wonted laughter, he was in deriſion called Captain *Clement* by them all. Many provoked him, by telling the Kings proceedings, and how he was coming againſt the City of *Paris*: To whom (while the Army was far off) he would anſwer, That it was not yet time, and that he would not take ſo much pains. But when the King began to draw near, he paſſing from jeſts to a ſerious determination, told one of his Fathers, that he had a bold inſpiration to go and kill *Henry* of *Valois*, and deſired him

The birth, age and condition of *Jaques Clement*, a Fryar of the Order of St. *Dominick*.

The King is called *Henry* of *Valois* the Tyrant, and Perſecutor of the Faith.

him to counſel him, if he ſhould execute it. The Father having imparted this buſineſs to the Prior, who was one of the chief Counſellors of the League; they both anſwered, That he ſhould take good heed, it were no temptation of the Devil; that he ſhould faſt and pray, begging of God to enlighten his mind what he ſhould do. Within a few dayes he came again to the Prior, and the other Father, telling them, He had done as they adviſed him, and that he found in himſelf more ſpirit than ever to undertake the enterpriſe. The Fathers, (as many ſaid) having conferred about the buſineſs with Madam *de Montpenſier*; or (as they of the League will have it) of their own proper motion, exhorted him to the attempt, affirming to him, That if he lived, he ſhould be made a Cardinal; and if he died, for freeing the City, and killing the Perſecutor of the Faith, he ſhould without doubt be canonized for a Saint. The Frier ardently excited by theſe Exhortations, laboured to get a Letter of Credit from the Count *de Brienne*, who, having been taken at *St. Ouyn*, was ſtill priſoner in the City, aſſuring him, That he was to ſpeak with the King about a buſineſs of infinite importance, and which ſhould redound to his very great contentment. The Count not knowing the Frier, but hearing how the City ſtood affected, and that many plotted to bring in the King, believing the buſineſs to be true which he profeſſed to deal in, made no difficulty of granting him the Letter; with which departing upon the laſt day of *July* in the Evening, he went from the City into the King's Camp, where he was preſently taken by the Guards; but he ſaying, he had buſineſs and Letters to communicate to the King, and having ſhewed the ſuperſcription, was brought to *Jaques de la Gueſle*, the King's Attorney-General, who executed the Office of Auditor of the Camp. The Sieur *de la Gueſle* having heard the Frier, and knowing, that the King had returned when it was dark, from diſcovering the Enemies Works, told him, It was too late for that night, but the next morning he would bring him to him without fail; and that in the mean time, he might ſtay, for his ſecurity, in his Lodgings. The Frier accepted the invitation, ſupped at Table with *la Gueſle*, cut his meat with a new Knife, with a black Haft, which he had about him; Eat, drank, and ſlept without care. And becauſe a Propheſie ran, not onely thorough the Army, but thorough the whole Kingdom, That the King ſhould be killed by a Frier; he was asked by many, if perchance he came for that end: To whom he anſwered without diſturbance, That thoſe were not things to be jeſted withal in that manner. In the morning upon the firſt day of *Auguſt*, Monſieur *de la Gueſle* went to the King's Lodgings very early, and having told him the Friers deſire to ſpeak with him, was commanded preſently to bring him in, though he was not yet quite ready, but ſtill without his Buff-coat (which by reaſon of his Arms he was wont to wear) and having on onely a thin Taffaty Doublet all untruſſed. The Frier being brought in, while they both withdrew to a Window on one ſide of the room, he delivered the Letter from the Count *de Brienne*, which the King read; and having bid him proceed to tell his buſineſs, he feigned to feel for another Paper to preſent it; and while the King ſtood intentively expecting it, he having drawn his wonted Knife out of his ſleeve, ſtruck him on the left ſide of the Navel, and left all the blade buried in the wound. The King feeling the blow, drew forth the Knife, and in drawing of it, made the wound wider, and preſently ſtruck it himſelf up to the Haft in the Friers Forehead, who at the ſame time (*la Gueſle* running him thorough with his Sword) fell inſtantly dead; and was no ſooner ſain, but *Mompérat*, *Lognac*, and the Marqueſs *de Mirepoix*, Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, who were preſent at the fact, threw him out of the Window, where, by the common Soldiers he was torn in pieces, burnt, and his aſhes ſcattered in the River.

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Frier *Jaquet Clement* having adviſed with the Prior, and others of his Order, reſolves to kill the King, and to that end goes from *Paris*.

A Queſtion made to the Frier, and his Anſwer.

Upon the firſt of Auguſt the Frier brought in to the King, gives him a Letter; and then drawing a Knife, thruſt it into his Belly.

The King ſtrikes the ſame Knife into the Friers Forehead. Monſieur *de la Gueſle* runs him thorough; and being caſt out of the window, he is torn in pieces.

The King was carried to his Bed, and the wound was not thought mortal by the Chirurgions: Wherefore having called his Secretaries, he cauſed an account of the buſineſs to be given to all parts of the Kingdom, exhorting all the Governors not to be diſmaid, for that he hoped he ſhould be cured within a few dayes, and be able to ride: The ſame he did to the chief Commanders and Principal Officers of his Army; and having preſently ſent for the King of *Navarre*, committed to him the care of his Army, and the diligent proſecution of the enterpriſe. But at night he felt wonderful great pain in his wound, and fell into a Fever: Wherefore having called his Chirurgions, and ſearch being made, they found his Intrails were pierced; ſo that they all agreed his life could not laſt many hours. The King, who deſired to know the truth, being told his danger, cauſed *Eſtienne Boulogne* his Chaplain, to be called, and with very great devotion, made Confeſſion of his ſins: But before Abſolution, his Confeſſor

1589. feſſor having told him, that he had heard, the Pope had publiſhed a *Monitory* againſt him; and therefore he ſhould ſatisfie his Conſcience in the preſent extremity: He replied, That it was true; but the *Monitory* it ſelf contained, that in caſe of death he might be abſolved; that he would ſatisfie the Popes requeſt, and promiſed faithfully to releaſe the priſoners, though he ſhould believe it would coſt him his Life and Crown: With which ſatisfaction, the Confeſſor abſolved him, and gave him the Sacraments the ſame night. The King feeling his ſtrength decay, cauſed his Chamber-doors to be ſet open, and the Nobility to be brought in; who with abundance of tears and bitter ſighs, ſhewed publick ſins of their grief: And turning toward them, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the Count *d' Auvergne* his Nephew ſtanding by his Bed-ſide, he ſaid with an audible voice, That it troubled him not to die; but he was grieved to leave the Kingdom in ſo great diſorder, and all good men afflicted and perſecuted: That he deſired no revenge for his death; for from his firſt years, he had learned in the School of Chriſt to forgive injuries, as he had done ſo many in times paſt: But turning to the King of *Navarre*, he told him, That if that cuſtom of killing Kings ſhould grow in uſe, neither ſhould he, by conſequence be long ſecure: He exhorted the Nobility to acknowledge the King of *Navarre*, to whom the Kingdom of right belonged; and that they ſhould not ſtick at the difference in Religion; for both the King of *Navarre*, a man of a ſincere noble nature, would, in the end, return into the boſome of the Church, and the Pope, being better informed, would receive him into his favour, to prevent the ruine of the whole Kingdom. At laſt he embraced the King of *Navarre*, and ſaid, repeating it twice over: *Brother, I aſſure you, you will never be King of* France, *if you turn not Catholick, and if you humble not your ſelf unto the Church*; after which words, having called his Chaplain, he, in the preſence of them all, rehearſed the Creed, after the uſe of the *Roman Church*, and having Croſſed himſelf, began the *Miſerere*, but his ſpeech failing him in theſe words, *Redde mihi lætitiam ſalutis tui*, he yielded up the Ghoſt contentedly, having lived Thirty ſix years, and reigned Fifteen, and juſt two months. In his death ended the line of Kings of the Houſe of *Valois*, and the poſterity of *Philip the Third*, ſurnamed the *Hardy*, and by vertue of the *Salique Law*, the Crown devolved to the Family of *Bourbon*, neareſt of the Blood, and deſcended from *Robert* Count of *Clermont* the ſecond ſon of St. *Louis*.

The death of *Hen.* the third, upon the firſt of *Auguſt* at night, *Anno* 1589, he having lived 36 years, and reigned 15, and two months: the Houſe of *Valois* ended in him, and the Crown devolved upon the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

The whole Army being wonderfully grieved at ſo ſad, ſo fatal an accident, and eſpecially the Nobility, who accompanied the death of their Prince with tears, which came from the bottom of their hearts: but on the other ſide, the *Pariſians* ſhewed profuſe ſigns of joy, and ſome among the Great Ones, who had till then worn mourning for the death of the Lords of *Guiſe*, did again put on their Gallantry and their feathers, and leaving off black, clothed themſelves in Green; though the Duke of *Mayenne*, with the wonted moderation of his prudence, far from ſuch like demonſtrations, minded onely how to excuſe himſelf, and divulge with all diligence, that he had no hand in the buſineſs, and that it was directly and immediately the Hand of Heaven; which nevertheleſs was believed by few; for the opinion which was conceived, was not to be rooted out of mens minds, it being unlikely that the chief men of the *Union*, and particularly the Prior, a truſty Counſellor of the Grand-Council of it, ſhould not have conferred about the fact with the Princes, and with their privity exhorted, and with effectual motives ſpurred on the ſimplicity of the Frier: but as the factious occurrences of Civil Wars are full of Lyes and fabulous inventions, others added many fictions to the truth, which a certain Writer, perhaps through ignorance, or heedleſneſs, or elſe through hatred, hath not ſhunned to publiſh in his Writings.

But howſoever it were, it is indeed a thing worthy of very great conſideration, to think how the ſingular vertues and eminent qualities of ſo brave a Prince ſhould come to ſo cruel, ſo unfortunate an end; from thence to learn this excellent Leſſon, That the skilfulneſs of the Pilot avails but little, if the wind of divine favour, which with eternal Providence governs mortal affairs, help not to bring our actions into their deſired port: For in *Henry* the Third were all amiable qualities, which, in the beginning of his years, were exceedingly reverenced and admired; ſingular prudence, royal magnanimity, inexhauſted magnificence, moſt profound piety, moſt ardent zeal in Religion, perpetual love to the good, implacable hatred to the bad, infinite deſire of doing good to all, popular eloquence, pleaſantneſs becoming a Prince, generous courage, valour, and wonderful dexterity in Arms; for which vertues, during the reign of his Brother, he was more admired and eſteemed than the K. himſelf.

He

He was a General before he was a Souldier, and a great States-man before he came to years of maturity; he made War with power, deluded the experience of the moſt famous Commanders, won bloody Battels, took in Fortreſſes that were held impregnable, gained the hearts of people far remote, and was renowned and glorious in the mouths of all men: yet, when being come to the Crown, he ſought out ſubtil inventions to free himſelf from the yoke and ſervitude of the Factions, both parties conceived ſuch a hatred againſt him; that his Religion was counted hypocriſie; his Prudence, a wicked craftineſs; his Policy, meanneſs of ſpirit; his Liberality, licentious and unbridled prodigality; his Affability, was contemned; his Gravity, hated; his Name, deteſted; his private Converſations, imputed to enormous vices; and his Death, being extreamly rejoyced at by factious men and the common people, was raſhly judged to be the ſtroke of Divine Juſtice. 1589.

After the Kings death, the Army remained that day as it were aſtoniſhed and ſtupified; nor were the Pariſians in leſs wonder and amazement, when by an unexpected accident they ſaw themſelves left quiet that day, wherein with terrour they looked for nothing but their utter deſolation. But the King of *Navarre* being gone preſently to his lodging at St. *Cloud*, though he had determined in his mind to aſſume the Arms and Title of *France*, was doubtful, ſollicitous, and very uncertain what might come of it; for the Hugonots that depended on him, were few and weak, and if he ſhould ſeem to acknowledge the Scepter from them, he ſhould without queſtion alienate the ſtronger, and more numerous party. In the Catholicks he could have but little confidence, differing from them in Religion, not having gained them by the merit of former benefits, having ever been far from them, nay their Enemy, and not ſo much as known by ſight unto moſt part of them, until that time. As for the Foreign Forces, he knew not what they would reſolve to do with themſelves, being under Commanders of ſmall credit and authority, without Commiſſions from their Princes, and for want of money, rather in a condition to mutiny and disband, than to yield obedience to him, that had not means to ſatisfie them: for the King of *Navarre*, newly come out of that narrow corner, where he had been ſhut up ſo many years, was ſo far from being able to pay them, that he had not wherewithal to maintain himſelf; and in the dead Kings Treaſury was found very ſmall ſtore of money, the gulf of War having ſwallowed up both the Revenues which were gotten in, and thoſe ſums which his Friends had lent him in times of great need. To this was added the diſguſts which many chief men had againſt him: the Duke of *Montpenſier*, though of the ſame Family, yet in reſpect of Religion, whereof he was moſt obſervant, had very little correſpondence with him, not being able to endure, and counting it a ſhame to the whole Family, to ſee him encompaſſed with Hugonot Miniſters and Preachers. The Count *d' Auvergne*, Baſtard of *France*, a young man, of fierce nature, for ſlight occaſions, as quartering of Souldiers, and dividing of ſpoil, was ſcarce wont to ſalute him; Monſieur *de Vitry*, Monſieur *de Villiers*, and many others, who in times paſt had received benefits from the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and had lately ſerved the deceaſed King, becauſe their courage would not ſuffer them to be called and accounted Rebels, now that reſpect, and the bond of obedience being looſened by his death, could in no wiſe bend their minds to follow an Enemy to the Houſe of *Lorain*; and which imported moſt of all, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who, as the cuſtom is, hated and perſecuted all thoſe who he thought might remove him from the degree he held, or get before him in his Maſters favour, had broken almoſt openly with him in the Kings life time: for the King of *Navarre* having taken notice that the Duke of *Eſpernon* bore him ill will, and aimed to put him in diſgrace with the King, as a man of an open courage, and free ſpeech, had complained manifeſtly of him, ſaying, That if he thought to uſe him as he had done the Lords of *Guiſe*, he would not endure it: and *Eſpernon* on the other ſide, had ſaid more than once, That the King of *Navarre* was wont to make War not in Royal Camps, and with Military Diſcipline, but like a Free-booter, or a Plunderer; and that all outrages and inſolencies were committed by the Hugonots; and at the taking *Eſtampes*, having found a Souldier of the King of *Navarre*'s own Troop of Dragoons, who to ſteal the *Pix* out of a Church, had thrown the Sacrament upon the ground, he killed him preſently with his own hand; ſo that between them there was no very good intelligence. For all theſe reaſons the King of *Navarre* was ſurrounded with ſtraits and difficulties, not being aſſured what might ſucceed upon his Declaration; and ſo much the rather, becauſe he knew many were ſecretly come from *Paris* into

The King of *Navarre* having many Lords in the Camp ill-affected to him in reſpect of Religion, and other private cauſes, is in great perplexity.

Cauſes of hatred between the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

1589. into the Camp, to work upon the mindes of ſuch as were diſcontented, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* would give to all very large conditions.

But if the King was tormented with theſe doubts, and involved in theſe cares, the mindes of particular men were no leſs troubled and perplexed; for the Hugonots doubted, that the King would make more account of attaining to the Crown, than of perſevering in their Religion, and therefore feared he would eaſily reconcile himſelf to the Church: and the Catholicks ſeeing him environed by *du Pleſſis Mornay*, *des Amours* a Miniſter, and the *Sieur de la Noue*, and many others who were firm Calviniſts, and calling to mind paſt experiences, believed he would not forſake that Religion, and thoſe men with whom he had lived long, and ſuſtained the difficulties of his adverſe fortune; and many of each Religion were drawn and byaſſed by diverſe ſeveral intereſts.

The affairs of the Army being ſo uncertain and diſtracted, the Catholicks, who were the greater part, gathered themſelves together the night before the third of *Auguſt*, to conſult what reſolution they ſhould take. Here their opinions were different; for many thought beſt to follow and uphold the Crown by all means in the King of *Navarre*, that they might not wrong the juſtneſs of his Cauſe, and violate the Salique Laws, but conſerve the Kingdom in the lawful Succeſſion: They ſaid, that by doing otherwiſe, it was neceſſary either to divide the Kingdom among ſo many Petty-Kings, as there were armed Princes and Pretenders; or elſe ſubmit themſelves to the rule and arbitrement of ſtrangers: That this was the true way to foment diſcord, and make the Civil Wars perpetual, to the deſtruction of the publick, and of every particular man, and to expoſe their common Country to new dangers, fatal accidents, and moſt cruel ſlaughters: That the hand of God was plainly ſeen; which favouring the juſtice of his Cauſe, had, in an opportune conjuncture, armed him with Forces, reconciled him with his good Subjects, and put him miraculouſly in a condition to be able to attain to, and defend his Crown: That it was a pious thing to follow the Motives and Diſpoſals of Heaven, and to leave the care of future matters to Divine Providence: That, by the Laws of God, Princes were to be born withal, and not to be deſpoiled of their Rights and Inheritance for any particular defect: That the King of *Navarre* was an ingenuous Prince, full of clemency, modeſty, and ſincerity: That in him there was no cauſe to fear a violent or tyrannical power, but to hope for a good and lawful Government; and liberty of Life and Conſcience, which he till then had granted to every one: That finally, it was a thing unworthy of the French Name and Nobility, to adhere to Rebels, who had impiouſly imbrued their hands in the bowels of their Prince, and with manifeſt wrong and violence endeavoured to deprive and deſpoil the Blood Royal of the lawful Succeſſion of the Crown: But on the contrary, That it was an action worthy the name of *Cavaliers*, which they profeſſed, to vindicate their juſt blood, unjuſtly ſhed by his Subjects, and to maintain the true and lawful Heirs of the Crown in the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. The Authors of this opinion were the Sieur *de Rambouillet*, the Baron *de Giury*, and eſpecially the Duke of *Longueville*.

The Catholicks aſſemble themſelves to conſult about the future King.

But many others argued on the contrary ſide, That they ought to obſerve Divine, before Humane Laws; and that the health of the Soul was alwayes to precede tranſitory worldly things; that the reſpect of Religion, in the Succeſſion of Kings, was antient: For, that depends upon the Law of Nature, and this upon the Particular Conſtitutions and Poſitive Rights of Nations: That the example of *England* was very near and remarkable, where the Princes alteration of Religion, had cauſed the deſtruction of the Catholicks, and the alienation of the whole Kingdom from the Apoſtolick See: That the miſeries of Wars, and the calamities they bring along with them, might be ended in a ſhort time; but the danger of loſing their Faith and Souls, extended it ſelf to their Children, and Grand-children, and to their whole poſterity for ever, which would receive an eternal loſs, and prejudice, by their preſent connivence: That it was true, Princes were to be born withal, though wicked, and of a different Religion; but that was meant by ſuch as were already placed and eſtabliſhed in the Throne, not of ſuch as were to be received and eſtabliſhed anew: That the King of *Navarre* had, by many means, with a thouſand intreaties, and redoubled reaſons, been perſwaded by the States-General, and by the earneſt deſire of the late King, to change his Religion, and yet could never be drawn from Calviniſm: And if he would not leave it in his extream neceſſity, it was not to be hoped, that he would do it in the proſperity of fortune;

tune; That what was ſaid of his nature and qualities, were very true; but that he was ſo exceedingly affected to his Religion, that he would think he did well in forcing mens Conſciences: And though he had not a tyrannical mind, yet one of a different nature might perchance ſucceed him: That at that preſent it was fit to foreſee the future, and not to alienate a moſt Chriſtian Kingdom from its obedience to the Pope, and from the Fellowſhip of the Church of God. This Argument was held by Monſieur *d'O*, the Sieur *de Manny* his Brother, Monſieur *d'Entraguos*, *Dompiere* the Field-Marſhal, and the greater number of the Aſſembly. 1589.

Between theſe two contrary opinions aroſe a third, as it were in the middle of the balance, held by the Mareſchal *de Biron*, the Duke of *Luxembourgh*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the wiſeſt among them, That the King of *Navarre* ſhould be declared King of *France*, and that they ſhould ſerve and uphold him in that quality; but upon aſſurance, that he would change his Religion, and embrace and maintain the Roman Catholick Faith: And this motion was drawn from the Will and Prudence of their dead King, who at his death had declared him lawful Succeſſor; but had alſo at the ſame time admoniſhed him, that he ſhould never be King in peace, if he embraced not the Roman Religion.

The Catholicks reſolve to declare the K. of *Navarre* K. of *France*, upon aſſurance that he would change his Religion.

This reſolution was in a manner generally followed, and charge was given to thoſe that had propoſed it, to let the King underſtand, with all modeſty, what they had determined. The Duke of *Luxembourg*, accompanied with the reſt, carried the Meſſage, and told him, That the Princes, Lords, and Officers of the Crown, together with the Catholick Nobility that was in the Army, which were the greateſt and beſt part of the Kingdom, were ready to acknowledge him King of *France*, to ſerve and maintain him againſt every one, ſince God and Nature had called him to the Crown by a lawful Succeſſion: But withal they beſought him, that for the general contentment and reaſonable ſatisfaction of all his Subjects, for the good, peace and tranquillity of his Kingdom: for the honor of his own Perſon, and for that which became the Title of a moſt Chriſtian King, he would be pleaſed to turn to the Catholick Religion, and to come again into the boſome of the holy Church, to take away the pretences of his enemies, and the ſcruples of conſcience of his ſervants to the end, that he might be ſerved, obeyed and honoured with the univerſal applauſe of them all: That His Majeſty would not think this their propoſition, and moſt humble ſupplication, ſtrange; for it would appear much more ſtrange to their conſciences, and the whole Chriſtian World, That one ſhould be eſtabliſhed King of *France*, who was no Catholick, as all his glorious Predeceſſors had been, from *Clouis* the firſt King that received Baptiſm.

The Duke of *Luxembourg* delivers the reſolution of the Catholick Lords, in the Camp, to the K. of *Navarre*.

The King, though he was much troubled and perplexed in mind, yet either preferring his Religion before the Crown, or knowing, that by pleaſing his new Catholick Subjects, he ſhould diſpleaſe the Hugonots his old adherents, took alſo the middle way, and anſwered, That he returned thanks with a moſt ſincere French heart to the Nobility, for their acknowledgment of his Right: That he knew them to be the principal Member of the Crown, the foundation of the Kingdom in time of War, and the eſtabliſhment of his Scepter: That he embraced them all with tenderneſs of heart, being ready to requite their duty and fidelity, both in publick and in particular: But deſired, that they would not think it ſtrange, if he did not ſo preſently ſatisfie their firſt requeſts, becauſe the quality of the thing demanded, required a convenient time of advice, and the ripeneſs of a grounded reſolution: That he ſet a greater value upon his Soul and Conſcience, then upon all earthly greatneſs: That he had been brought up and inſtructed in that Religion, which yet he held to be the true one; but nevertheleſs, he would not therefore be ſtubborn and obſtinate: That he was ready to ſubmit himſelf, either to a General, or National Council, and to the Inſtructions, which without palliating the Truth, ſhould be given him by learned conſcientious perſons. But that theſe were Motives which proceeded from God, effects of the maturity of time, and which ought to be laboured for in peace and tranquillity, and not amidſt the noiſe of Arms and War, and with a Dagger at a Mans Throat: That he had a firm reſolution to endeavour the ſatisfaction of his Subjects, and the contentment of his Kingdom; but that conjuncture was not proper to put his good deſires in effect, leſt his action and declaration ſhould ſeem feigned and counterfeit, and extorted by force, or elſe perſwaded by worldly intereſts: Wherefore he intreated them to ſtay till a fit opportunity; and if in the mean time they deſired any condition or ſecurity for the maintenance of the Catholick Religion in the ſame condition it

The King thanks the Catholicks, and his anſwer about changing his Religion.

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With this Anſwer the Deputies returned to the reſt of the Catholicks aſſembled in the *Hoſtel de Gondi*; and the King with his moſt intimate friends retired likewiſe to conſult. The Sieur *de la Noue*, a man of great experience in worldly affairs, though he were a Hugonot, told the King freely, That he muſt never think to be King of *France*, if he turned not Catholick; but that he ſhould endeavor to do it with his reputation, and without doing injury to thoſe who had long ſerved and upheld him. On the other ſide, *du Pleſſis Mornay*, and the Miniſters ſtood for Liberty of Conſcience, and the Cauſe of God, againſt earthly greatneſs; and, magnifying the Forces of their party, told him, That they who had ſo many years defended and preſerved him, would alſo be ſufficient to eſtabliſh him in the Kingdom. The King knew that theſe were ſwayed by their own intereſts, and joyning in opinion with Monſieur *de la Noue*, reſolved within himſelf to turn Catholick; but as a generous and magnanimous Prince, would not ſeem to do it out of ambition, or conſtraint; and he believed the Propoſition he had made to the Catholicks to be very reaſonable; ſo that he was determined to continue that reſolution, adding only the prefixed limits and circumſtances of time.

The Sieur *de la Noue* a Hugonot, tells the King, that he muſt never think to be King of *France* if he turn not Catholick.

God ſeemed miraculouſly to inſpire the ſame thought into the Catholick party; for though many of them, and particularly ſome Prelates that were in the Camp, did oppoſe it; yet the greater part, kindled with a juſt indignation for their King's death, could not hear of any agreement or accommodation with the League: wherefore, it was at laſt concluded, That the King, taking a prefixed time for his converſion, ſhould ſecure the ſtate of the Catholick Religion, and that upon thoſe terms they would receive and follow him.

The Deputies having carried this reſolution, and Treated a long time with the King and his Counſellors, at laſt a Writing was mutually agreed on between both parties, whereby the Catholick Princes, Lords, Officers of the Crown, Nobility and Soldiers on the one ſide, acknowledged *Henry* of *Bourbon* to be their lawful Prince, and took an Oath of fidelity to him as King of *France*, promiſing him due obedience, and to ſerve and uphold him againſt every one: And on the other ſide, He ſwore, and promiſed, upon the word of a King, to make himſelf be inſtructed within ſix months, in the Catholick Religion, by an Aſſembly of conſpicuous perſons; and if need were, to call a National Council, to the Decrees whereof he would humbly ſubmit himſelf; and in the mean time promiſed to maintain the ſame Roman-Catholick-Apoſtolick Religion inviolate, not to innovate or change any thing in it, of what kind ſoever, but to protect, defend, and ſecure it with all his power; to diſpoſe of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Revenues (in the manner obſerved by the Kings his Predeceſſors) to fit, and ſufficient perſons, of the ſame Religion; to cauſe the uſe of it, and the ceremonies thereof to be publick and principal in all places under his juriſdiction, as he had eſtabliſhed in the Agreement made with the late King, in the moneth of *April* laſt paſt; that he would put no Officers, nor Governors, but ſuch as were Catholicks in thoſe Towns which were under his obedience, nor in thoſe which for the time to come ſhould ſubmit themſelves unto him, or ſhould be taken; except onely thoſe places which had been already granted to the Hugonots; that he would admit none to any Dignities, Offices of the Crown, or Magiſtracies whatſoever, but ſuch perſons as publickly profeſſed the Catholick Religion; that he would conſerve and maintain the Princes, Peers of *France*, Miniſters of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, Cities and Corporations, and the three States of *France* in their wonted Beings, Priviledges, Immunities, Prerogatives, Offices, Places, and Magiſtracies, without any prejudice or innovation whatſoever; that he would endeavour to take juſt and fitting revenge for that Parricide committed upon the perſon of King *Henry* the Third, by ſevere exemplary puniſhment, and the deſtruction and extirpation of diſobedience and rebellion: finally, that he permitted his Catholick Subjects to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Pope, to inform him of the reaſons why they had acknowledged him, and ſworn fidelity unto him, and to ſue for, and obtain thoſe things of the Apoſtolick See, which they ſhould think convenient for the univerſal good of the Kingdom.

The Catholicks of the Camp ſwear fidelity to the King by a Writing ſigned and eſtabliſhed, and the King Swears to the maintenance of the Catholick Religion by the ſame Writing.

Upon the fourth day *Auguſt* this Writing was ſinged by the King, on the one part, and on the other by moſt of thoſe that were preſent in the Camp; and was afterward authorized and regiſtred in the Parliament of *Tours*, according to the form

form which was wont to be obſerved by thoſe Courts in the times of former Kings. Thus the neceſſity of preſent affairs, and the freſh paſſion for the Kings death, ſetled this accommodation, which at another time would certainly not have been compoſed. 1589.

Yet was not this Agreement able to retain every body; for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who under colour of contending for precedency with the Mareſchals of *Biron*, and *Aumont*, had not ſigned the Writing, becauſe they, as Mareſchals, being in the Camp, pretended to ſign firſt, and he as Duke and Peer of *France* pretended the ſame, doubting he ſhould be ill uſed by the King, and that in his preſent wants, he would either by intreaties, or force, wring ſome money from him, (whereof he was known to have very great ſtore) alledging that he had obtained leave from the late King to return to his Governments, departing the next day from the Army with his Troops, and with many who following the example, took that occaſion to return to their own houſes; and having made his journey thorow *Tourain*, he paſſed by *Loches*, and came at laſt to *Angouleſme*. *Jehan* Sieur *de Villiers*, who had the Government of *Poiſſy*, a man very zealous in the Catholick Religion, and who in his younger years had been exalted by the Lords of *Guiſe*, thoſe obligations ceaſing which he had to the late King, gave up his Government, with the Artillery and Ammunition of the Army, to *Filbert* Sieur *de la Guiche*, who by order from the King received it, and with two hundred Horſe, and many Gentlemen that followed him, retired into his own Country; and the ſame did many others ſeverally. Monſieur *de Vitry*, with a bolder reſolution, (which nevertheleſs was alſo followed by many) went over to the League without any demur, alledging that he ſaw no certainty at all in the Kings promiſes, and that he would not bear Arms againſt the Catholick Religion in favour of the Hugonots: and the common Souldiers, ſome out of impatiency, ſome for want of money, ſome for fear of future ſufferings, began of themſelves to disband ſcatteringly, in ſuch a manner, that by the ſeventh of *Auguſt* the Army was diminiſhed above half in number, and decreaſed ſtill daily. The ſame was feared of the Swiſſes; but the Mareſchal *de Biron*, who now followed his old inclination more than ever, did by reaſons and intreaties induce them to promiſe that they would follow the King for the ſpace of two months, till they ſhould receive new Commiſſions from their Cantons; towards which, reaſons and intreaties prevailed not ſo much, as a good ſum of money, which the King borrowed of his Friends, and divided ſecretly among their Commanders: ſo that without demanding further pay, but living upon free-quarter, they followed the Kings Name and Colours very quietly. Nor were the Hugonots more firm, or better ſatisfied than the reſt; for having conceived hopes that the King, who had been bred up, nouriſhed, defended and maintained by them, would, now he had attained the Crown, exalt their Religion, put Offices and Dignities into the hands of his ancient Confidents, and truſt more in thoſe Forces which had made him victorious among a thouſand dangers, than in the doubtful conditional promiſes of the Catholicks; now they ſaw the contrary, accuſed him of ingratitude: and had it not been that they hoped he did but temporize till he were ſetled in his Kingdom, and that then he would do quite contrary to what he had promiſed, (which belief was by him cunningly fomented in his conferences with them) they would without doubt have utterly forſaken him; and yet for all that opinion, very few followed him, and thoſe unwillingly enough; for many, becauſe they thought not themſelves ſecure, others out of anger and diſcontent disbanded, and returned in great abundance to the Cities of their party.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* ſtanding upon precedency, will not ſign the Writing, but departs from Court.

Many Lords, and a great part of the Souldiers, following the Duke of *Eſpernons* example, leave the Camp; ſo that by the ſeventh of *Auguſt* the Army is decreaſed to half the number.

But the King having accommodated his mind, and fitted it to the preſent neceſſity, having aſſumed the Name and Arms of King of *France*, and not being able to make new expences, made uſe of the late Kings houſhold-ſtuff, the ſame Purple ſerving to mourn for his Predeceſſor, which he till then had uſed for the death of his Mother; and knowing that mens minds were not yet well ſetled under his obedience, and that his own weakneſs was deſpiſed of many, he by the vivacity of his wit, by the readineſs of his anſwers, and by the familiarity of his converſation, behaving himſelf rather as a Companion, than as a Prince, and with large promiſes making up the wants of his preſent condition, endeavoured to ſatisfie all, and to win the love of every one, ſeeming to acknowledge the Kingdom, and the reputation of his actions ſometimes to this man, ſometimes to that man, ſeverally, and profeſſing to be ready earneſtly to embrace thoſe occaſions of requital which ſhould repreſent

1589. themſelves: To the Hugonots he ſeemed to lay open, and truſt his moſt intimate thoughts, and to acknowledge the foundation of his hopes to be in them. To the Catholicks he did very great honours, ſpeaking with much reverence of the Pope, and the Apoſtolick See; always honouring the Eccleſiaſtical Order, and ſhewing himſelf inclined to the Roman Religion, gave ſigns of a ſudden undoubted converſion. To the common-people, he ſhewed himſelf compaſſionate of their burthens, and of the calamities of War; and to the meaneſt of them, excuſed the neceſſity of taking free-quarter upon them for his Army, laying all the fault upon his Enemies. To the Gentry with words and geſtures full of reſpect, he gave the glory of true French-men, of preſervers of their Country, and reſtorers of the Royal Family, alluring every one by theſe arts to follow him; eating in publick, ſetting open his moſt private lodgings to every one, not concealing the neceſſity of his private condition, and propoſing thoſe things in a jeſting way, which could not ſo well be diſcovered in ſerious Counſels.

But the Army being already reduced to ſo ſmall a number, that not onely the ſiege of *Paris* could not be continued, but that it was needful to provide ſpeedily againſt the imminent danger which was ſo near (for the League, ſince the King's death, increaſed every moment in ſtrength and reputation:) He being in private with the Mareſchals of *Biron* and *Aumont*, the Sieur *de la Noue*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, (who having quieted his conſcience by the King's promiſe, had, for the intereſts of their common Family, firmly reſolved to follow him) conſulted a long time what courſe would be leaſt prejudicial to take in that preſent condition. And becauſe he had no means to keep the whole Army together, which though he had been able to do, would, within a few dayes, have been inferior to the Forces of the League; they determined, that the King, with the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and the Mareſchal *de Biron*, ſhould retire into the Province of *Normandy*; that the Mareſchal *d'Aumont* ſhould go into *Champagne*, and the Duke of *Longueville* with Monſieur *de la Noue*, into *Picardy*, to keep thoſe Provinces faithful, and to re-unite themſelves when time and occaſion ſhould require.

The King of *Navarre* raiſes the ſiege from *Paris*, and divides his Forces into convenient places

But the King knowing the vaſt ſtructure of the League, and how difficult the burden of Civil War is to be born, deſired to try the hope of an agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*, not being willing in any manner to be faulty to himſelf, or to neglect any poſſible means of ſetling himſelf in the Crown; wherefore many men being come into the Camp for ſeveral intereſts, he made uſe of the occaſion; and hearing that one *Bigot*, a near Servant to Monſieur *de Villeroy*, was there, he cauſed him to be brought unto him by the Sieur *de Chaſtillon*, and bad him to let his Maſter know, that he deſired infinitely to ſpeak with him, and that if he would chuſe the place of interview, he ſhould have a Safe-conduct ſent him, and all neceſſary ſecurity.

The Sieur *de Villeroy* had taken part with the League, not only out of anger, becauſe he was ſo ſuddenly diſmiſſed from the Court, but becauſe the Government of *Lyons* after the death of Monſieur *de Mandelot*, was, contrary to the promiſes the King had made him, given firſt to the Duke of *Nemours*, and then to Monſieur *de la Guiche*, putting by *Alincourt* his Son, who upon that hope had married the Daughter of *Mandelot:* To which cauſes of diſcontent he added, for a more potent excuſe, that all his Land lying within the Territories of *Paris*, and his Court-Penſion being taken from him, he knew not how to maintain himſelf, if he joined not with that party, wherein he might enjoy the Revenue of his Eſtate. But however it were, *Bigot* having delivered the Kings Meſſage, he not being willing to do any thing without the Duke of *Mayenne*'s leave, told him what Meſſage he had received from the King: But the Duke would not let *Villeroy* go to the meeting, alledging, that it could not be done ſo ſecretly, but it would be generally known, and by conſequence thoſe of his party would ſuſpect ſomething, and fall into a jealouſie: That affairs were in a very hopeful condition, and that it was not good to diſturb them inconſiderately, being they might eaſily be croſſed; and therefore only gave way, that he might receive a Gentleman in his houſe at *Paris*, and treat with him, if the King were pleaſed to ſend one for that purpoſe. With this Anſwer *Bigot* returned to the Camp; and the King not ſcorning any kind of means to advance his fortune, and to let the Catholicks know that he deſired Peace, ſent preſently the Sieur *de la Marſilliere* his Cabinet-Secretary.

The King deſires to ſpeak with *Villeroy*, who was gone over to the League: The Duke of *Mayenne* will not conſent to it: They treat by a third perſon, but nothing is concluded.

He not having been able to obtain leave to ſpeak perſonally with the Duke of *Mayenne*, told the Sieur *de Villeroy*, that the King had ſent him expreſly, to aſſure the

Duke

Duke of his good inclination to conſent to peace, and to repreſent unto him, how neceſſary it was for the general good: That he did very much eſteem the Dukes perſon, and deſired to make him his Friend, and to have him near him in an honourable degree of favour ſuitable to his condition: That the Duke ought now to lay aſide his vain hopes of ſeeing him totally abandoned and forſaken; for all the Princes, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, and others, that were both in, and out of the Army, had ſworn Allegiance to him, and promiſed him their aſſiſtance, he having ſatisfied them in what concerned Religion, by a reciprocal promiſe made in writing, the copy whereof he left with the Sieur *de Villeroy*, to ſhew unto the Duke: That not only the Hugonots, but even the Catholicks of the Army themſelves, were much diſpleaſed with the Duke for the Kings death, and had ſolemnly ſworn to proſecute their revenge, till they were fully ſatisfied: That he had promiſed the ſame, and was intereſſed in it; ſo that if ſo univerſal a good and benefit, as the peace of the Kingdom, did not make him yield, and alſo mollifie the hearts of thoſe that were offended, he ſhould not be able to do it afterwards, under colour of any other excuſe; and that therefore the Duke ſhould think upon it, and embrace this occaſion of regaining the affection of ſo many Catholicks, and ſo much Nobility, who, the reſpect of Peace being taken away, would for ever be his bitter irreconcileable Enemies: Finally, That he ſhould propound ſome Conditions; for the King was extreamly diſpoſed to ſatisfie him in whatſoever was poſſible. Which things being told the Duke by Monſieur *de Villeroy*, he had commiſſion to anſwer, That the Duke had no private enmity with the King, and for his own part honoured, and held him in the higheſt veneration; but that Religion and Conſcience would not ſuffer him to enter into that Treaty with him: That if his late Brothers had in the Kings life-time taken Arms to hinder the Crown from falling to a Prince of a different Religion, as by the Duke of *Alancon*'s death they doubted that it might; now, that the neceſſity was more urgent, and the danger already preſent, he could not lay down thoſe Arms that were taken up, without doing injury to the memory of his Brothers, to his own Conſcience, and to the ſolemn Oath he had taken: That he had engaged his Faith, and given his Life to the Publick Cauſe, when he had accepted the Office of Lieutenant-General of the State; and that having declared and acknowledged the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King to whom the Kingdom had been judged to belong, he could not break his Faith to him, nor reſolve of any thing till the ſaid Cardinal were at liberty, and all thoſe of his party aſſembled together: That if the Kings death had made him ſo many Enemies, he hoped God would defend his innocence; but his contentment was ſo great to ſee the death of his Brothers revenged, that he was very willing to undergo all the hatred he had gotten by it: That he ought not, nor could not give counſel to that King againſt whom he had taken up Arms: But he might eaſily know, that the liberty of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and his converſion, were neceſſary to precede the Treaty. With theſe general terms *la Maſſiliere* returned to the King, at the time when becauſe he was able to ſtay no longer, he raiſed his Camp from St. *Cloud*, and the Towns adjacent. 1589.

Madam *de Montpenſier*, and others, exhort the Duke of *Mayenne* to make himſelf be declared King of *France*.

The reſolutions after the Kings death had been no leſs doubtful and perplexed in *Paris*, than they had been in the Kings Camp: For the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Friends and Kinred, eſpecially Madam *de Montpenſier*, exhorted and counſelled him, to make himſelf be elected and declared King of *France*, by the party which he commanded; urging to him, that he ought not to omit that ſo great, ſo opportune occaſion of transferring the Crown into his Family, which had formerly been poſſeſſed by his Anceſtors, he being already acknowledged the Head, and obeyed by the principal Cities of the Kingdom, by ſo great a number of the Nobility, and by the greater part of the Clergy: They ſaid, the Controverſie was between him, already acknowledged and obeyed by thoſe of his party, and a Prince of a different Religion, whoſe Inheritance might with reaſon be called in queſtion, both becauſe of the diſtance of degrees, and of his being an Enemy to the Church; for which conſiderations he would never be ſincerely loved, nor firmly obeyed, by thoſe very Catholicks that ſeemed to adhere unto his party: That indeed now at firſt they had, out of anger for the Kings death, been perſwaded to follow him; but that Catholicks and Hugonots, being incompatible among themſelves, it would not be long before the memory of former hatreds would be renewed, by which their blood being again ſet on fire, they would quickly be ſeparated and divided by the intereſts of Conſcience, and their own natural enmities: That it was neceſſary to provide a manly, warlike, and Catholick King, to whom they might

ſecurely

1589. ſecurely run, as from time to time they ſhould grow diſcontented, finding their errour, and leaving that party: That the Cardinal of *Baurbon*, decrepid with old age, and kept in priſon, was in neither of thoſe conditions fit for that buſineſs: That the Duke would be accuſed of want of courage, if he ſhould be faulty to himſelf in ſo fair an occaſion: For they are poor-ſpirited men, that count exceſs of Moderation a vertue; whereas men of a noble mind, love and favour bold and generous deſigns: That there was both honour and profit in it, nay alſo poſſibility and conveniency; and that the Duke could neither be excuſed to himſelf, nor to his poſterity, if he neglected that good which God ſo miraculouſly preſented to him: They urged, that to declare the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, was the true way to eſtabliſh the King of *Navarre* in the poſſeſſion of the Crown; for ſo they confeſſed the Kingdom to belong to the Houſe of *Bourbon*; and the Cardinal dying, who was already in the laſt minutes of his life, the lawful Succeſſion could not afterward be denied to his Nephew; and though the pretence of Religion remained, that was an objection which he would be able to take away at his pleaſure, by turning Catholick, and hearing one Maſs; and though he ſhould perſevere in his Religion, yet the other Princes of that Houſe, who were Catholicks, would ſucceed, and ſuffer no oppoſition; that it was beſt to oppoſe the very firſt point, and aſſume unto himſelf that which he inconſiderately went about to confer upon another: that now the opportunity was ready and eaſie, which perchance within a few days would not be ſo; for the King of *Navarre* had promiſed to turn Catholick within ſix months, and in the mean time it was poſſible his Nephew the Duke of *Guiſe* might be ſet at liberty, who being Heir of the Family, might perchance oppoſe his Greatneſs, his own intereſts having more power with him, than the reſpects which was due to his Uncles age and many labours: that it was needful to undertake boldly, and ſuddenly, before the King of *Spain*, the Pope, the Duke of *Lorain*, and Duke of *Savoy* had time to think, and lay their plots to turn the courſe of affairs their own way; for he being once elected and declared, they would be neceſſitated rather to maintain him, than take part with the King of *Navarre*, a Heretick, and an enemy to *Spain* for *Navarre*, to the Pope for Religion, to the Duke of *Lorain* for the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Lands poſſeſſed by him, and to the Duke of *Savoy* for the protection of *Geneva*, and for the Marqueſat of *Saluzzo*; finally, they argued, that ſince the toyls and dangers were certain, and that he was to bear the weight of them, it was much better to undergo labour and hazard for his own intereſts and greatneſs, then to promote the exaltation of another, and to uphold a frail, weak, impriſoned, unknown Prince, from whom he was not certain to obtain any thing.

The Duke of *Mayenne* diſſwaded by *Villeroy* and others, doth not embrace the Council of making himſelf to be elected King of *France*.

This ſpecious counſel favoured by ſelf-love, was oppoſed by *Villeroy* and Preſident *Jannin*, with whom the Duke conſulted about all things; not that they did alledge againſt it either Right or Juſtice (things of very ſmall conſideration when the debate is about a Kingdom) but onely urging the impoſſibility: That the Pariſians, the People, and Cities of his party were terrified with the late buſineſſes, having ſeen the Duke ſo few dayes before brought to the laſt extremities, and looking deſperately with them for his own deſtruction: That they had loſt much of the opinion they had, and were not now ſo ardent as they were at firſt in the cauſe of the *Union*: That they deſired to have a Prince powerful in men and money, that might be able to defend them, and ſecure them from the King of *Navarre* and his party; and therefore they had turned their eyes, ſome upon the Duke of *Savoy*, ſome upon the Duke of *Lorain*, many upon the King of *Spain* himſelf; nor did any thing elſe withhold them but the right and juſtice of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, eſteemed the lawful Succeſſor (for theſe conſiderations move, and are able to do much more among the common people then in the minds of the great Ones;) which reſpect being taken away, there was not like to be any who would not rather chuſe to obey a King of *Spain*, held ſo potent a Monarch, and that had ſo many wayes to gratifie and reward his ſubjects, then a petty Duke of *Mayenne*, who had no other ſtrength then what the Union of thoſe Forces afforded, who had elected him their Head; with what force, with what moneys, with what Armies would he maintain the Crown againſt the King of *Navarre*, and the greateſt part of the Nobility united with him? with thoſe of the King of *Spain*, of the Pope, of *Savoy*, or of the Duke of *Lorain*? The Houſe of *Bourbon* being excluded, there was none of them but pretended better right to the Crown than he; for the *Infanta* of *Spain* was Daughter to a Siſter of the deceaſed King, the Duke of *Savoy* Son to one of his Aunts, the Duke of *Lorain* was head of the Fami-

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ly, and had Sons by another Daughter of *France*; and the Pope, if he were moved by zeal to Religion, ought to be more pleased, by how much a more powerful Prince it had to defend it; and if he were moved by interests, he might hope for much more from any of those other Princes, than from the weakness of the Duke of *Mayenne*; That an enterprise was not to be undertaken, which was neither generous, favourable, nor magnanimous; but rash, precipitate, and dishonourable, which, together with the loss of his fortune, would cost him also his life. 1589.

This Counsel prevailed with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as well for these considerations, as for two other reasons; one, that *Don Bernardino de Mendozza* the Spanish Ambassador did in a manner openly contradict his election; wherefore, by reason of the Authority and Forces of the Catholick King, he thought it would be impossible to effect that which he should attempt against his will: the other, that if it should be discovered that he suffered himself to be swayed by his own interests, and not by the respects of Religion, and the general good, he feared he should be forsaken by the Pope, and all the Confederates, and particularly by the Parisians: For which reasons he chose rather to expect the maturity of time, and in the interim to cause the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be declared King, towards whom he saw the common inclination bent, and leaving the Name and Arms of King to him that was old, weak, and which imported most, a prisoner; to keep the force and authority of Government in his own hand, being certain, that by how much the more favourably he should he nominated and elected by the League, by so much the more closely and warily would he be kept and guarded by the King of *Navarre*; and by consequence, so much the longer would the supreme authority remain in him; in which time, either by his death, or some other occasion, and perhaps by the help of Victory, more easie and expedite opportunities might offer themselves; hope in the mean time serving to spur on the other pretenders, whose assistance would either be quite taken away, or very much cooled, if they should see that place possessed at the very first, which they were plotting to procure for themselves.

Thus the Duke preventing the peoples desire, and the Council of the *Union*, was the first that declared the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King of *France*, with the Name of *Charles the Tenth*, and so caused him to be declared in the Parliament, in the Council of the *Union*, and to be proclaimed in the streets of *Paris*, retaining to himself the name and authority of Lieutenant-General through the whole Kingdom. This Declaration was pleasing and plausible to the people, who were thereby well setled and confirmed to continue the War, as they said, for the liberty of their King, and to root out the seed of Heresie; it was well approved of by the Spaniards, who desired to gain time to dispose of their affairs; but above all, it was a great satisfaction to the Pope, who in the same point saw both the lawful Succession safe, and the preservation of Religion.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* being declared the lawful King by the Council of the *Union*, the Duke of *Mayenne* by a lofty Edict, full of high words, exhorted every one to acknowledge that King which God had given unto the Kingdom, to yield him due obedience, and to endeavour with all their might to free him from that imprisonment in which he was detained by his Enemies; he commanded that every one should tye himself by Oath, before the Officers of his Province, to live and die in the Catholick Religion, and to defend, protect, and confirm it; and pardoned all those who within the term of fifteen dayes should separate themselves from commerce with the Hugonots, and retire into those places where the Catholick *Union* commanded: Which Edict, as soon as it was registred and published in the Parliament, he dispatched the *Commendatory de Diu* to *Rome* again (who had brought the *Monitory* against the late King) to inform the Pope of the state of Affairs, giving him notice, that King *Charles the Tenth* was declared, and intreating him to assist the cause of Religion, not only by his approbation, but also by supplies of men and money. Into *Spain* he only dispatched a great many several expresses, with particular news of the whole business, deferring to send any persons of quality, till he had conferred with *Don Juan de Morrea*, who having been sent by King *Philip* before the King's death, he had notice was at that time in *Lorain*: For the Catholick King, though he had not been willing openly to declare himself Enemy to King *Henry* the Third, to whom he in appearance bore respect, for many reasons; yet, as from the beginning he had laid the foundation of the League, and helped and strengthned the Duke of *Guise*, with great sums of money; so after his death, he had caused *Mendozza* his Ambassador

The Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was prisoner at *Chinon*, is declared and confirmed K. of *France* by the League, and called *Charles* the Tenth.

1589. Ambaſſadour to ſtay in *Paris*, and there under colour of favouring Religion, cunningly to be preſent at all buſineſſes, who by his arts and money had ſo won the hearts of the Pariſians, that he had as much power amongſt them, as the Princes of the Houſe of *Lorain*; and though the Catholick King did never ſend any ſupplies of armed men openly to the League while the King lived, yet he permitted that Count *Jago de Collalto* (who had raiſed a *Tertia* of *German* Infantry for his ſervice, and which was paid by him) ſhould, under ſhew of friendſhip to the Duke of *Mayenne*, go to ſerve him; and had, by his authority, and partly with moneys, aſſiſted the leavies of *Swiſſes* and *Germans*, which the Duke of *Brunſwick*, Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, and the Sieur *de Boſſompierre*, had made in favor of the League. But now the Kings death had taken away that ſcruple, and that ſo honourable a pretence of aſſiſting the Catholicks againſt an Heretick excommunicated King, preſented it ſelf, the Duke of *Mayenne* hoped he would turn all his Forces to aſſiſt the League, and therefore he ſtaid to hear his mind more particularly from the mouth of Don *Juan de Morrea*, and then he meant to ſend ſome perſon of Authority, to eſtabliſh the agreement of common affairs.

But the King having heard of the Declaration which had been made at *Paris*, and received in other places of the League, concerning the Cardinal his Uncle, the firſt thing that came into his mind, was (juſt as the Duke of *Mayenne* had imagined) to diſpatch his Confident *du Pleſſis-Mornay* to *Chinon*, where the Cardinal was, and give order, That he ſhould be removed to *Fontenay*, and there kept more carefully with ſtricter Guards, thinking that place more ſecure, becauſe it was near *Rochelle*, and invironed on all ſides with the Hugonot Forces. The ſecond thing was to ſolicite the Catholicks who had acknowledged him, to ſend the Embaſſie already reſolved on to *Rome*, to begin to enter into a Treaty with the Pope, and to ſee if it was poſſible to ſatisfie him: Wherefore the Catholick Lords deſiring, that their Embaſſie might have authority, both by the Birth and Wiſdom of the perſon employed, choſe the Duke of *Luxembourg*, a man of moſt noble Blood, of ſingular parts, and great experience in buſineſſes of the Court. The Embaſſie to the Pope being diſpatched, the King, deſirous to ſhew that he remembred what he had promiſed to the Catholicks, cauſed the Aſſembly of the States to be appointed in *October* following at the City of *Tours*, which (the Parliament and Court of Exchequer reſiding there) was made the Metropolis of his Party. There he made ſhew to the Catholicks, That in the Congregation of the States he would be inſtructed in the Roman Religion by learned pious men, whom he had ſent for from all parts; and with words and demonſtrations profeſſed, that he would ſubmit himſelf to what ſhould be determined in the Aſſembly: Although the Hugonots affirm, that he told them otherwiſe in ſecret; which was not much to be wondered at in the doubtfulneſs of his preſent condition. Theſe things being diſpatched, all neceſſary and fundamental to the eſtabliſhing of his Kingdom, not to ſtay for the whole Army of the League, which was to follow him within a few days, he marched towards *Compeigne*, taking with him the King's dead body; and having by the way taken *Meulan*, *Giſors*, and *Clermont*, arrived there upon the Four and twentieth of *Auguſt*: And there having laid the Body in the great Church, with very little pomp, and ſuch as the neceſſity of the times would permit, he went towards *Normandy* with all poſſible ſpeed.

*Charles* the Tenth taken out of *Chinon*, and removed to *Fontenay* a ſtronger place, where he is kept with ſtricter guards

The Duke of *Luxembourg* is ſent Ambaſſador to the Pope by the Catholick Royaliſts.

The King appoints the Aſſembly of the States at *Tours*, which is made the Head-quarter of his party.

The Body of *Henry* the Third is laid in the great Church at *Compeigne*.

At his entering into that Province, as it were, for a proſperous beginning of good fortune, Captain *Rolet* came to him, a man no leſs valiant than diſcreet, who held *Pont de l' Arche*, a moſt important place, three Leagues above *Rouen*, and as it were the Key of the River *Seine*; and taking the Oath of Allegiance, delivered up the Fortreſs into his hands. Being come into the Province, the King in three days march came to *Darnetal*, a Town leſs then two leagues diſtant from *Rouen*, and there having incamped his Army, he reſolved to make as if he meant to beſiege that City, in which the Duke of *Aumale* and Count *de Briſſac* were; not that he thought he had either ſtrength or preparations ſufficient to take it, but to ſhew a reſolute mind, and a good courage, and to amuſe the enemy, till he had diſpoſed what he had intended to do: wherefore the Army being encamped, and the Mills which were without the Works being burnt; whilſt there paſs frequent skirmiſhes with the Garriſon, the King having left the care of the Army to the D. of *Montpenſier*, and the Mareſchal *de Biron*, went ſpeedily with Three hundred Horſe as far as *Diepe*; which City, governed by the Commendatory *de Chattes*, had acknowledged him. When the King had carefully conſidered the

the City of *Diepe*, the Haven of it (very capacious, upon the ſhore of the Ocean) and the Country that lay near about it, he reſolved to remove thither with all his Forces, and there to ſuſtain the firſt violence of the Army of the League; being perſwaded to this reſolution, becauſe the Town is ſeated upon the Sea, right over againſt *England*, with a ſufficient Harbour to receive any Fleet, how numerous ſoever; by which means he might have ſupplies of Men, Money, Cannon, and Ammunition from Queen *Elizabeth*: And in caſe he ſhould be ſo ſtraitned by the Enemies, as to ſee himſelf not able to reſiſt, he might go away for *England*, to return afterwards, and land at *Rochelle*, or in what other place he ſhould think fit. He was the more confirmed in this determination, by the ſtrength of the City, and the Caſtle of it; by the largeneſs of the Suburbs, fit to quarter his men; by the ſtrong ſituation of the paſſages about it, which was ſuch, as every place might be defended ſpan by ſpan; ſo that they could not, without a long time, and much fighting, be reduced within the circuit of the Caſtle. For all theſe reaſons, he preſently diſpatched *Philip* Sieur *du Freſne* unto the Queen of *England*, (to whom he had formerly been ſent by the late King, and was returned about that very time) to let Her know his neceſſities, and to deſire Her aſſiſtance of Men and Money: And having made this moſt important Expedition with moſt exquiſite diligence, he joined his Horſe to the Gariſon of *Diepe*, and took *Eu* and *Neuf-Chaſtel*, but weak Towns, yet not far off, that he might take away all near impediments: and having purged the Country very carefully on all ſides, he returned to the Army at *Darnetal*, to bring it with a commodious march to quarter at *Diepe*. 1589.

He marched from *Darnetal* the ſecond of *September*, with One thouſand and four hundred Horſe, two Regiments of Swiſſes, which amounted to the number of Three thouſand, and Three thouſand French Muskettiers; to ſo ſmall a number were his Forces reduced ſince the Kings death. There were with him the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who led the Van; the Count *d' Auvergne* Grand Prior, (anger for the Kings death, and deſire of revenge, having made him forget all former diſguſts;) *Armand* Mareſchal *de Byron*, who had the chief authority in the Government; his Son *Charles* Baron *de Byron*; *Charles* of *Montmorancy* Seigneur *de Meru*, or, as they called him, Lord *d' Anville*, who commanded the Swiſſes; Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*, General of the French Infantry; Monſieur *de Reux* Field-Marſhal; Monſieur *de Baqueville*, who commanded the Light-horſe; the Sieurs *de Rembures*, *de Larchant*, *de Mignoville*, *de Guitry*, *du Hallot*, and *de la Force*; the other Lords and Gentlemen, according to the firſt reſolution, being gone into ſeveral parts of the Kingdom. With theſe Commanders, and with this Army, the King being come near *Diepe*, gave order that the Commendatory *de Chartes* ſhould continue in the City, and in his wonted Command of the Cittadel, with the ordinary Gariſon of Two hundred Souldiers, and two Companies of French Infantry extraordinary, which made in all the number of Five hundred Foot; and he with the whole Army reſolved to keep poſſeſſion of the Field.

The Kings Army is reduced to but 6000 Foot, and 1400 Horſe; yet he marches with good ſucceſs as far as *Diepe*.

The City of *Diepe* (as hath been ſaid before) is ſituated upon the ſhore of the Ocean Sea, juſt over againſt *England*; and hath a Port on the right ſide, which extending it ſelf like a Half-moon, is able to contain a great many Veſſels with great ſecurity; and on the left hand ſtands the Cittadel, which being of a four ſquare form, and ſeated ſomething high, doth with four great Towers ſcowr the Field on one ſide, and on the other maſters and commands the Town. The ſeat of this City is ſtrong and advantageous: For on the ſide toward the Sea it is fortified with Flankers, Ravelines, and Platforms, beſides the ſo powerful defence of the water; and on the ſide toward the Land, the Country is ſo rough, that Armies cannot be brought thither without much difficulty, nor Cannon without much more; and the manner of the way round about, affords an infinite number of convenient obſtacles for defence: For it lies between two ſteep, uneven, woody Hills, which from the bank of the Sea, ſhoot out many miles into the Country; and between theſe two lies a narrow Valley, thorow which runs the River *Bethune*, which dividing the City from a great Bourg called *Pollet*, falls into the Haven, and thence conſequently ſtraight into the Sea. By this River the Sea-waters entring, when it is high tide, do ſpread themſelves for many miles over the valley, making it ſo fenny, deep, and dirty, that there is no paſſing to the City along the Plain, but only upon the two Hills; and by another way, which, made by art, leads along the foot of the Hill on the left hand, and with many turnings and windings, comes to the Gate of the Town. So that only two ways lead to the City: one upon the top, the other at the bottom of the Hill on the left hand;

The ſituation of *Diepe* deſcribed.

1589. and the way which is upon the top of the Hill on the right hand, leads ſtraight to *Pollet*, which Bourg is divided from the City by the interpoſition of the Haven, and the Current of the ſmall River *Bethune*. The Country from one Hill to the other, is all mooriſh and rotten by the ſtanding of the waters; and there is no paſſage, but only by a very narrow way, interrupted by many Bridges, becauſe the River divides it ſelf into many ſtreams: Upon the Hill on the left ſide, which is no leſs ſteep and craggy than the other, ſtands the Caſtle of *Arques*, little more than a league from the Town, a place excellently fortified both by Art and Nature, which commands a great Bourg of the ſame name, that lies under it, juſt upon the way which at the foot of the mountain leads to *Diepe* along the bank of the River: The right-hand Hill, which is much more woody than the other, doth not run on equally united in one ridge, as that on the left hand doth, but about a league from *Pollet*, is parted by a great Valley, which extends it ſelf as far as over againſt *Arques*; and in it upon the right-hand is *Martinglize*, a great commodious Village; and on the left an Hoſpital of St. *Lazarus*, which the French commonly call a *Maladery*.

The King lies with his Army and fortifies the quarters about *Diepe*, poſſeſſing all places of advantage.

The King having with his Commanders diligently ſurveyed every one of theſe places, reſolved to quarter with all his Army at *Arques*, believing that if the Duke of *Mayenne* followed him, he would not paſs along the Hill on the right ſide, which leads only to *Pollet* thorow the Valley and the Wood, but would keep the ſtraight way that goes to the walls of *Diepe*: Wherefore the whole Army working ſpeedily, and likewiſe thoſe few peaſants which could be got together, he encloſed the Caſtle and Bourg with a good Trench of about eight foot wide, and as much in depth, making Works on the inſide with all the earth, and diſtinguiſhed it with Redoubts and Ravelines, about ſixty paces diſtant from each other: and then having placed his Cannon to the beſt advantage, he himſelf lodged in the Caſtle with all the French Foot, and the Mareſchal *de Byron* in the Bourg with the Regiments of the Swiſſes, ſhutting up in that manner both the ways which lead towards the Town, as well that at the top, as the other at the bottom of the Hill. The Horſe, quartered in that ſpace which reaches from the Trenches as far as *Diepe*, lay ready behind the Army to move where need ſhould require, there being left room enough, in fitting places of the Trench, to ſally out conveniently fifty Horſe in front, a ſufficient Body for any action they ſhould undertake. Many Ships were appointed at *Diepe* to fetch Victual for the Army from *England*, and the Coaſts of *Normandy*, from *Caen*, St. *Lo*, and *Carantan*, places which held for the King; which ſucceeded marvellouſly well: for ſome winds brought in Barks from *England*, others thoſe that came from *Normandy*, ſupplying with interchangeable aſſiſtance the neceſſities of the Souldiers, who in that convenient ſeaſon of the year had alſo many miles of a moſt fertile Country in their power; by the fruits whereof both Horſe and Foot were plentifully furniſhed.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* having received the Marqueſs *du Pon*, who was come with the Army of *Lorain* to aſſiſt the League, and likewiſe the Duke of *Nemours*, who had brought up the Forces of *Lyonoiſe*, Monſieur *de Balagny* Governour of *Cambray*, and finally the German Horſe and Foot which had been levyed by his order, with the help of *Spain*; that he might preſerve his reputation, and fulfil the infinite hopes he had to conquer, and drive the King out of the Kingdom, was moved from *Paris* upon the firſt day of *September*, and with ſix thouſand Swiſſes, four thouſand German Foot, twelve thouſand Muſkettiers between French and Lorainers, and with four thouſand and five hundred Horſe, received *Poiſſy*, *Mante*, and *Vernon*, which yielded to him; and having in two days taken *Gournay*, which would have made reſiſtance, marched on diligently towards *Rouen*, whence finding the King departed, he took along with him the Duke of *Aumale*, and ſo increaſing his Forces, which augmented every hour, continued on his Voyage with the ſame ſpeed towards *Diepe*; but he took a different way from what the King and his Commanders thought he would; for leaving that by the hill on the left hand which goes to *Diepe* by the way of *Arques*, and upon which he knew the Army was prepared to make oppoſition, being excellently quartered in places of advantage; he marched on by the hill on the right hand, with a deſign to come to *Pollet*, and making himſelf Maſter of it, to block up and command the mouth of the Haven, that the King being deprived of the uſe of Shipping, and cut off from his paſſage to the Sea, might not only want the aſſiſtance he hoped to receive from *England*, but alſo be reduced to extream neceſſity of victual, thinking he ſhould this way very eaſily conquer, and make an end of the War.

But

But the King, to whom the Sieur *de Baqueville*, who had the care of diſcovering the motion of the Enemy, had brought word in time, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the way toward the hill on the right hand, perceiving his aim, and deſiring to prevent it, left the Mareſchal *de Byron* at *Arques* with the Swiſſes, beſides a thouſand Muskettiers, and ſix hundred Horſe; not only that he might hinder the paſſage of the Enemy on that ſide, as had been the firſt intention; but alſo that paſſing croſs the Valley, he might advance to the foot of the right hand hill, and there draw a line about the *Maladerie*, and then make another great trench toward the bottom, to ſhut up the Duke's paſſage on that ſide alſo by a double impediment, to the end that he might not be able to get over to the left hand hill; which if he could do, he might either aſſault the Army in their works, or elſe putting himſelf between, might ſtreighten it, and ſeparate it from the Town. Care being thus taken for matters without, the King with the reſt of the Cavalry, and the remainder of the French Muskettiers went preſently thorow the City to *Pollet*, where, with continual labour day and night, the Lords and Commanders taking no leſs pains than the common Souldiers and inhabitants of the place, he environed the whole Bourg with a deep trench, which ending in the form of a ſpur, made a ſharp angle, in the point whereof a great Mill was made into a Fort, filling it up with earth, and ſetting palliſadoes round about; ſo that having planted ſix pieces of Cannon, though but ſmall ones, upon the works, he brought all his men to lie within that Fortification. 1589.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who by reaſon of the hinderance of his Artillery, and the difficulty of the ſteep rugged ways, had been fain to march ſlowly, arrived upon *Wedneſday* the thirteenth of *September* within ſight of *Pollet*, and having drawn his Army into Battalia, made a ſtand for three hours, expecting that the King would come forth of his trenches to fight; and in the mean time, cauſed his light-horſe to ſcowr the Country every where, being led on the one ſide by the Duke of *Nemours*, and on the other by the Count *de Sagone*. But the King finding himſelf without compariſon inferiour in Forces, (for his Souldiers were few more than ſeven thouſand, counting alſo thoſe that were at *Arques*; and the Dukes Army was between eight and twenty and thirty thouſand Horſe and Foot, and was furniſhed with great ſtore of Ammunition, and an excellent train of Artillery) keeping within his works, conſented only that the light-Horſe commanded by the *Grand-Prior* ſhould go out, and after them the Sieur *de Larchant*'s, and Monſieur *de la Force*'s Troops of Lanciers, to make good their retreat if need were. They skirmiſhed all the time that the Army of the League ſtood ſtill, and ſometimes the ſervice grew ſo hot, that the ignorant thought often the Commanders would put it to a Battel; in which encounters the Kings party prevailing for the moſt part, there was very little hurt done on either ſide. But the Duke of *Mayenne* knowing the King would not venture the hazard of a day, unleſs he were forced, and then with the advantage of his works and trenches, retiring over the hill, quartered his Army at *Mattingliſe*; and having cauſed *Pollet* to be viewed that night, and found that it was excellently fortified, and in a manner inacceſſible on all ſides, by reaſon it commanded all the Plain, and that it was flanked and fortified by the Cannon of the Town, reſolved not to attempt it, but to paſs over to the hill on the left ſide, to try either to take the Caſtle of *Arques*, and beſiege the Kings Army; or elſe to draw them to battel in the defence of their poſt; for he was ſo confident of the valour and number of his men, that if he could not do otherwiſe, he feared not to aſſault the King, even within the advantage of his own trenches.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being come before the Kings trenches, draws his Army in battalia; but the Kings Souldiers coming only to skirmiſh, no battel followeth.

In the mean time the Mareſchal *de Byron* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Maladery*; and as ſoon as he had with infinite diligence caſt a great trench round about it, he placed there twelve Companies of Swiſſes, and three hundred French Muskettiers; and not truſting wholly to that, had made up another high work within leſs than five hundred paces below the firſt, into which he put the Swiſſes of the Kings guard with Colonel *Galati*.

The Duke having given three days reſt unto his men, upon the ſixteenth day at night marched with all his Army in battalia without noiſe of either Drum or Trumpet, and turning his back towards *Pollet*, paſſed beyond the Kings Trenches, and appeared about break of day upon the deſcent of the Hill that goes down into the Plain, purpoſing to paſs the bridges unawares, and to get up without oppoſition on the left ſide; but he found himſelf prevented by the Kings vigilancy, who being come in the evening ſilently to *Arques*, and having intelligence of his moving many hours before it

1589. was day, had diſpoſed his Forces in exceeding good order; ſome at the entry of the bridges, where the Grand Prior was with his Light-Horſe, and the Lanciers of the Sieur *Larchant*, and Monſieur *de la Force*; ſome in the middle of the Plain, where the French Infantry was incompaſſed with the boggs and pools made by the Rivers; ſome in the lower way of the hill on the left ſide, where the Duke of *Montpenſier* was with the Nobility, and the Companies of *Rambures*, *Hallot*, and *Mignoville*; and ſome upon the aſcent of the ſame way where the Mareſchal *de Byron* was, with a Squadron of Swiſſes flanked with Muskettiers. The Artillery of *Arques* was all levelled to ſecure the Plain; and *Galati* having turned his back to the *Maladery*, and his face toward the Enemy, did with his Swiſſe Muskettiers play from the ſecond Trench, and annoyed that very deſcent by which the Army of the League was to come down.

The Duke thought that defence ordered with ſo good conduct, that not to fight at the ſame time with ſuch a diſadvantage of place, and with an Army which he ſaw ſtanding firm in their ranks moſt ready for the Battel, took a reſolution to retire, and by experience found it was impoſſible to paſs the Plain, and to get up the Hill on the left ſide, unleſs he firſt maſtered the Kings two Trenches, which from a high place, commanded all the Deſcent, and all the Plain: Wherefore returning to his quarters at *Martingliſe*, he made his men skirmiſh ſometimes toward *Pollet*, ſometimes toward the Trenches, to keep the King uncertain on which ſide he was reſolved to fall: And finally, upon the One and twentieth day in the morning, which was the Feaſt of St. *Matthew* the Apoſtle, being reſolved to try his fortune, he commanded the Count *de Belin*, one of the Field-Marſhals, to go ſtraight to attack the *Maladery*, and begin the Battel there, with Count *Jago de Collatto* his Regiment of Germans, and the Foot Regiments of *Tremblecourt* and *Chaſtaigneraye*; he having brought on his men thorow a covert woody way, but exceeding troubleſom, within ſhot of the great Trench; the Germans wearied with their march, and the unevenneſs of the way, and knowing the aſſault, by reaſon of the height of the Work would be very difficult, reſolved to advantage their deſign by art, (if deceit may be ſo called:) Wherefore holding up their Hats upon the tops of their Pikes, and ſtretching forth their hands, they made ſigns that their intention was to come over to the Kings party, and not to ſtorm or aſſault that Work: Which being eaſily believed, becauſe a rumour was ſpread abroad, that, being unſatisfied with the Duke, they ſought an occaſion to revolt, they came till they were juſt under the Work, without being either ſhot at or reſiſted: Being arrived there, and confirming that with their words, which they had ſignified by their actions, they were by the Souldiers of the ſame Nation pulled up by the hand, and helped to get upon the *Parapet*; where they were no ſooner gotten up, but charging their Pikes, and turning their ſhorter weapons againſt the French and Swiſſes, they began to fall unexpectedly upon them; who uſing neither Muskets nor Firelocks, becauſe they had them not by them; but ſeeing themſelves ſuddenly aſſaulted, or, as they ſaid, betrayed and murdered, turned their backs without reſiſtance, and with infinite terrour and confuſion began to flee towards the deſcent, thinking to retire in ſafety to the Plain. *Tremblecourt* and *Chaſtaigneraye*, who, divided into two fleeing Squadrons, followed the ſteps of the Germans, having ſeen this beginning, ruſhed ſuddenly out of the Wood, and loſing no time, advanced as faſt as ever they could to the ſame Trench, where cloſing with the Flank of the German Battalion, they ran together (being filled with courage and fury by their happy ſucceſs) to give a violent aſſault to the ſecond Work. On the other ſide, the Mareſchal *de Byron* was run thither, to encourage Colonel *Galati* to defend the Fortifications undauntedly: But the aſſault was ſo hot and unexpected, by reaſon of the ſudden taking of the *Maladery*, that the Swiſſes of the Guard giving back, and the Mareſchal *de Byron* being thrown from his horſe, that Work alſo was with incredible celerity gained by the Enemy.

The Germans of the League make ſigns of coming over to the Kings party, are received by them at the *Maladery*; but being entred, fall hoſtilely upon them that had brought them in, and make themſelves maſters of the place.

The Duke of *Mayenne* having heard of this fortunate beginning, and following the conjuncture of ſo fair an opportunity, gave order to the Duke of *Nemours* and the Count *de Sagone*, to advance with the Light-horſe on the right hand of the Trenches already taken; and to the Duke of *Aumale* to fall on with One thouſand and two hundred Horſe on the left ſide; and he himſelf, according as the quality of the ſituation would permit, followed with the remainder of the Army divided into ſeveral Squadrons. The King full of grief and anger for the unthought-of loſs of the Trenches, and ſeeing it was neceſſary to fight with his utmoſt force, encouraged the Duke of *Montpenſier*

The Armies join battel.

*penſier* with effectual words, to charge the Duke of *Aumale*; and the Grand Prior on the other ſide to encounter the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Light-horſe of the League. The Grand Prior but young, yet deſirous to get honour, and with his own hand to take ſome revenge for the Kings death, coming up to the head of his Troop, and preſently putting down the Bever of his Helmet, ran full gallop to meet the Enemy; and having ſeen the Count *de Sagone* at the head of his Squadron, he called him by his name, and challenged him to fight hand to hand; which being no leſs gallantly accepted, they charged one another ſo reſolutely, that the Grand Prior receiving a Piſtol ſhot in the forehead of his Helmet, reeled often, and was like to have faln; but the Count *de Sagone* wounded with a brace of Bullets in the ſide and left thigh, fell from his horſe dead upon the earth. With no leſs fury than their Commanders, did the Kings Light-horſe ruſh upon the Enemy: But their number was ſo much greater, being followed by two Squadrons of *Reiters*, whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had ſent to ſecond them, that they were forced to retreat; ſo that ſtill giving ground, yet ſtill obſtinately reſiſting, they were furiouſly driven back to the foot of the Hill, whither the Cannon from *Arques* reached, both to defend their own men, and repel the violence of the Enemy: In which Conflict, hot and bloody on both ſides, the Sieur *de Baqueville* died fighting, who was the Grand Prior's Lieutenant-General. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Montpenſier* having met with thoſe who fleeing from the Trenches, ran diſorderly toward the Plain, being half routed by them, had much ado to diſengage himſelf, and keep his ranks; and being come up to cloſe with the Squadron led by the Duke of *Aumale*, diſcouraged by their number that came up *picquering*, and diſcharging their Piſtols, he retired ſtill toward the deſcent, being fiercely purſued at the heels by the Cavalry of the League. The King, who was between both the Bodies, and who, to give fitting orders, had unadviſedly advanced to the ſteep of the right hand Hill, was ſo engaged in the midſt of many Squadrons of the Enemy, that being abandoned almoſt by all, and his courage not ſuffering him to flee, he thought himſelf abſolutely loſt; and with cries, intreaties, and threatnings, rode ſtopping and reproving, ſometimes one, ſometimes another, and bewailing himſelf with a loud voice, *That in all* France *there could not be found fifty Gentlemen who had courage enough to die in company with their King.* Nor did any man doubt, but if the Duke of *Mayenne* had come up time enough with the reſt of the Army, the King and his whole Forces had at that time been utterly ſuppreſt. But whilſt he, leading on the Cavalry by an uneven troubleſom way, feared they would be put in diſorder, and therefore marched very ſoftly, and turned back often to make them keep rank and file, he gave the King convenient time to recover: For in the interim the Sieur *de Chaſtillon*, with two Regiments of French Infantry, having quitted the Hill on the left ſide, where he had ſtood from the beginning; and ſeeing the danger in which his party was, marched up with all ſpeed to the place of battel, and crying out to the King, *Courage Sire, we are here, and will die with you:* He charged the Regiments of *Tremblecourt* and *Chaſtaigneraye* with ſo much fury, that having taken the Count *de Belin* priſoner, and the chief Commander of the Lorainers, with the death of above three hundred of their men, he beat them out of the Trench: At which time, the tyde of the buſineſs turning in a moment, the Mareſchal *de Byron* being happily eſcaped out of the Enemies hand, had with Colonel *Galati* made the Swiſſes ſtand, who before were running away; and facing about with as much gallantry, as before they were fleeing with haſte, they marched up, and joined with Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*, who having already taken the firſt Trench, was rallying his men to aſſault the *Maladery*. The King himſelf being valiantly come up thither, cauſed the Baron *de Byron* with an hundred Gentlemen, who were gathered together about him from ſeveral parts, to alight from their horſes; and having placed them in the firſt file of the Infantry, ſet them on without loſing further time, to give a fierce aſſault to the great Trench. The ſervice was hot and bloody for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour; but *Collalto*'s Landskenets already tired with their march and with fighting, being charged on all ſides, gave back at laſt; and being beaten, and driven out with a great ſlaughter, quitted the *Maladery*, being repelled with as much fury by the Swiſſe Pikemen, and French Muſkettiers, as they had by cunning been eaſily drawn into it at the beginning.

In the mean time the King, whoſe admirable celerity did in ſuch a time of need ſupply all wants in all places, with threeſcore Horſe, which he had rallied with much ado, ran up to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and turned vigorouſly to charge the Squadron of the

1589.

The *Grand Prior* challengeth the Count *de Sagone*, and killsh him in the ſight of both Armies.

The King is in great danger in the midſt of the Enemies.

A Speech of the King of *France*.

The King being relieved by Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*, recovers the Trenches; and the Duke of *Mayenne* loſeth the opportunity of the Victory.

1589. the Duke of *Aumale*, who being Maſter of the field, did already over run all the deſcent; ſo that after an obſtinate fight, which laſted about three quarters of an hour, he broke quite thorow it, and followed it fighting to the craggy part of the Hill. The *Grand Prior* on the other ſide, who before had been forced to retire, being ſuccoured in his danger by the Lanciers of the Sieurs *de Larchant*, *Montataire*, and *la Force*, who came up laſt into the Battel, preſently made the Light-horſe of the League to turn their backs, and to run full ſpeed along that way which leads from the place of Battel to *Martingliſe*. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who came thither when his Cavalry was already retiring, and when the Kings Forces had recovered their Works, thinking it too late to do any more, and that his men were tired with long fighting; and ſeeing that becauſe the way was ſo bad, the Ammunition which was behind came not up, whereof the Infantry had great need, having ſpent all theirs with fighting all the day, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and drew off to his firſt quarters. This was the dangerous Battel of *Arques*, which was fought the whole day with various fortune, and with an event ſo different from the beginning, that the King ſaid openly at night, *That the Duke of* Mayenne *either was not the Souldier which every one believed, or elſe had born him reſpect, and reſerved him for a better occaſion.*

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who with ſo much greater Forces and ſuch proſperous ſucceſs began the battel of *Arques*, retired, becauſe his men were wearied, and wanted Ammunition.

A ſaying of the Kings.

Men of experience doubted not but the Victory was on the Kings ſide, who (though with various ſucceſs) had defended his poſts, and hindered the Enemies from paſſing over to the hill of *Arques*, which was their principal end and intention; and yet the Duke of *Mayenne* cried up the advantage of his own party, confirming it by a Cornet of Light-horſe, and three Enſigns of Foot which were fallen into the hands of his Souldiers at the firſt taking of the Trenches, and were therefore carried with infinite boaſting to *Paris*. Of the League there were ſlain above ſix hundred men, among which the Count *de Sagone*, and the Baron *de St. André*; and of the Kings men only two hundred: but the loſs was very great, by reaſon of the death of *Baqueville*, a reſolute, diligent, and a valiant Souldier, and truly proper to command Light-horſe, which requires not only courage, but alſo celerity and diligence: Nor was it a ſmall misfortune that befel the Sieur *de Montataire*, the Prince of *Conde*'s Lieutenant; who having received a Musket-ſhot in the left leg, was abſolutely lamed in the cure.

At night the Duke, being reſolved to try all poſſible means to drive away the King, or to draw him out of his Works, determined to paſs on the other ſide of *Diepe*, not by the ordinary road, but a long way about: for having gone round both the Hills, he got in three days march on the North ſide of the City near the walls towards the Cittadel; and the ſame night, being the four and twentieth of *September*, did with very great ſpeed cauſe eight Pieces of Cannon to be planted, with which the next morning he began to batter the houſes of the Town: but the King, after the Army of the League was ſeen to march that way, having left Monſieur *d' Anville* with the Regiment of the Sieur *de la Garde*, four Companies of Switzers, and threeſcore Horſe, to make good *Arques*, was come with all his Army to *Diepe*; and being quartered in the Fauxbourgs, flanked and defended by the Cannon of the Cittadel, he commanded the fight to be ſmartly begun on all ſides, by that means to hinder the Enemies battery. They of the League advanced no leſs fiercely to the skirmiſh; but a new unwonted invention broke off the encounter, to their no ſmall loſs: for the King having ſent forth the Baron of *Byron* with a great Squadron of Horſe into the middle of the field; and the Duke of *Mayenne* incenſed by their temerity in coming on ſo far, or thinking they had unadviſedly engaged themſelves, ſent out two great Bodies of Horſe to charge them; at whoſe arrival the Kings men opening to the right and left hand, with expert readineſs, there appeared two great Culverins in the midſt, which giving fire, and running off at the ſame time with skill and admirable quickneſs, did not only kill many of them, and break their ranks, but by the wonderful art and ſpectacle of ſeeing two ſuch great Engines skirmiſh among the Horſe, cauſed the Enemy to wheel about and retire. This ſo new, and ſo nimble manner of ordering Pieces of great weight, was the invention of *Charles Briſe*, a Cannoneer born in *Normandy*, who, after having been many years at Sea with Pirate Ships in the *Weſt-Indies*, was grown excellent in managing Ordnance; and in the whole courſe of the Civil Wars, performed both this and many other ſervices with very great praiſe of ingenuity and experience.

A device of the Royaliſts.

But while they ſkirmiſhed hotly, and made a great noiſe about the Town-walls with their Artillery, the Duke of *Mayenne* did in an inſtant cauſe the Duke of *Aumale* with

with the Rereguard (in which he had for that purpoſe placed a Regiment of Walloons, the Regiment of *Lorain*, and *Collalto*'s Landskenets) to ſtorm the Works and Caſtle of *Arques*, hoping to carry it, and ſtreighten the King within the bare circuit of the Town: But he found ſo ſtout reſiſtance there, that after having re-inforced the aſſault for the ſpace of two hours, his Foot were fain to retreat with the loſs of two Captains, and above an hundred Souldiers: Nor did *d' Anville*'s Forces ſcape without loſs; for notwithſtanding the ſtrength and advantage of the place, there were ſlain above ſixty foot, two Swiſſe Captains, and Colonel *la Garde* dangerouſly hurt in the thigh. 1589.

But though the King and his Army had fought very luckily, and beaten back the Enemies in all places; yet were they not only much ſpent with wearineſs, (for being few in number, they were fain to do continual duty) but alſo in want of victual; for being reduced to ſcarcity in the end of *September*, and the rains and ſtorms beginning to be very great, neither could Ships ſo opportunely bring in Proviſions, nor could the Country, waſted and deſtroyed, furniſh any longer ſufficient food for men, nor forrage for horſes, which by their toils and ſufferings were brought to extream weakneſs. But the Kings hopes depended upon the relief which he expected from two ſeveral places; for he had written to the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, that uniting their Forces, they ſhould march up to him, thinking that the Duke of *Mayenne* would not ſuffer himſelf to be incloſed between two Armies, though inferiour in ſtrength, but that at their approach he would raiſe his Camp; and on the other ſide he knew Four thouſand Engliſh Foot, with great ſtore of Ammunition, were ready to be embarqued, which Queen *Elizabeth* ſent to his relief; by whoſe arrival, his Army would be re-inforced, and their hard duty partly leſſened, not doubting, but that with the Engliſh Fleet would come great ſtore of Proviſions, wherewith he might ſuſtain his Army many days. The Duke of *Longueville*, and the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, contrary to expectation, came firſt, (as Voyages by Sea are very uncertain;) for having joined themſelves together with the Count *de Soiſſons*, who was freed from his impriſonment in *Bretagne*, and the Sieur *de la Noue*, they haſtened their march in ſuch manner, that upon the Six and twentieth day they quartered within ſix leagues of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Army: Wherefore the Duke, that he might not be encompaſſed, and becauſe he was out of hope of doing any good at *Diepe*, raiſed his Camp upon the Eight and twentieth day in the morning, and drew toward *Picardy* to meet the Forces which by order from the Catholick King, were coming out of *Flanders* with the Sieur *de la Motte* to his aſſiſtance.

The Duke of *Mayenne* marches from *Diepe* with his Army.

The next day the Duke of *Longueville* and Mareſchal *d' Aumont* joined with the King, who having left the Mareſchal *de Byron* at *Diepe*, went forth with ſix hundred Horſe and two thouſand Foot to meet them, and following the Army of the League the ſame way, took *Eu*, and the Caſtle of *Gamaches* before he paſſed the River *Somme*, opportunely making uſe of the occaſion, while the Duke, whoſe Army diminiſhed continually by the running away of his men, (being intent upon his way) marched ſtill cloſe, and in order, and went further from them; ſo that without receiving the leaſt harm, the King came to *Amiens*, the chief City of *Picardy*, where he was entertained with very great pomp, being met without the Gates by all the Citizens, who preſented unto him a Canopy of State to be carried over him, as the cuſtom is to do unto the King; but he refuſed it, giving great teſtimony of his prudence and moderation by an act of ſo great modeſty.

The King in modeſty refuſeth to go under the Canopy of State at *Amiens*.

Whilſt he ſtays at *Amiens* to put the Army again in order, and ſettle the affairs of that City, four thouſand Engliſh, and a thouſand Scots, ſent by Queen *Elizabeth*, arrived at *Diepe*: Wherefore the King (to whom proſperous fortune began on all ſides to ſhew her face) being returned with his whole Army, received them, to the great contentment of every one: for they had not only brought an exceeding quantity of victuals, but alſo a certain ſum of money, which without delay, or ſhewing the leaſt ſign of covetouſneſs, was preſently all diſtributed to his Souldiers; by which readineſs (though the ſum was not great) every body was equally pleaſed and ſatisfied.

*The General of theſe forces was that Noble Lord* Peregrine Bertue, *Lord* Willoughby, *Father to the valiant Earl of* Lindſey, *who was ſlain in the Battel of* Edghill, *where he was General of the Kings Army.*

The Engliſh having reſted themſelves, and thoſe that born the toils in the ſervice at *Diepe* being refreſhed after their ſufferings, in the beſt manner that poſſibly might be, the King deſirous not to loſe time, now that the Duke of *Mayenne* and his Army were far off, reſolved to aſſault the Suburbs of *Paris*, not ſo much out of any grounded hope, that by the benefit of ſome unexpected accident he ſhould be able to take the

1589. the City in the terrour and tumult of the people, which by him and all his Commanders was thought impoſſible; as by the pillage of thoſe Suburbs, full of the riches of many years, to ſupply the evident neceſſity of his Army, in which the Gentry, no leſs than the private Souldiers, were reduced to very great ſcarcity of money; and not only the furniture of their horſes, but even their arms and wearing clothes ſpoiled, and broken with ill weather and perpetual ſervice. With this deſign he departed from *Diepe* upon the Nineteenth of *Octōber*, having in his Army Twenty thouſand Foot, Three thouſand Horſe, and Fourteen great Pieces, and with convenient marches took the direct way to *Paris*. The Grand Prior, and the Baron *de Guiry*, who ſucceeded in the place of *Baqueville*, ſcouted the way before them with the Light-horſe: The Count *de Soiſſons*, and the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* led the Vanguard: In the Battel was the King, with the Mareſchal *de Byron*, and Monſieur *de la Noue*; the Duke of *Longueville* led the Reer: With this order, as ſoon as the Army was come to *Pont de l' Arche*, the Duke of *Montpenſier* having paſſed the *Seine* with Three hundred Horſe, went towards *Normandy*, to go to *Caen*, and look to the affairs of that Province, where the Forces of the League were very powerful: Upon the laſt of *Octōber*, the King quartered with his Army a league from the Fauxbourgs of *Paris*; where the tumult of the people, and the trouble of the Dutcheſſes was very great, ſeeing the Duke of *Mayenne* far off, and the King come unexpectedly to aſſault the City, at a time when they were perſwaded he had enough to do to defend himſelf, and that he was ſo weak he muſt needs be either preſently ſuppreſſed, or beaten out of the Kingdom; for the Duke of *Mayenne* crying up the greatneſs of his Forces to the people when he went to the aſſault of *Diepe*, had written to *Paris*, that within few days he would either bring the King up priſoner, or force him to flee ſhamefully into *England*. Now buſineſſes proving ſo contrary, the City unprovided of Souldiers, and ſeeing they could not hope for any relief, was full of fear and trouble; eſpecially, there being no Head of Authority, who might keep the people in order, and provide what ſhould be needful: For though Don *Bernardino Mendozza*, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, laboured with all his power to comfort them, with grave Speeches, and with his preſence in every place; yet there was no man in whom the Pariſians could much confide, either for experience in arms, or for alliance to that Family: But at night Monſieur *de Rhoſne* arrived opportunely, who being at *Eſtampes*, (which Town he had taken a few days before) marched fourteen leagues without any ſtay, and came into the City (though with but a few Horſe) in the beginning of the night. At his arrival the Council of the League recovering courage, reſolved, That the Suburbs ſhould be defended; to which end, the people taking arms, and all, both great and little, and even the very Fryars running armed, they were in the beſt order that might be, diſtributed in thoſe Works which had been caſt up three months before, at the time when it was beſieged by *Henry* the Third. The King before peep of day upon the firſt of *November*, being *All Saints* day, divided his Foot into three *Tertiaes*; one of which was led by the Mareſchal *de Byron*, the Baron his Son, and the Sieur *de Guitry* to aſſault the Fauxbourg of St. *Victoire*, and St. *Marceau*; the ſecond, led by the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, Monſieur *d' Anville*, and Colonel *de Rieux*, againſt the Fauxbourg of St. *Jaques* and St. *Michael*; and the third, commanded by the Sieurs *de Chaſtillion*, and *de la Noue*, aſſaulted the Fauxbourg of St. *Germain*. The Cavalry being likewiſe diſtinguiſhed into three Diviſions; one led by the King, another by Count *Soiſſons*, and the third by the Duke of *Longueville*, ſtood all ready in the Field, each Body as a reſerve to its Squadron of Foot, in caſe of any unexpected accident which might happen. The aſſault began when it was broad day light, and laſted very fierce for the ſpace of an hour; but the Works being beaten down in many places, and there being no equality between the inexpertneſs of the people, and the valour of the Kings Souldiers, the Defendents were at laſt forced to give back, who with a great ſlaughter had much ado to retire time enough to have the Gates of the City ſhut; the aſſailants preſſing on violently on every ſide, and particularly the Sieur *de la Noue*, who having entred the Fauxbourg St. *Germain*, and coming down through the ſtreet which is called the *Rue de Tournon*, followed thoſe ſo furiouſly who retreated in at the *Porte de Neſle*, that it could hardly be ſhut, the Sieur *de Rhoſne* himſelf being there. In this aſſault above Nine hundred Pariſians were ſlain, and above Four hundred taken priſoners, among which Father *Edmond Bourgoin*, Prior of the Covent of *Jacobins*; who being convicted by Witneſs, to have publickly (in the Pulpit) praiſed the murder of *Henry* the Third, and to have counſelled and inſtigated

The Kings Army marches towards *Paris*.

The King aſſaults the Suburbs of *Paris* upon *All Saints* day, takes them, and gives the pillage to the Souldiers.

Father *Edmond Bourgoin*, of the order of S. *Dominick*, taken priſoner, is ſentenced to be torn by four horſes, for having counſelled and praiſed the Kings murderer.

instigated the murderer, comparing him also in his Sermons, after the Fact, to *Judith*, and the dead King to *Holofernes*, and the City delivered to *Bethulia*; he was, by Judgment of the Parliament of *Tours*, sentenced to be drawn in pieces by four horses, his quarters burned, and his ashes scattered in the wind: which sentence, some few months after, was severely executed. The Suburbs being entred on every side, the Officers withheld their Souldiers with infinite care, from running up and down confusedly to plunder, till the Cavalry were come in, and placed ready to repel those that should have the boldness to sally out of the City; and then the quarters were divided among them, and leave given unto them to sack it; with charge nevertheless, not to violate either Churches, Monasteries, or other sacred places; which was observed with so much order by the Officers, and obedience by the Souldiers, that Masses were said that day in all Churches, as if there had been no such business; and all the Catholicks of the Kings Army were present at them in great abundance, celebrating that Holiday with very great joy. The sacking of the Suburbs lasted as long as the Army continued in them; and the pillage was so rich and plentiful, that the Kings Army was wonderfully relieved and encouraged by it. 1589.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* having had notice that the King was marched toward *Paris*, omitting to meet with the Ministers of *Flanders*, for which reason he was drawn so near to those Confines; without staying for further intelligence, moved that way with his whole Army, and having passed the Bridge of St. *Maiscant*, (contrary to the Kings expectation, who had commanded Monsieur *de Thoré*, Governour of *Senlis*, to break it down, which he, being sick in bed, could not so speedily perform) sent the Duke of *Nemours* before with the Light-horse, who arriving upon the second of *November*, did very much raise the spirits, and ease the trouble of the Parisians, who were in very great fear, that the King prosecuting his Victory, would assault the City after the taking of the Suburbs. The Duke of *Mayenne* came up also the next day: Wherefore the King, thinking himself not very secure in the Suburbs, being in danger to be suddenly assaulted, so that he could not be able to draw up his Cavalry, marched out upon the Fourth of *November*, on that side toward the *Porte St. Jaques*, and set his Army in Battalia, looking, for many hours, if the Duke of *Mayennne* would follow him; but seeing there was not the least stir from the City, he marched off with a slow pace, and quartered the same night at *Montl'hery*, and resolved to pass on to *Tours*, because he had given his word to the Catholick Lords, and issued Writs to assemble the States there in the end of *October*: And though he knew that by reason the War was kindled in every place, and all ways unsafe, the Deputies could not be met together at the appointed time; and though he had not used any diligence to bring them together, that he might not be so soon put upon the necessity of changing his Religion, and making all the Hugonots distrustful of him; yet would he be himself in that City, to the end he might not be accused by the Catholicks, and that he might upon that occasion order the affairs of that Province, and, as soon as they were setled, return more fresh, and perhaps better furnished with the attendance of the Gentry, and with strength to maintain the War. The next night his Army lay under the Walls of *Estampes*; which Town being yielded without resistance, the King, because it had been taken thrice in a few months, thinking it could not be kept, caused it to be dismantled in his presence, leaving the Citizens in liberty to receive either party. Having staid there a day, he dispatched the Baron *de Guiry* into *Brie*, the Mareschal *d' Aumont* into *Champagne*, and the Duke of *Longueville* into *Picardy*; giving to each convenient Forces to defend themselves in those Provinces; and he himself, with the rest of his Army, making short marches through *Beausse*, and the most frequent passes of the *Loire*, took the direct way into *Touraine*.

The King leaves the Suburbs of *Paris* at the arrival of the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The King causes *Estampes* to be dismantled.

While the principal Armies, and the Heads of the Factions make War thus sharply, the other parts and Provinces of the Kingdom were no less unquiet; but to the slaughter of men, and ruine of Towns, there were every where frequent bloody encounters: For in the County of *Beauvais*, the Marquis *de Piennes*, one of the principal Lords of the Union, defeated and killed the Sieur *de Bonivet*. In *Picardy* the Sieur *d' Arcy* having called the same Marquis *de Piennes* to his assistance, taking the opportunity of the waters being let out, that the moat of *la Ferre* might be cleansed, had surprised that Town suddenly by night. In *Berrie* the Sieur *de Montigny* holding the Kings party, defeated and took Monsieur *de la Chastre's* Lieutenant in the open field: and on the other side, Monsieur *de Nenny*, who held for the League, routed and took

A narration of several successes which happened at the same time through all *France*.

1589. priſoner the Sieur *de Gamachée*. In *Champagne* the Count *de Grandpré*, accompanied with a great many Gentlemen that were of the Kings party, ſuppriſed *Vitry*, and put all the Defendents to the ſword: but being aſſaulted a few days after by Colonel St. *Paul*, who was chief Commander for the League in that Province, they fought ſo ſtoutly that they of the League got a moſt bloody Victory; and on the Kings ſide all the Gentlemen and Officers were either killed or grievouſly wounded, and the Count *de Grandpré* himſelf carried half dead to *Chaalons*, being hurt in eighteen ſeveral places. In *Normandy*, the Baron *d' Eſchaufour*, and Captain *Valage* routed and put to flight Colonel St. *Denis*, who was going with his Regiment to join with the Duke of *Montpenſier*. At *Tholouſe*, *Lymoges*, and *Tours*, there were moſt turbulent unruly Seditions. In the Territories of *Geneva*, the War was very hot between that City and the Duke of *Savoy*, who having poſſeſſed himſelf of that Country, did alſo beſiege the City, about which he raiſed many Forts, and was in very great hope to carry it. In *Provence*, Monſieur *de la Valette* Governour for the King, had many a skirmiſh with the Count *de Cars*, and the Sieur *de Vins*, who commanded for the League; and on both ſides many Towns were taken, and many bloody encounters happened between them. In *Dauphiné*, Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo* being joined with the *Leſdiguieres*, blocked up *Grenoble*, and *Valence*, the only Towns in that Province that held for the League: And thus with various ſucceſſes, but ſtill with the loſs of much blood, was the War proſecuted by both Parties.

The Duke of *Savoy* beſiegeth *Geneva*.

In the mean time, the King was come with his Army to *Chaſteau-Dun*, where the Swiſſe Commanders arrived, being returned from their Cantons, whither they had been ſent by the Souldiers of their Nation who were in the Camp, to give notice of the death of *Henry* the Third, and to receive directions from the Republick what they ſhould do for the future. They brought anſwer, that the Cantons would perſevere in the ſame friendſhip and confederacy with King *Henry* the Fourth, as they had done with his Predeceſſor, and that therefore they ſhould continue to ſerve and follow him: Which reſolution of the Swiſſes was much furthered, not only by the wiſdom of the Sieur *de Silleroy*, who was there Ambaſſador, but alſo by the preſence of *Jaques Auguſte de Thou*, who returning out of *Italy*, (whither he had been ſent by the late King to the Grand Duke of *Thuſcany*) had negotiated and perſwaded that determination. The King and his whole Army was much pleaſed at it, as well becauſe they had found, the greateſt ſtrength of the Infantry lay in the Regiments of the Swiſſes, who were there preſent, and had always fought very valiantly, as becauſe they had hope to encreaſe their number by a new Levy, which ſhould be granted under the publick Enſigns of their Cantons.

The K. takes *Vendoſme*, and gives the pillage to his Souldiers: condemns the Governour to death for his infidelity, and Father *Robert* a Franciſcan for having commended the killing of *Henry* the III.

At his departure from *Chaſteau-Dun*, the King went to beſiege *Vendoſme*, a City of his Patrimony, and which was thought very convenient, becauſe it was near the River *Loyre*. The Suburbs were taken in the firſt on-ſet; and the King in perſon having viewed the walls, and the quality of the place; reſolved to batter that ſide of the Caſtle, which, oppoſite to the Town, ſtands, but not very high, over a ſpacious Plain. There were two pieces planted the next day, to take away that defence, with intention to plant a Royal Battery againſt the Curtine, aſſoon as two Towers were beaten down, which ſerved to flank it on each hand: but a great part of the Tower on the left hand being fallen, after not many ſhot, ſome of the Foot fell on to make the aſſault; but they found the place without reſiſtance abandoned by the Defendents: wherefore having made themſelves Maſters of the Tower, they began with their Muſkets to play from that higher place, upon the inſide of the wall, where thoſe of the Town were retired to make head: and the number of the Foot continually increaſing with hopes of very good ſucceſs, the Baron *de Byron*, newly made Field-Marſhal by the King, ran thither, and had ſcarce brought down the Foot to aſſault the Defendents at the wall, when they, full of infinite fear, forſook it, and the whole circuit of the Caſtle at the ſame time, ſeeking to ſave themſelves by flight in the City; but being prevented by the Souldiers who followed them fiercely, the City was alſo taken with the ſame fury in leſs than three hours; wherein, except Churches, Monaſteries, and other ſacred places, every thing was given up to the violence of the Souldiers, who took there great ſtore of ſpoil and rich booty. The Governour who had often dealt perfidiouſly with the King, and had always falſified his Faith by double-dealing, was condemned to death, as alſo Father *Robert* a *Cordelier*, who had there publickly praiſed the Kings murtherer, and with his Sermons ſtirred up the common people. After the taking of *Vendoſme*, *Lavardin*

*Lavardin* and *Montaut*, Caſtles of that Juriſdiction, yielded themſelves, and the King finding no more reſiſtance in any place, came at laſt to *Tours* upon the one and twentieth of *November*. 1589.

He entered into the City the ſame night by Torch-light, being met at the Gates by the Cardinals of *Vendoſme* and *Lenoncour*, and all the Preſidents and Counſellors of the Parliament, and was ſurrounded with a great abundance of people, becauſe all the Neighbouring Towns were run thither to ſee his entry. The neceſſity of affairs perſwaded not to ſpend time unprofitably, and the Kings nature, that was quick and ready, agreed with the preſent neceſſity; wherefore the next morning coming without more delay to the Parliament, he ſate in the Royal Throne, and was acknowledged King of *France*, with publick Ceremonies, and very great applauſe. Then hearing the murmurs and complaints of the Catholicks of his Army, and the earneſtneſs of the Lords and Barons who followed him, that he would obſerve the promiſe he had made them to change his Religion, having cauſed the Nobility to be publickly called together, who came greedily to hearken unto him, he told them in a few words, That to his great diſcontent, he ſaw how the danger and heat of War had hindred the appointed Aſſembly, which ſhould have been at that preſent time: That they themſelves had ſeen how he, laying aſide all other enterpriſes, had in conſideration of them, come to *Tours*, hoping he might ſome way give them all perfect ſatisfaction: That the nature of affairs, and not the will of men, oppoſed it; and that therefore conſidering how much advantage their common Enemy received by his being at ſo great a diſtance, and by the delay of making a ſharp and diligent War againſt them, he entreated them to allow that to neceſſity which depended not upon his will, and that they would be contented the Convocation of the Deputies might be deferred till the fifteenth of the next *March*; in which time he hoped the fury of the Rebels and ſeditious perſons being quelled, he might with more quietneſs of mind, and leſs damage to the common affairs, think of a happy eſtabliſhment of life, and future Government: That as a pledge and ſecurity of his Faith they ſhould accept his Perſon, which was always in their hands: That he would ſincerely obſerve in deed, more than at that preſent he promiſed them in words. To which the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen aſſenting, more out of neceſſity than of will, a Declaration was made, that the time of the Aſſembly ſhould be prorogued till the fifteenth of *March* next enſuing. The King hoped that the War continuing, and mens minds being daily more enflamed between both Factions, the Catholicks would ſtill be more confirmed to follow him, and that he might with excuſes which appeared neceſſary, and with divers promiſes and artifices gain convenient time to turn to the Catholick Religion, and that perchance they would be content he ſhould continue in his own; and therefore he politickly avoided their intreaties, and excuſed himſelf for not ſatisfying their deſires, as well leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſway his Conſcience to a compliance with the times, as leſt he ſhould loſe the adherence of the Hugonots, to the great diminution of his Forces; wherefore, becauſe need ſo required, and not to give men time by idleneſs to think of new diſturbances, but to keep them continually imployed in Military exerciſes, he reſolved to go from *Tours*, and move with his Army to take in thoſe Towns which the Enemy held in the Country of *Maine* and *Normandy*.

*Henry* the IV. is acknowledged King of *France* with publick ſolemnity at *Tours*.

The King deſires that the Aſſembly of the States (in which his converſion was hoped for) might be deferred, and obtains it.

Before his departure, *Giovanni Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambaſſador, having received Commiſſion from the Senate, to continue in his Embaſſie near the preſent King, being with publick ceremony come unto his audience, preſented Letters to him from the Senate, with the Title of King of *France*; wherein congratulating his coming to the Crown, the Ambaſſador *Mocenigo* made excuſes, that a particular Ambaſſador was not ſent purpoſely, according to the cuſtom, by reaſon of the difficulty of the ways, broken every where by the incurſions of War. The Senate had been in doubt whether they ſhould confirm their Ambaſſador, and whether they ſhould give him the Title of King of *France* or no; but finally, foreſeeing with a prudent eye, not only that it was neceſſary for the intereſts of Chriſtendom, that the Kingdom ſhould be conſerved in the lawful Heirs, which the League endeavoured to tear in many pieces, or to ſubject it to foreign Princes; but alſo, that the King being acknowledged by the greater part of the Nobility, which are the ſinews of the Kingdom, and that by his vertue and courage he was like to be Conquerour in the end; reſolved at the ſame time to confirm their Ambaſſador, to give him the Title of King of *France*, and to aſſiſt him in all things poſſible, as they had done all other Kings of *France* in their urgent occaſions.

The Republick of *Venice* acknowledges *Henry* the IV. King of *France*; and *Mocenigo*, who was Ambaſſador to *Henry* the III. paſſes a compliment with the King in publick.

1589. And though the Popes Nuncio, and the Spaniſh Ambaſſador kept a mighty ſtir about it, and complained exceedingly, that an Heretick, and one diſobedient to the Apoſtolick See, ſhould be acknowledged King of *France*, contrary to the Declarations made by the Pope in the Conſiſtory of Cardinals; yet the Senate anſwered, That it concerned not the Republick of *Venice* to decide matters of Faith, which belonged to the Popes care; but that it acknowledged *Henry* of *Bourbon* to be deſcended from the Stock of the Blood-Royal, and true legitimate Succeſſor of the Crown, which could not be denied: That they medled only with Temporal things, and not with the knowledge of Spiritual Intereſts; and that they would treat with the King, in what concerned the Government of thoſe States under his Dominion, without doing any prejudice to the Popes Declaration. Which anſwer, though it gave not much ſatisfaction at *Rome*, and that *Gieronimo Mattenucci*, the Popes Nuncio, Reſident in *Venice*, made many proteſtations, and in the end, departed ſuddenly from the City; yet ſo great was the dexterity of *Alberto Badoaro*, their Lieger Ambaſſador to the Pope, and ſo great the efficacy of the reaſons alledged by *Leonardo Donato*, ſent extraordinary Ambaſſador from the Republick about that matter, that the Nuncio being not ſo much as admitted to the Popes preſence, was conſtrained to return to his reſidence, and, without further replies, an end was put to that buſineſs. The favourable Declaration of that Senate, was a very great ſatisfaction to the King, as well becauſe the determination of the wiſeſt politick Aſſembly in Chriſtendom, gave reputation to his Forces, as becauſe he thought many other Princes, eſpecially of *Italy*, would follow the example of *Venice*; wherefore both by Letters, and by word of mouth, delivered by Monſieur *de Mets*, the Ambaſſador reſiding in that City, he ſtrove to expreſs ſingular gratitude, and infinite reſpect for the kind inclination of thoſe Senators.

*Gieronimo Mattenucci* the Popes Nuncio having complained and proteſted againſt the Venetian Senate, departs; which not being well approved by the Pope, he returns to his reſidence.

The King being departed from *Tours* upon the Six and twentieth of *November*, cauſed ſiege to be laid to *Mans*, a place of wonderful importance, in which was the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin* with above two hundred Gentlemen, and ſeventeen Colours of Foot. The Defendents made ſhew of holding out courageouſly, and therefore burned the Suburbs, and fortified that Gate toward which the King was to come, caſting up a *Raveline* in the form of a *Tenaille*. The Count *de Briſſac* was come at the ſame time to *la Ferté Bernard*, with Four hundred Horſe and Two Regiments of Foot, who purpoſed to relieve that Town opportunely, and cutting off paſſages, and moleſting the Army, had faln upon a quarter of the Kings German Horſe, and pillaged above fifty of them. But after that the Baron *de Biron* and Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*, who were quartered in the Suburbs, had with redoubled aſſaults taken the *Raveline*, which hapned the fourth day after the ſiege was laid, the Defendents not ſtanding out the utmoſt violence of the Battery, began to capitulate, and yielded with very large conditions: For the King, in whoſe Army there was great want of Powder and Bullet, was infinitely pleaſed not only to have that place upon ſo eaſie terms, but that he might alſo provide againſt that want with the Enemies Ammunition that was in the Town. The example of *Mans* was followed by *Beaumont*, *la Val*, *Chaſteau Gontier*, and all the places thereabout; and the King paſſing forward, laid ſiege to *Alancon*, which City being yielded after three days battery, Captain *Lago*, with the Souldiers of the Gariſon, retired into the Fortreſs, with an intent to make it good; but when the Cannons were planted, he ſtaid not to be brought to extremity, but delivered it into the Kings hands upon the Fourteenth of *December*: In which place, the Baron *de Hertré* was left with Three hundred French Foot. From this City the King marching on towards *Normandy*, beſieged *Falaiſe*, into which the Count *de Briſſac* was entred with many Gentlemen, and the Chevalier *Piccard*'s Regiment of Foot; wherefore by reaſon of the Commanders reputation, of the ſtrength of the place, but moſt of all of the unfitneſs of the ſeaſon, it was thought it would prove a long and difficult buſineſs; yet the Fauxbourg *de Guibray* being taken, and the Army quartered under cover, the King having perſonally viewed the ſituation of the Fortreſs, commanded the Battery to be planted againſt the Caſtle, judging that if he could take that, he might alſo at the ſame time take the Town. Beſides the principal Battery, he cauſed alſo two Culverins to be planted upon a certain Hill, by the ſhot whereof the paſſage was ſtopped which led into the City from the Tower of the *Dongeon*, the principal ſecurity of the Caſtle; and in this manner he did ſtreighten and incommodate all the reſolutions of the Defendents. The Artillery played two days with very great violence; which having utterly ruined and beaten down the Tower, which defended the corner of the City

The King makes himſelf Maſter of all the Towns and Fortreſſes of *Normandy*.

City and Caſtle oppoſite to the *Dongeon*, the King made it to be aſſaulted the ſame night by two different Squadrons, one led by the Sieur *de Chaſtillon*, that ſhould ſtrive to get into the Caſtle from the broken Tower; the other by the Baron *de Byron*, which was to endeavour by the ſame way, to get into the Town, which joined in that place to the Fortreſs. Both Squadrons did abſolutely effect their deſign: for one paſſing thorow the ruined Tower, forced the Defendents to ſhut themſelves up in the *Dongeon*; and the other at the ſame time got into the chief ſtreet of the Town, which without more reſiſtance was furiouſly taken and ſacked. The Count ſhut up in the *Dongeon* with a few Defendents, and thoſe already terrified by the valour the Infantry had ſhewed, and the croſneſs of the late buſineſſes, gave themſelves up the next morning to the Kings diſcretion, who kept him and fifteen more of the chief of them priſoners, and with a Kingly liberality gave his houſhold-ſtuff, among which was ſtore of furniture of very great value, unto the Baron *de Byron*. 1589.

*Argentan* and *Bayeux* yielded without a blow: and the King proſecuting his march, came to *Liſieux*, which at ſight of his Artillery yielded upon the thirtieth of *December*: *Ponteau de Mer*, *Pont l' Eveſque*, and all thoſe other Towns, followed this example; ſo that the League had no place left in lower *Normandy*, except *Honfleur*, ſeated at the mouth of the *Seine*, right over againſt *Havre de Grace*; which (though the Duke of *Montpenſier* was much againſt it) was paſſed by without being moleſted, by reaſon of the Kings haſte to go into the higher Province.

*The End of the Tenth* BOOK.

THE

1590.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The ELEVENTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*THE Eleventh Book contains the Popes inclination touching the affairs of* France: *His reſolution to ſend Cardinal* Gaetano *his Legat thither: The variety of opinions concerning his Commiſſions: His arrival in the Kingdom: His perplexity, and journey to* Paris. *The different ends of the League are diſcourſed of. The Marquiſs* de Belin *introduces a Treaty of Agreement: The Duke of* Mayenne *deliberates upon that point, and reſolves to proſecute the War: He beſiegeth* Pontoyſe, *which yields it ſelf unto him: He encamps before* Meulan, *and batters it with great obſtinacy. The King comes to relieve that place. The Duke raiſes the ſiege, and marches to meet the ſupplies in* Picardy. *The King aſſaults* Dreux, *but to no purpoſe. The Duke of* Mayenne *returns increaſed in ſtrength. The King raiſes his Camp, and chuſeth a place of Battel in the Field of* Yvry. *The Duke follows, and comes up to the ſame place. The Armies fight, and the King remains victorious. The Preachers deliver the news of this defeat to the Pariſians, who prepare themſelves conſtantly to endure a ſiege. Divers overtures of Peace are made; but nothing at all can be concluded. The Duke of* Mayenne, *to procure relief, goes to the Frontiers of* Flanders. *The King takes all the Neighbouring Towns about* Paris. *Siege is laid unto that City, to overcome it with hunger. The calamities of the ſiege, and the conſtancy of the Citizens are related. The Catholick King commands the Duke of* Parma *to march with his whole Army into* France, *to raiſe the ſiege of* Paris: *He enters into the Kingdom with great Forces, and with exceeding great preparations joins with the Duke of* Mayenne, *and advances towards* Paris. *The King conſults what is beſt to be done; reſolves to raiſe the ſiege, and go to meet the Enemy. The Armies face one another many days. The Duke of* Parma *takes* Lagny, *and opens the paſſage of Victuals to* Paris. *The King retires, and in his retreat gives a ſcalado to the City, which proves ineffectual. The Duke of* Parma *takes* Corbeil, *and ſo abſolutely frees the City of* Paris *from want of proviſions. He reſolves to return into*

*into* Flanders; *marches in excellent order: The King follows him: There happen many encounters. The Duke departing, leaves aid of Men, and promiſes ſupplies of Money to the League. The King returning, marches towards* Picardy.

1590. NOw followeth the year 1590. full of all thoſe Calamities which uſe to be the conſequences of Civil Wars; but famous alſo for the greatneſs of thoſe accidents that hapned in it; the natural revolution of things having ſo brought to paſs, that in it the greateſt force and ſtorm of Arms broke forth with violence. In the year before, *Henry* the Third's Ambaſſadors and Publick Miniſters were already departed from *Rome*, by reaſon of the *Monitory* publiſhed againſt him, when the news of his death was brought thither, which, being come in a time when the Pope was not only very much exaſperated by the conjunction made with the Hugonot party, but alſo infinitely ſollicitous and anxious becauſe of the proſperous ſucceſs of his Arms, was received by him with great demonſtrations of joy, thinking, that the miraculous power of the hand of God, had unexpectedly diverted that ruine which humane remedies ſeemed no way able to prevent. His contentment was increaſed by the Agents of the League, who to the confirmation of the Kings death, added the reſolution of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Council of the Union to acknowledge the Cardinal of *Bourbon* the legitimate King of *France*, with an open Declaration and ſtrict Oath to uſe all their might to free him from his impriſonment, and that this reſolution was adhered to, and unanimouſly followed by almoſt all the principal Cities, with the greater part of the Nobility, and the applauſe of the Clergy of the whole Kingdom: all which things being conformable to the Popes wiſhes, who exceedingly deſired the excluſion of the King of *Navarre*, eſteemed by him an irreconcileable Enemy to the Church; but yet was not willing that the Kingdom ſhould be divided into many parts, as ſome had a mind to have it, and that it ſhould come into the hands of a Foreign Prince, were the cauſe that he wrote not only very kind Letters of great commendation to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Catholicks of the League, but that he alſo determined to ſupply them with Men and Money, for the ſetting at liberty, and perfect eſtabliſhment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. Wherefore, without any delay, in a work which he accounted excellently good, and of wonderful great glory and advancement to the Apoſtolick See, he reſolved to ſend a Legat into *France*, who by his preſence might aſſiſt affairs of ſo great importance, and might endeavour to reduce all the Catholicks, by ſuch means as he ſhould think moſt reaſonable, to unite themſelves in one body under the obedience of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* already elected and declared King of *France*, whoſe freedom by all poſſible force was to be endeavoured. For this buſineſs of ſo great concernment, he choſe Cardinal *Henrico Gaetano*, a man not only by the nobleneſs of his birth of great reputation, but alſo for his worth and experience eſteemed of ſufficient abilities for ſo great an enterpriſe: yet according to what the Kings Friends ſaid then, and his own actions diſcovered afterwards, too much inclined to favour the attempts and intereſts of *Spain*. He appointed moreover a ſelect number of Prelates to accompany the Cardinal-Legat, all men conſpicuous either for the fame of excellent Learning, or approved experience in matters of Government; among which were *Lorenzo Bianchetti*, and *Philippo Sega*, who after were Cardinals; *Marc Antonio Mocenigo* Biſhop of *Caneda*, a man well verſed in affairs, and highly eſteemed by the Pope; *Franceſco Panigarola*, Biſhop of *Aſti*, a Preacher of great renown; and *Roberto Bellarmino*, a Jeſuite of profound and admirable Learning. To the choice of theſe men the Pope added Bills of Exchange to the Merchants at *Lyons* for three hundred thouſand Crowns, with Commiſſion to the Legat to diſpoſe of them according to need and occaſion; but particularly to ſpend them for the Infranchiſement of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, upon which he ſhewed his mind was fixed more than upon any other thought whatſoever.

The Pope reſolves to ſend aſſiſtance to the League againſt the King.

Cardinal *Henrico Gaetano*, a man partial to *Spain*, is declared Legat to the League in *France*.

Prelates appointed by the Pope to accompany the Embaſſie, and 300000 Crowns to be employed for the liberty of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

But this ſo ardent reſolution was cooled in the very beginning; and the Pope was put in doubt, by Letters that arrived from the Duke of *Lucembourg*, wherein he gave him notice, that by the French Nobility (who in a very great number followed and acknowledged the King of *Navarre* to be the legitimate King of *France*) he was choſen Ambaſſador to his Holineſs and the Apoſtolick See, to inform him of the cauſes

1590. cauſes which had moved the minds of all good French-men to that acknowledgment, and to require from him, as from a common Father, the proper means and remedies for the Peace and Union of the whole Kingdom. By which Letters the Pope did not only find, that what the Agents of the League had repreſented unto him was vain, *viz.* That the major part of the Kingdom was joined to the party of the Union, and that only a few deſperate perſons followed the King of *Navarre*; but he alſo conceived ſome hopes, that by the way of Pacification, an end might be put to the miſeries and diſcords of the Kingdom, thoſe that were gone aſtray might be reduced into the boſom of the Church, and his aim of having a lawful Catholick French King, might be attained without ſubmitting the afflicted people of *France* any longer to new dangers and calamities of an obſtinate War: Wherefore, being alſo excited by the diligent informations which were given unto him by the Venetian Ambaſſadours, intent upon the preſervation of the Crown of *France*, he returned favourable Anſwers to the Duke of *Luxembourg* and the French Nobility which were in the Kings Camp, aſſuring him that he ſhould be well reſpected, and kindly received, and exhorting them to perſiſt conſtantly in the Catholick Religion, as in their Letters which came with the Dukes they aſſerted they would do, and that they would continue it even to the effuſion of their blood. And yet the Agents of the League, (eſpecially *Friſon* Dean of *Rheims*, lately ſent thither by the Duke of *Mayenne*) urging him not to delay the Legats expedition, for that theſe were artifices of the King of *Navarre*, to take him off, and gain the benefit of time, he diſpatched the Legat towards *France*, but with Inſtructions very different from his firſt deſigns: For whereas before, all the endeavours tended to the confirmation and freeing the Cardinal of *Bourbon*; now paſſing over his name in ſilence, the deſign was only to re-unite, by any means whatſoever, the Catholicks under the obedience of the Church, and eſtabliſh a Catholick King, to the general liking, without naming the perſon.

Pope *Sixtus* V. his Orders and Commiſſions to Cardinal *Gaetano* Legat in *France*.

To theſe Commiſſions ſet down in a Writing dated the Fifteenth of *October*, were added particular expreſs Advertiſements to the Cardinal Legat, to ſhew himſelf no leſs neutral and diſ-intereſſed in the Secular Pretenſions of the Princes, than moſt ardent and zealous concerning Religion, and not to value one perſon more than another, provided he were a French-man obedient to the Church, and generally liked by the Kingdom: Nay more, at his laſt coming to receive Inſtructions, the Pope added and repeated it effectually, that he ſhould not ſhew himſelf an open Enemy to the King of *Navarre*, ſo long as there was any hope, that he might return into the boſom of the Church. But theſe Advertiſements were very contrary to the principal ſcope of the Embaſſie, which was to uphold the Catholick party of the League as the foundation of Religion in that Kingdom, a thing often repeated in his Inſtructions, and which was always the aim from the beginning, but which the Pope pretended to have altered in his laſt directions; ſo that the ſubſtance of the buſineſs changed in the variety of circumſtances, as it often happens, did ſo diſturb the execution, that it was afterwards governed more by the diverſity of accidents, than by any firm determinate reſolution. The Advertiſements of Cardinal *Moreſini* differed not much from the Popes Inſtructions; for being met by the Legat * *Gaetano* in the City of *Bologna*, he, as vers'd in the intereſts of the Kingdom, gave the Legat a particular account of the intentions of *Spain*, of the pretenſions of the Duke of *Mayenne*, of the weakneſs of the League, compoſed of various different humours, and of the Kings Forces, which had more ſecure foundation in the concurrence of the major part of the Nobility, than the party of the Union had in the conſpiracy of the common people. The ſame was told him at *Florence* by *Ferdinando* Great Duke of *Thuſcany*, who being perfectly informed of the intereſts which were on foot in the Kingdom of *France*, perſwaded him to keep himſelf Neuter, and not to refuſe thoſe overtures of Agreement which might be with the profit of the Catholick Religion, and the reputation of the Pope. But both the advice of Cardinal *Moreſini*, and the Great Dukes counſel were ſuſpected by the Legat, doubting that the one ſought to make him fall into the ſame faults whereof he was accounted guilty in the Court of *Rome*; and that the other did not counſel him ſincerely: Wherefore as a man bent with ſeverity to ſuſtain the greatneſs and power of the Church, and accuſtomed to the affairs of *Italy*, where the Popes authority, by the piety of the Nation, and the nearneſs of the Princes, is held in high veneration, he firmly perſwaded himſelf, that by the meer terrour of Spiritual Arms he ſhould keep all the

* Or, *Cajetan.*

Catholicks

Catholicks at his devotion, and excluding the King of *Navarre*, make a King to be declared and obeyed, wholly depending upon the Apoſtolick See, and neerly joyned and obliged to the Crown of *Spain*, to which, both by his ancient breeding, and the new practices of the *Conde de Olivares* the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at *Rome*, he was infinitely inclined. He was the more confirmed afterwards in this his thought, that all ought to depend upon his Authority; when being arrived at *Turin*, he ſaw that the Duke of *Savoy* did with exquiſite terms of ſubmiſſion intreat him (as one that might diſpoſe of matters at his pleaſure) to conſider his right to the Crown of *France*, as born of *Margaret* Siſter to King *Henry* the Second, by whoſe right (the courſe of the Salique Law having been formerly interrupted) he alledged, the Crown ought rather to be confirmed to him than to any other, that in antient times had pretended title by the womans ſide; and alledging his deſerts to the Apoſtolick See, ſince, that ſtill with continual pains, and exceeding great charge, he endeavoured to ſubdue the City of *Geneva*, the *baſis* and foundation of *Calviniſm*; he laboured to win the protection of the Legate, who not being well informed how matters went, did not take notice that the Duke brought on his pretenſions that way, becauſe he had no better prop to uphold them, and ſtrove to get into favour with the Pope and Legate, to draw ſupplies from them of men and money, whereby he might bring thoſe of *Geneva* under his yoke, and fortifie and eſtabliſh himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, againſt whoſoever ſhould at laſt be elected and acknowledged King of *France*, wherein he ſaw he could not have a more ſafe Protector, than the Pope. 1590.

But the Cardinal Legate being come into *France*, was not long before he found effects contrary to his opinion; for having ſent to require Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, not only to forbear moleſting *Grenoble* and *Valence* (which Cities alone held for the League in *Daupbine*) but alſo, that as a Catholick and a Stranger, he ſhould forſake the King's party, and joyn with the *Union*, that trial proved vain; for the anſwer he received was, That he was indeed a Catholick, and an obedient Son to the Apoſtolick See in Spiritual things; but that having made his fortune, as a Soldier, in the ſervice of the King of *France*, he could not deſiſt from following him; and, following him, he was bound to do that to *Grenoble* and *Valence*, which he thought fit for the affairs of the Prince whom he ſerved, By which anſwer, the Legat was a little daſhed, who was ſo much the more troubled, when being come to *Lyons*, he found the buſineſs of the League in ſuch diſorder, by the King's proſperous ſucceſs, that he was ſo far from obtaining any thing elſe, that he could neither have ſecurity, nor convoy, to proſecute his journey; for the Count of *Briſſac*, appointed at firſt by the Duke of *Mayenne* to meet him, and ſecure his paſſage, was neceſſitated to face about, and imploy himſelf in the affairs of *Normandy*, and Monſieur *de la Bourdaiſiere*, to whom that Commiſſion was given afterward, had been defeated by the King's Forces under the command of the Sieur *de Pralin*, near *Bar* upon the *Seine*; ſo that being reduced into very great perplexity, he knew not by what reſolution to ſteer his courſe, ſo various were the things that repreſented themſelves to his conſideration. The Duke of *Nevers* being retired home, and not intereſſed on either ſide, invited him to come into his State, where, ſtanding neuter, as befitted one that repreſented the Apoſtolick See, he might freely take thoſe wayes that ſhould appear moſt convenient to him; and this determination ſeemed to agree with the Popes intentions and inſtructions. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Mayenne* ceaſed not to ſollicite him to come to *Paris*; ſhewing him, that without the authority of his name, and without thoſe helps which were hoped for from him, the League was in danger to be diſſolved, and to be ſubdued by the King's Forces; and by conſequence, not only the City of *Paris*, but all the reſt of the Kingdom would remain oppreſſed by the Hugonot party. The King did not at all deſpair, but that, if he could not be wrought to come into the places under his obedience, he might at leaſt be perſwaded to ſtay in ſome Neutral Town out of the way, and perchance to go to the City of *Avignion*, till he ſaw the iſſue of the Duke of *Luxembourgs* Embaſſie at *Rome*; to forward which hopes, he had cauſed to be publiſhed, That if the Popes Legat, who was reported to be coming, ſhould take his journey toward him, every one ſhould receive, honor, and reverence him, taking care neither to offend him, nor any of his followers, and ſhould by all means give him ſafe conduct and ſecurity: But if he went towards the quarters of the League, he did expreſly forbid every one to acknowledge him for a Legat, or to receive him into thoſe places that were under his obedience, upon pain of Rebellion.

The Cardinal Legats requeſt to Colonel *Alphonſo Corſo*, and his anſwer.

1590. But the Legat did not only think it unſafe to go to the Duke of *Nevers*, a weak Prince, who had neither Fort nor principal City, wherein he might ſhelter himſelf from the ſnares of the *Hugonots*, and unhandſome to return back: But alſo he eſteemed it much more indecent and prejudicial to abandon the Catholick party; and by that demonſtration, utterly to confound and deject the mindes of thoſe who were for the League, with a manifeſt increaſe of the King's Forces and reputation; from whence a greater miſchief would have followed in Spiritual then in Temporal Matters; becauſe, to the Popes diſhonor, the Catholick party would have been abandoned through his default, and the King, who at that time, for fear of his enemies, made ſhew both in words and actions that he would turn Catholick, would be left free with power to do what he pleaſed, without reſpect of any Body; and finally, he thought with himſelf that he was come into *France*, not onely to compoſe the Diſcords, but principally to endeavor the ſuppreſſion of the King of *Navarre*, an enemy to the Church, and the election of a new King depending wholly upon the Pope, as a friend and confident to the Kingdom of *Spain*. This opinion had ſo much power with him, that being grounded upon decency, and not finding any obſtacle to the contrary in his Commiſſion, he reſolved at laſt to ſatisfie the party of the League, and to go on without delay to *Paris*: Wherefore ſeeing the Duke of *Mayenne* extreamly taken up with Military employments, he ſent *Monſignor Bianchetti* to the Duke of *Lorain*, to demand a Convoy of him for his ſafe paſſage; which being obtained without difficulty, paſſing by *Dijon* and *Troys*, he came upon the Twentieth day of *January* into the City of *Paris*, being received with moſt ſolemn pomp, and lodged in the Biſhops Palace, richly and ſumptuouſly furniſhed with the King's ſtuff, taken out of the Lodgings of the *Louvre*. At his arrival, he cauſed the Popes *Breve* of the Fifteenth of *October* to be publiſhed; wherein, after an honorable commemoration of the merits of the Kingdom of *France* toward the Apoſtolick See, and of the reciprocal benefits and kind demonſtrations of it towards the moſt Chriſtian Kings in all times, and after having compaſſionately deplored the preſent troubles and calamities, he atteſted, that with the counſel of the Cardinals he had choſen Cardinal *Gaetano* Legat to the Kingdom of *France*, with power to uſe (by the Divine aſſiſtance) all means which by him ſhould be thought fit, to protect the Catholick Religion, to recall Hereticks into the boſome of the Church, to reſtore the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdom; and finally, to procure, that under one onely, good, pious, and truly Catholick King, the people of the Kingdom might, to the glory of God, live in quietneſs and tranquillity, after ſo many dangers and calamities of War: Wherefore he did pray and exhort all the Orders and Degrees of *France* to perſevere in the Catholick Religion, and labor, by the glorious example of their Anceſtors, to extinguiſh and root up the evil of Hereſie, to cut off the occaſions and roots of diſcord; and that particular enmities and quarrels being finally buried, and thoſe fatal ruinous Civil Wars being laid down, they ſhould reſolve to yield obedience to a lawful truly Catholick King; and the Divine Worſhip being reſtored under his ſhadow and protection, to live in charitable union and concord; being in the mean time obliged to receive the Cardinal Legat with due reverence, and to put in execution his fatherly admonitions; thereby to reap, beſides temporal earthly fruits, the divine heavenly benediction.

The Cardinal Legat having overcome many doubts and difficulties, arrives at *Paris*.

The Publication of the Popes *Breve* at *Paris*, and the content thereof.

Two different Declarations followed upon the publication of this *Breve*; one, of the Parliament of *Tours*, by which all perſons were forbidden to obey or acknowledge the Legat; the other, of the Parliament of *Paris*, by which all were exhorted to receive the fatherly love of the Apoſtolick See, and to give due reverence to the Legat's Admonitions. After which contrary Declarations, (learned men deſiring to fight for their Factions in their way, no leſs ardently then the Soldiers,) there came forth many Decrees of Parliament, and infinite Writings of particular perſons, deciſions of the *Sorbonne*, Letters of the Legat, Anſwers of thoſe Prelates that followed the King's party, and ſo great a quantity of Books ſpread abroad thorough all parts by curious men, that it well appeared there was no Brain that laboured not, nor Pen that writ not in the defence and confirmation of the Rights of each party; but with ſo much pertinacy of Minds and Reaſons, all ſtriking as it were at the mark, of the coming and power of the Legat, that it was an eaſie thing to conſider, how Spiritual arms, wreſted and interpreted divers ways, in the heat and inconſiderateneſs of War, were rather like to ſupply new fuel to the fire, then to extinguiſh the flame already burning; whereby Cardinal *Gaetano* within a few dayes perceived the falſity of his firſt opinion, and that it

The Parliament of *Tours* forbids to acknowledge the Legat; and the Parliament of *Paris* exhorted all to give him due reverence.

All the learned men fight for their factions with their Pens, as the Soldiers with their Swords.

it had been better counſel to have ſtaid neutral, ſince that by coming to *Paris*, he made himſelf Legat onely to one of the Factions; which did not onely trouble him, becauſe it was very different from the mind and deſigns of the Pope, but becauſe he began alſo to know clearly the weakneſs and diſorders of the League. 1590.

The affairs of the *Union* were at this time, very doubtful and uncertain: For the diverſity of pretenſions, and the contrariety of the ends of the Confederates, did (as the cuſtom is) diſturb the courſe of the enterpriſe, and did not onely hold the deliberations of mens minds in ſuſpence, but alſo the effects and operations of common intereſts, which by reaſon of the King's celerity and reſolution, had no need of delay. The Duke of *Mayenne*, Prince of the Faction, and Head of the Enterpriſe; who with the Authority of his Perſon, the Prudence of his Government, and his experience in War, managed the weight of all things, eſteemed the reward which ſhould reſult from the blood of his brothers, and his own induſtry, juſtly to belong unto himſelf; and deſigned either to transfer the Crown upon himſelf, and his own poſterity, as had hapned in the times of *Pepin* and *Charles Martel*; or if that could not finally be obtained, to confer it at leaſt upon ſome Prince who ſhould acknowledge it totally and abſolutely from him: Yet obſerving his wonted integrity and right intention, he was reſolved never to ſuffer, that the Kingdom ſhould in any manner be divided, much leſs, that it ſhould fall into the hands of a Foreign Prince. The King of *Spain* on the other ſide, who from the beginning had ſecretly, and now openly protected and fomented the League, and who in late years had ſpent Two millions of Gold in the ſervice of the Confederates, and was fain now, beſides the maintaining of Horſe and Foot, to contribute vaſt ſums of money, both in publick and private; and who ſaw, that without his Supplies, which muſt be great and potent, not onely the Enterpriſe could not ſucceed, but alſo, that the League could not ſo much as ſubſiſt, but be ſpeedily diſſolved, thought it more than reaſonable, and more than juſt, that the expences and loſſes being his, the fruits and profits ſhould be ſo likewiſe; and therefore, beſides a moſt ſecret hidden intention of uniting the two Crowns, or to make that of *France* to come to his daughter the Infanta *Iſabella*, born of Queen *Elizabeth*, Eldeſt ſiſter to *Henry* the Third: He ſought alſo to be publickly declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with Royal pre-eminencies, and authority to provide for the Offices of the Crown, to chuſe the Governors and Commanders in War, to diſpoſe of Prelatical dignities, and to have the power belonging to a ſupream Prince: and this was demanded and openly laboured for by his Agents, who were Don *Bernardino Mendozza*, the Commendatory *Morrea*, *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis*, **Veedor General* of his Armies, who was newly come for that purpoſe from *Flanders*. The *Pariſians*, who ſaw the foundation of the Faction conſiſted in them, not onely by reaſon of the abundance of people, and the power of the City, but alſo of the continual Contributions from whence they derived the ſinews of the War, thought it belonged to them to diſpoſe of the Crown: And being ill-ſatisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, becauſe of his unproſperous ſucceſs in the War, both in that the *Fauxbourgs* ſeemed to have been loſt by his delay, and that through his want of diligence, the City was in a manner beſieged, and in great ſcarcity of proviſions, they inclined to ſubmit themſelves to the will of the *Spaniards*, hoping by means of their Forces utterly to deſtroy the King, whoſe very name they hated bitterly; to extirpate the Religion of the Hugonots, whereof they naturally were enemies; and by the Moneys of *Spain* to be eaſed of the intollerable burden of Contributions, as the Catholick King's Miniſters went cunningly, promiſing and bragging both in publick and private. On the other ſide, the Nobility who followed the party of the League, and in whoſe hands were the Arms and Fortreſſes, averſe from ſubmitting themſelves to the Spaniſh dominion, deſirous of a French King, and affectionate to, or intereſſed with the Houſe of *Guiſe*, inclined to favour the Duke of *Mayenne*; and following his Name, and obeying his Command, neceſſitated all the reſt of their party to depend upon him, and to order themſelves by the motions of his will, and the authority of his Government. In the Parliament many were inclined to favour the King, and deſirous that he would turn to the Catholick Faith, that they might acknowledge and obey him: and univerſally the major part of the Counſellors were far from ſuffering either that the Kingdom ſhould be divided, or that it ſhould come to a forraign Prince. The Duke of *Lorain*, from whom the League received no ſmall increaſe of ſtrength and reputation, thought that the Kingdom appertained to his Son the Marquiſs *du Pont*, as being born likewiſe of *Claude*, the Siſter of *Henry* the Third, and took it very

Princes that aſpired to the Kingdom of *France*.

* *Commiſſary-General.*

1590. ill that any other of the Houſe of *Lorain* ſhould dare to ſtand in competition with him, the Head and Chief of the Family. The Duke of *Savoy* likewiſe pretended a right to the Kingdom, becauſe he was born of *Margaret*, the Siſter of King *Henry* the Second; and truſted that he ſhould perchance be favoured by the Spaniard, but perſwaded himſelf certainly, that he ſhould have the protection of the Pope. Theſe two Princes, beſides their deſigns upon the Crown, had alſo other particular aims; The Duke of *Lorain* to get *Metz*, *Thoul*, *Verdun*, and the Dutchy of *Sedan*, upon which places he had divers pretentions. The Duke of *Savoy*, to conſerve the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, and by that (as it began after to be diſcovered) he hoped to joyn *Provence* to his State; a very commodious Province, and opportune, by reaſon of the footing he had there already, poſſeſſing in it the City and County of *Nizza*. The Duke of *Nemours* and the Duke of *Mercœur* thought alſo of this diviſion of the Kingdom into many parts: The firſt, out of a deſire to reduce his Government of *Lyons* into a proper Signory; the other, to attain *Bretagne*, which by ancient rights he pretended did belong unto his Wife: and many others among particular men, who, out of a deſign to reduce their Governments into patrimonies, would willingly have followed that reſolution. Of ſo great diverſity of humours and deſigns, and of ſo great variety of Counſels was the League compoſed, who juſtling and thwarting one another, interrupted the courſe of affairs, and ſlackned that fervour wherewith from the beginning they had conſpired to eſtabliſh that bond, which ſeemed to have no other end, ſave that of Religion.

Nor could the variety of counſels, or the uncertainty of the reſolutions of the League be unknown to the King, by reaſon of the experience he had of them, and of the intelligence which came daily to him, and therefore endeavouring to draw advantage from them, and make profit of them, he had, from the time he departed from *Diepe*, given liberty, upon his *parole*, to the Marquiſs of *Belin* (who had been taken priſoner in the buſineſs of *Arques*) with Commiſſion to proffer peace to the Duke of *Mayenne* in his name, and to exhort him, as a Prince of a good moderate nature, not to conſent to the pernitious thoughts of ſtrangers; but that freeing himſelf from the vexations of the common people, and from the arts of the Spaniards, he would hearken to a good wholſom Accommodation, for by that means he might with more deſert and honor obtain whatſoever he himſelf could deſire of him: And at the ſame time he had brought to paſs under-hand, that the Catholicks of his party ſhould pray the ſame Marquiſs to beſeech the Duke of *Mayenne* from them, that he would exhort and perſwade the King to turn Catholick; for that was the way to reduce him into the boſom of the Church; and with his honor and reputation to reſtore peace and tranquillity, ſo neceſſary, and ſo deſired of all *France*. But the Marquiſs having done his meſſage, and reiterated it again after the King's departure from the *Fauxbourgs* of *Paris*, the thoughts and reaſons were different, not onely in the minds of his Counſellors, but alſo of the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf. They that favoured the Propoſitions of the Catholicks of the King's party, ſaid, There could be no reſolution taken, either more to the purpoſe, or of more benefit and honour to the Duke, let the event be what it would; for if the King ſhould accept the invitation, and make himſelf a Catholick, Diſcords would thereby be buried, Religion ſecured, the Kingdom come into the hands of the lawful Succeſſor, and an end put to the fatal revolutions of Civil War: That the name of the Duke would thereby remain glorious to all the World, as the Author of ſo great a good; his intentions would be juſtified, and the end of his taking up Arms would plainly appear, with the eternal Benedictions of all the people of *France*: That as a conſequent of ſo pious a work, would reſult the freeing of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who, in ſo decayed an age, one ought to believe, deſired rather his liberty, and a quiet paſſage out of this life, than a vain ſhadow of dominion accompanied with a moſt ſtrict impriſonment: That thereupon likewiſe would follow the freeing of the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Elbœuf*, of whoſe recovery they had for a long time had but ſmall, or no hopes: And finally, that the ſtate of the Duke himſelf, and of his poſterity, would be as great as he himſelf knew how to ask or deſire. But if the King ſhould refuſe to ſatisfie his requeſt, and ſhould perſevere in the Hugonot Religion, then not only the reaſons of the League would be juſtified to all the World, to the confuſion of thoſe who did ſiniſterly interpret the actions of the Confederates; but alſo the Catholicks who followed the King, deſpairing of his converſion, and having found the falſneſs of his promiſes, would all forſake him; whereby he remaining onely with the dependence of a few Hereticks, it would be eaſie to ſuppreſs him, and make an honorable end of the War by Victory.

A Treaty of Agreement between *Henry* the Fourth, and the Duke of *Mayenne*.

On

On the other side, they that dissuaded from that resolution, said, That the War being wholly grounded upon the point of Religion, that overture could not be made without a precedent Licence from the Pope, whom it concerned to approve and confirm the Kings Conversion: And that the Duke of *Mayenne* not being absolute Prince of the League, but onely Head of his own party, ought not to proceed to so important and so peremptory an act, without the consent of all those that followed his party, and of all the Princes that adhered to and favoured the League: For if the Pope should not approve of his conversion, whatsoever he should have treated or resolved on, would remain void and of no effect; and if the Confederates should not follow his determination, they would chuse another Head, and he would be left deprived of the prop of the Catholick party, and unhappily exposed to the will of his enemies: That this was a plot of the King himself, to beget distrust between him and his party, and to sow discords and suspicions among the Confederates: That it might be, he would fain himself a Catholick, to the end, he might more securely dispose of Religion at his own pleasure; in which case, the too hasty, and too simple credulity of the Duke, would for ever be condemned; and likewise that the King, to break the Union of the League, would promise mountains of Gold, but without any security; that being setled King in peace, he would not after observe that, or the least part of that which he had promised; from whence, to his eternal blame, would follow the ruine of himself, and all his adherents: That the course of present affairs required, he should continue united with the rest of the Confederates: That he should not disgust the Pope, nor alienate the Catholick King, nor the Duke of *Lorain*: That he should not be abashed for the ill success of the beginning, but hope, that as God had revenged the Blood of his Brothers; so he would give him assistance to establish Religion, and exalt his state to the greatness he hoped for. The Duke was moved on the one side, by the justness of the Proposition of those of the Kings party, as also by his anger at the instability and impertinency of the Parisians: The scarcity of money afflicted him, for want whereof he knew not how to pay his Foreign Forces, nor how to satisfie the demands of all the Garrisons, and all the Governors, who addressed themselves to him for whatsoever they needed; but the cunning and obduratenes of the *Spaniards* troubled him more than all the rest, who having caused the Sieur *de la Motbe*, Governor of *Gravelin*, to come out of *Flanders* with Supplies, to the very Frontiers of the Kingdom, denied to make him advance any further, or to pay any sum of Money for the maintenance of the War, if the Catholick King were not first declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with authority to dispose of the principal Dignities, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil (which they called *Las Marcas de Justicia*) whereby he would have power and superiority over the League; which things seemed to him so exorbitant, so prejudicial to the Crown, and so unfit, that neither he himself could endure to hear of them; nor did he believe, that any of the Confederates, except the Parisians, would condescend unto them; knowing, that it was a putting off the Bridle into the hand of the Catholick King, to give him leave to guide the event of things whithersoever he pleased, at last, to direct them. But on the other side, the doubt of being left alone and forsaken, the uncertainty of the Kings Conversion, and of his Word, the ancient enmity stirred up against him, and much more the hope of attaining the Crown for himself at last, did not suffer him to consent to the Marquis *de Belin*'s Propositions: Wherefore he sent him back to his imprisonment with general ambiguous words, and cut off the proposed Treaty of Agreement. And, to remedy (as much as in him lay) the disorders of present affairs, partly by importunity, partly by cunning, partly by terror of Arms, he caused the Council of the *Union* to be very much moderated, which from the beginning was composed of seditious persons, and such as did not depend wholly upon him, and would have the Archbishop of *Lyons* (newly set at liberty by Captain *du Gast* for a great sum of money, and come to *Paris*) to execute the Office of High Chancellor, and in that quality to be President of the Council; and brought into it the Sieur *de Villeroy* and President *Jeannin*, Men that were his Confidents, and averse from condescending to the will of the Spaniards; and increasing the number, he put in so many of the principal Gentlemen, that he did no longer fear the insolency and instability of the common people in those deliberations which occurred daily; and yet to satisfie all in appearance, he caused a Decree to be made in the Council, by which the Princes, Peers, Mareschals of *France*, Governors of Provinces, Officers of the Crown, and the Three Orders of the Kingdom were appointed

1590.

The Sieur *de la Motbe* refuses to advance beyond the Frontiers, unless the King of *Spain* be declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with authority to dispose of the chief Ecclesiastical and Temporal Dignities; which Prerogatives were otherwise called, *Marks of Justice*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* will not hearken to an agreement with the King.

The Archbishop of *Lyons* lately prisoner at *Amboise*, is made High-Chancellor to the Duke of *Mayenne*.

1590. pointed to meet at *Melun* in the Moneth of *February* following, to hold the States-General there, where all preſent affairs ſhould be deliberated, and reſolved on with the common conſent: Which appointment, though men of underſtanding ſaw, that in reſpect of the confuſion of the War, it was like to prove vain, it not being poſſible, either to meet, or ſtay together in a place that was in the middle of the combuſtion, ſerved nevertheleſs to bait the common people, who are ſooner catched with vain, but ſpecious things, then with ſuch as are ſerious and ſubſtantial.

With the Spaniards (who importuned him moſt earneſtly for the Declaration) the Duke held another temper, excuſing himſelf by the coming of the Cardinal Legat, who already was very near, without whoſe aſſent and preſence, he ſaid it was not fit to conclude a buſineſs of ſo great moment; and fed them with hopes, ſo artificially, and with ſo much diſſimulation, that, they not diſtruſting the inclination and ready conſent of the Legat, it was eaſie to perſwade them to ſtay his coming: Neither therefore would they make the ſupplies advance, or diſburſe any ſum of money, alledging the ſame reaſon, that for their parts they would ſtay for the approbation of the Cardinal Legat. But becauſe the Pariſians, ſtraightned with ſcarcity of Victual, murmured exceedingly, (nor did it appear, that in that, they were much to blame) the Duke drawing together all the Forces he had in being, laid ſiege to *Pontoiſe*, to open on that ſide a paſſage for the proviſions of *Normandy*.

In the mean time, the Cardinal Legat arrived, with whom the Duke of *Mayenne* having had an interview at *Paris*, many of the principal Lords, who were neareſt at hand, being there preſent, and among the reſt Cardinal *Gondi* (who ſince the King's death, being retired to *Noyſy*, a houſe of his Brothers the Mareſchal *de Retz*, had kept himſelf neuter) they began to treat of the progreſs of the affairs of the League. The Spaniards above all inſiſted upon declaring the Catholick King Protector, and upon the *Marks of Juſtice* they demanded for him; and were fomented by the Council of *Sixteen*, who affirmed, there was no other oppoſition againſt it, but that of the Duke of *Mayenne*; and that the whole party would willingly concur to ſatisfie the Catholick King, as he from whom they acknowledged the ſecurity of Religion, and their own ſafety. On the other ſide, the Duke reſiſted, with the major part of the Nobility, and with the Counſellors of Parliament, who were reſolved not to conſent unto it: And ſome inconveniency might have ſprung from it, if Cardinal *Gaetano* had not put the Spaniards in mind, That it was no time to ſtand upon thoſe demands, nor to force the wills of the French unſeaſonably: That it would make them agree, and reconcile themſelves to the King of *Navarre*, who not being wanting to himſelf, propoſed large and advantageous conditions: That the maturity of the buſineſs was to be waited for, and mens mindes were not to be put into ſuſpicions unſeaſonably; for that without doubt the event would be the diſſolution of the League, with the danger of Religion, and ruine of the whole enterpriſe: That it was needful firſt to withſtand the Arms and progreſs of the King, leſt he by means of thoſe diſcords ſhould have time to eſtabliſh himſelf; andthen that danger being removed, neither ways nor occaſions would be wanting to ſatisfie the Catholick King's intereſts, which he in due time would advance and favour with all his power; And it fell out very opportunely, that about the ſame time, either by chance or cunning, ſome Articles of Agreement were divulged, between the King, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, which were reported to have been concluded by Monſieur *de Villeroy* for him, and the Mareſchal *de Byron* on the King's part; and many affirmed, that they were moſt true, and already ſubſcribed by the Dutcheſſes of *Nemours* and *Mayenne*; the one Mother, the other Wife to the Duke, who indeed were againſt the Spaniards demands; whereby that hapning, which ordinarily is wont, that Fear overcomes all other Paſſions, and removes all other impediments, the Spaniſh Miniſters agreed at laſt, that *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis*, one of their number, and the Sieur *de Roſſieux* for the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſhould go together into *Spain*, to know perſonally the Catholick King's intentions, which the Duke of *Mayenne* affirmed to be different from what his Miniſters reported, and to bring back the order that was to be obſerved in the adminiſtration of common affairs.

A falſe rumor is divulged, of a Treaty of Agreement, which increaſes the confuſion of the Pariſians.

In the mean time they conſented, that the Supplies from *Flanders* ſhould advance, to unite themſelves with the Army of the D. of *Mayenne*; who, *Pontoiſe* being once taken, purpoſed to march forward and meet the enemy. The Cardinal-Legat added the Three hundred thouſand Crowns which he had brought from *Rome* in Bills of Exchange, which (ſeeing for the preſent, they could not be ſpent for the enlargement of the

The Spaniards conſent, that the Supplies of *Flanders* ſhould advance, and join with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

the Cardinal of *Bourbon*) he had, upon the neceſſity of the enterpriſe, granted to the Duke, ſince he abſolutely denied that the Army could move, if it got not at leaſt ſome part of the arrears of its pay. 1590.

Cardinal *Octauio* grants unto the D. of *Mayenne* the three hundred thouſand crowns, brought for enlargement of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. The Decree of the Colledge of *Sorbonne*.

On the other ſide, the Duke of *Mayenne* conſented, that the Colledge of *Sorbonne* ſhould make a Decree, confirmed by the Cardinal Legat, that no Agreement ſhould be treated of with the Heteticks, nor particularly with *Henry* of *Bourbon*, who was declared to be relapſed and excommunicated; nor ſhould hold any commerce or intelligence with him, upon the ſame pain of Excommunication and Hereſie: To which the Duke more eaſily gave conſent, becauſe at that time his mind was utterly averſe from an Accommodation, and full of hope, remaining victorious over his enemies, to reduce things to that point which he aimed at ſecretly in himſelf.

The diſcords being thus compoſed and quieted, the Duke, deſirous to piece up his reputation loſt in the aſſaults at *Diepe*, and in the loſs of the *Fauxbourgs* of *Paris*, being ſtirred up and filled with hopes by the Cardinal-Legat, moved with his whole Army to beſiege *Meulan*, a ſmall place, but ſeated upon the Paſs of the River *Seine*, at the entring into *Normandy*, which therefore next to *Pontoiſe*, hindered the bringing of Victuals to the City of *Paris*. *Meulan* is a little Bourg encloſed with ancient Walls, which ſpreads it ſelf along the bank of the *Seine*: from thence there is a convenient paſſage over a ſpacious Bridge into an Iſland in the midſt of the River, which reduced into the form of a Fortreſs, is defended and flanked with four Ravelines after the modern way; and from the Iſle there is a paſſage over another Bridge to the other Bank of the River, where there is a great Tower of ancient building, which ſerves as a defence and fortification to the Bridge. Colonel *Berangueville* was in *Meulan* with four Companies of French Foot, fifty Switzers, and eighty Light-Horſe; who thinking that after the taking of *Pontoiſe* (which Town had capitulated to ſurrender) the Duke of *Mayenne*, to ſatisfie the Pariſians, would come on to beſiege that place, had with exceeding great diligence cauſed the Bourg to be encompaſſed with a good Trench, flanked with Half-moons; and the ſame had he done to the great Tower which ſtands beyond the River upon the entry of the Bridge, the Iſle being already well enough fortified before: At the ſame time he likewiſe diſpatched ſeveral meſſengers to the King, to demand relief: and having ordered his men in a readineſs, and given Arms to thoſe of the Bourg, had taken a reſolution to defend himſelf to the uttermoſt. The ſiege being laid on that ſide where the Bourg ſtands, the Duke of *Mayenne* cauſed a Battery to be planted, which began to play upon the Defendants with eleven pieces of Cannon; but ſo great was their diligence in repairing their Works, and ſo great annoyance did the Army receive as it were in the flank, from two pieces of Artillery planted in the point of a Raveline in the Iſland, that the ſiege went on with great difficulty, and exceeding ſlowly: Wherefore the Duke, angry that ſo ſmall a place ſhould make ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance (for he had already been ten dayes at work about it) cauſed the Sieur *de Rhoſne*, one of his Camp-Mareſchals, to paſs over to the other ſide of the *Seine*, and make a Battery againſt the Tower of the Bridge, to ſtraighten the Defendents on all ſides.

*Meulan* ſtands upon the *Seine* below *Paris*.

A deſcription of the ſituation of *Meulan*, and of the ſiege laid to it by the Duke of *Mayenne*.

In the mean time, the King, who was quartered between *Liſieux* and *Ponteau de Mer*, with a deſign to beſiege *Honfleur*, which was the onely Town in the lower *Normandy* that held for the League, having had notice of the eager ſiege at *Meulan*, reſolved to march preſently to relieve it: for the greateſt hope of his Arms conſiſting in the blocking up and cutting off proviſions from the City of *Paris*, with confidence that he ſhould break the ſtubbornneſs of the Citizens, and that the impatiency of want and neceſſity would make their mindes incline to Peace; he ſaw that the taking of *Meulan* would open a large paſſage for abundant ſupplies of proviſions: wherefore being departed from *Liſieux* the fourteenth of *February*, and having taken *Vernueil* by the way, he marched (though orderly) with ſo great diligence, that having gone forty leagues in ſeven dayes, he appeared upon the one and twentieth with his Army in Battalia within ſight of *Meulan*, on that ſide where the Tower was beſieged and battered by the Sieur *de Rhoſne*, who having but a ſmall part of the Army with him, and therefore unequal Forces to continue the ſiege on the field-ſide, drawing off his Cannon, paſſed the River in Boats that waited for him, and went into the Duke's Camp; and the King entering perſonally into *Meulan* on that ſide, and giving due commendations to the Defendents, left Three hundred Swiſſes, and two hundred French Fire-locks there; and retiring to his Army, quartered in the places near adjacent.

The

1590. The Duke of *Mayenne* knowing that the King would not attempt with inferiour Forces to paſs the River in the face of his Army, continued with confidence to batter the place; and the Cannon having made way with about Five hundred ſhot, the aſſault was given upon the Two and twentieth day; which was ſo ſharp, that the Defendents would not have endured it long, if the King at the ſame time, ſending in freſh men on the other ſide of the River, had not given them new courage and new ſtrength; and yet nevertheleſs, having loſt the firſt Trench, they were reduced to their inner Works, with ſmall hope of defending them, if the Mareſchal *de Biron* had not come in with a great many Foot; who bringing other Cannon into the Iſle, which raked thorough their flank with a very great ſlaughter, forced the Aſſailants at laſt to retreat towards the evening. Yet the Duke of *Mayenne* ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to force the place, judging, that his glory would be ſo much the greater, if he could take *Meulan* before the King's face, by how much the more difficult he eſteemed the enterpriſe, in regard of the hourly relief which the beſieged received from the far ſide of the River. But the King having changed his quarters, and after having furniſhed *Meulan* with all things neceſſary, having lodged his Army upon the great high-way that leads to *Paris*, the Duke of *Mayenne* was conſtrained to ſend the Duke of *Nemours* thither with ſome Light-horſe, to prevent the tumults and precipitate deſpair of the people: after which diminution of his Army, it fortuned, that news came preſently, how the old Caſtle at *Rouen* was ſeized upon by ſome ſeditious perſons, and that the whole City was brought into very great danger and confuſion: wherefore, upon the five and twentieth day he reſolved to raiſe his ſiege, and to march that way without delay, (ſo much did accidental chances alwayes aſſiſt the King's proceedings) and yet the danger of *Rouen* vaniſhed without any trouble: for the Sieur *de la Londe*, who commanded the Soldiers, having driven out thoſe that made the tumult the ſame night, and alſo the Sieur *d' Allegre*, who was the Head of them, reſtored the City unto its former quietneſs. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, thinking it at laſt impoſſible to take *Meulan*, conſidering the hourly relief it had from the King; and not being willing to loſe time, and deſtroy his Army upon a vain enterpriſe, reſolved to draw off, and with eaſie marches to meet the Supplies from *Flanders* and *Lorain*, which he had intelligence were advancing ſpeedily towards him.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, after 25 days, raiſes the ſiege of *Meulan* and marches towards *Rouen* to appeaſe new troubles.

The King beſiegeth *Dreux*

On the other ſide, the King being intent upon cutting off proviſions from *Paris* on all ſides, reſolved unexpectedly to aſſault the City of *Dreux*, his mind giving him that he ſhould take it before the Duke of *Mayenne* returned, and ſo not onely totally ſhut up the paſſage of *Normandy*, but alſo keeping a ſtrong Garriſon there, cut off and moleſt the wayes of *Beauſſe*, and hinder the free paſſage between *Chartres* and *Paris*. The Sieur *de la Falandre* and Captain *la Viette*, were in *Dreux*, both valiant Soldiers; who having a ſufficient Garriſon, received the ſiege very conſtantly, which was begun upon the laſt of *February*, ſhewing in the firſt skirmiſhes both firm reſolution of mind, and great experience in War: which opinion conceived of them, they did the more confirm at the Mareſchal *de Biron*'s viewing and diſcovering the place: for they laid him an Ambuſh of many Musketiers, ſecretly placed in the moat, by whom *Charles Briſe* the chief Cannoneer, who was cloſe by him, Captain *la Boulaye*, and two others of his own ſervants were ſlain; he himſelf being ſhot upon the Target with three bullets, and beaten to the ground, was not wounded by reaſon of the goodneſs of his Arms; but yet he had much ado to get off, and had certainly been taken priſoner by the Enemy, if his ſon the Baron, who followed him very near, had not opportunely ſuccoured and diſingaged him. The valour of the Defendents was not leſs in other actions: for the Artillery having made a great breach by the third of *March*, the King commanded the Foot to aſſault the Curtine, at which fighting gallantly from noon to Sun-ſet, the Defendents at the laſt beat back the King's Forces with a very great ſlaughter; and following them victoriouſly into their Trenches, ſlew three Captains there, and two hundred ſoldiers. About this time the King received ſeaſonable aſſiſtance from many parts: for having called unto him all the ſupplies of the Provinces, firſt of all the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* joyned with him, who led the Gentry of *Champagne*, and One thouſand and two hundred *Reiters* newly ſent out of *Germany* by the Sieur *de Sancy*; and a while after, the Grand Prior and the Baron *de Giury* came up with Two hundred Gentlemen, and three hundred Light-horſe; and at laſt Captain *Raulet* Governor of *Pont de l' Arche*, the Commendatory *de Chattes*, the Sieur *de l' Archant*, and other Gentlemen, brought in the Forces of *Normandy*: after whoſe arri-

val, the King, desirous to try the last push for the place he had besieged, caused four other pieces of Cannon, with great store of Ammunition to be fetched from *Meulan*, where they had been left, and began to batter it afresh with very great violence. 1590.

But the news of the besieging of *Dreux* being come to *Paris*, it is not credible how much mens minds were altered by it, and how much the people murmured and mutined at it, being exposed more than all others to future dangers, and to the present distresses of hunger: wherefore the Cardinal-Legat, and the Spanish Ministers being very much troubled, endeavoured not only by means of the Preachers, to appease and chear up the Citizens, but sollicited the Duke of *Mayenne* with frequent Letters, and resenting Messages, spurring him up with often vehement complaints, and seeming to wonder, that having much a stronger Army, he should let the principal City, on which the most secure hopes of the League relied, to be brought into such scarcity, that it was necessary to prevent those imminent insurrections which were secretly laboured for on the Kings part; that so much money had now been spent, and so much pains taken, and that nothing had been done save enterprises of small or no account to the sum of affairs; and that it was evident, nothing else was endeavoured, nothing else pretended, but to consume time unprofitably, and tire out the patience of the Confederates; and the Three hundred thousand Crowns sent by the Pope being once spent, with what money would he maintain his Army for the future? with Contributions of the Parisians, who having been already long blocked up, and reduced to extream want of necessaries, were fain to pay ten Crowns for a Bushel of Wheat, and to live upon Bread alone without any other subsistance? that every one desired he would at last make tryal, whether the Swords of the Confederates could cut as well, and were as sharp, as those of the *Bearnois*, (so they called those of the Kings party) and that the Catholick King had not emptied his Garisons of *Flanders*, to the end, his Souldiers should lose their time in idleness; that it was manifestly seen how much a mans resolution was to be valued; for the King without money, without being prop'd up by Confederates, without Friends, and in a manner without any Towns, had in a few months traversed all *France*, taken more places and Forts than there were days in the year, and now fiercely and resolutely threatned the City of *Paris* it self, even in the face of the Army of the League.

At the news of the siege of *Dreux*, the people of *Paris* mutiny.

The Duke of *Mayenne* moved by these complaints, earnestly redoubled many times, though in his own mind he feared the unexpertness of his men, and did much esteem the valour of the Nobility that followed the Kings Camp; yet was he resolved to put it to a day, because the great advantage he had in number made him conceal his own opinion; and his being Head of the Confederates, forced him to manage the War by the directions of others, fearing many inconveniences if he should have gone about to manage it his own way: Wherefore being joined with Count *Egmont*, who brought from *Flanders* Fifteen hundred Lanciers, and Four hundred Carabines; and having met Colonel St. *Paul* some two days after, who brought Twelve hundred Horse, and Two thousand German Foot out of *Lorain*; he began his march without further delay to raise the siege of *Dreux*, and come presently to the issue of a Battel. The Flemish Cavalry were excellently well horsed, and gallantly set forth with Silk and Gold, but generally undervalued in respect of the French Gentry: On the other side, the Carabines, armed for the most part with back, brest, and pot, and mounted upon nimble horses of a middle size, being expert in all encounters, were not only esteemed by their own, but, which imported more, feared by their Enemies. The Germans led by St. *Paul*, had been raised in the name of the Sieur *de Sancy*, who sent by the King to the Princes of *Germany*, and having obtained money from the Lant-Grave of *Hesse*, the Count of *Mombelliard*, and from the Cities of *Ulme* and *Norembergh*, had levied Horse and Foot to join with the Mareschal *d' Aumont* in *Champagne*, which the Cavalry prosperously did; who by the way of *Langres* (though by a various passage) came to the place appointed; but the Infantry being come near the City of *Strasbourg*, was encompassed by the Duke of *Lorain*, and to free themselves from danger, broke their Faith; and having received new money in the name of the Confederates, was come into the Camp of the League, under the command of Colonel St. *Paul*: With these Forces, and the old Army, which amounted in all to the number of Four thousand five hundred Horse, and little less than Twenty thousand Foot: The Duke furnished with victual, and all things necessary, reviewed his Army diligently upon the Ninth of *March*, and having given his Souldiers leave to rest all the day following, upon

The Duke of *Mayenne* joins with the Spanish Supplies from *Flanders*, and marching towards *Dreux*, resolveth to fight.

The German Infantry raised for the K. of *France*, turn for the League, under the command of Col. St. *Paul*.

The Army of the League being 4500 Horse, and 20000 Foot, march to relieve *Dreux*.

1590. upon the Eleventh day in the morning he moved toward *Dreux*, which Town was ſtill fiercely battered and aſſaulted by the King.

The King advertiſed of their coming raiſes the ſiege.

But the King having intelligence, that the Duke of *Mayenne* increaſed in ſtrength, advanced towards him with a reſolution to fight; being deceived both by the conſtancy of the defendents, from whom he did not think to have met with ſuch reſiſtance; and by the celerity of the Duke, who he did not believe would ſo ſuddenly have joined with the Supplies of the Confederates, determined to raiſe the ſiege, being not well reſolved to fight, by reaſon of the inequality of Forces; yet intending (in caſe he ſhould come to a battel) to find out the moſt convenient place, and moſt advantageous ground that he could for his Army. The Artillery was drawn off upon *Munday*, being the Twelfth of *March*, in the morning; but becauſe the King would have the Baggage to go before, and that the Army ſhould march in Battalia, the day was already almoſt ſpent when the Camp moved, nor did they arrive at *Nonancourt*, their appointed Quarter, till many hours of the night were paſt: At which time, a mighty ſtorm of rain falling from Heaven, among terrible thunder and lightning, put the whole Army into a very great fright, as well becauſe retreats are always formidable to thoſe that know not the intimate ſecrets of command, as by reaſon of the fame which was ſpread abroad of the powerful Forces of the Enemies; and becauſe both Fortune and the Weather ſeemed to conſpire in prejudice of that Army, which almoſt half drowned, marched as if they were flying under favour of the dark, though cloſe in the ranks and files of their Diviſions.

A terrible Prodigy ſeen by the Kings Souldiers.

The terrour of the rawer men, was increaſed by a prodigious Apparition, which as the rain ceaſed, appeared in the midſt of the Skie; for there were ſeen two wonderful great Armies, of a red bloody colour, which ruſhed viſibly together in the Air, amidſt the horrible noiſe of the thunder; and, within a while after, the event not appearing, they both vaniſhed, and were covered again with exceeding thick and moſt obſcure clouds; which though it were diverſly interpreted by many, ſeemed moſt probably to portend miſchief and ruine to that Army, which inferiour in ſtrength, and altogether void of other help, than that of their own Forces, retired, as it were already conquered, while the Enemy advanced; and ſo much the more, becauſe thoſe were the very places, where, in the firſt Civil Wars, the Kings Predeceſſors, and his Faction of the Hugonots, loſt the firſt Battel againſt the Duke of *Guiſe*, wherein the Prince of *Conde* in the midſt of the terrible ſlaughter of his men, was both wounded and taken priſoner. But the Army being come to *Nonancourt*, (a Town which had been taken two days before) and refreſhed both with great fires kindled in every place, and with plenty of victual, which the Mareſchal *de Byron* cauſed to be diſpoſed with very good order thorow the whole quarters, as well of Horſe as Foot, the Souldiers recovered ſtrength and courage: and the King being come to his lodging with the Mareſchals of *Aumont* and *Byron*, began to conſult whether he ſhould venture the hazard of a Battel.

The Kings Army 3000 Horſe, and 8000 Foot.

One thing diſſwaded him from it, which was the inequality of the number of the two Armies; for in the Kings, there were not above Eight thouſand Foot, and Three thouſand Horſe, which were about half as many as that of the League; and if he had a mind to avoid the encounter, there was alſo conveniency to retreat beyond the River *Eure* into places of lower *Normandy*, all abounding with proviſions, and all reduced to the Kings obedience; where, with variety of oppoſition and of effects, the Enemy might be hindred and kept in play. But not only the promptneſs of the Kings nature inclined to generous reſolutions, but alſo the condition of preſent affairs withſtood that determination: For his Forces conſiſting in the Union of the Gentry, who ſerved upon their own charge, without pay or reward, it was neceſſary to make uſe of them in the firſt ardour of their courage, and not to ſuffer their firſt fury to be cooled by their expences and ſufferings.

Reaſons moving the King to fight, though his Army was leſs by half than that of the the League.

To this was added, the want of money, which was very great and irreparable, for the payment of the Swiſſes, and other ſtrangers; ſo that they could not be long maintained and kept together: Whereas on the other ſide, there was no doubt but the Enemy would never want means, not only to ſuſtain, but alſo to increaſe their Forces to a greater number, whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe the Pope, and the King of *Spain*: And finally, the Kings foundation was wholly grounded upon frankneſs of courage and reſolution, it being neceſſary to hazard the leſſer to obtain the greater: and becauſe all other hopes were weak, neceſſity perſwaded to ſet the ſum of affairs upon the edge of the Sword; nor could it ſeem other than faintheartedneſs and cowardize, not to ſecond that proſperous beginning, which fortune had favorably ſhewed him. To all theſe reaſons was added, the opinion of the Mareſchal *de Byron* (whoſe

(whoſe counſels, by reaſon of his wiſdom and experience, were by the King obſerved as Oracles) who thought it not only difficult, but in a manner altogether impoſſible to avoid the putting of it to a Battel, and to retire without receiving ſome notable loſs in paſſing the Rivers, if the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould follow them in the Reer: And he judged it better advice to fight reſolutely with the vigour and forwardneſs of the Army, than to be deſtroyed piece-meal, without the leaſt hope of any good: Wherefore the King, being determined to fight, deſigned the form of the Battel; and having asked the counſel of the oldeſt Souldiers about it, all of them approved his opinion without contradiction. 1590.

The King knew the Enemies Army abounded with a great number of Lanciers, who being ſpread at large along the field, there was no doubt but they would break in, and by conſequence endanger the putting of his Cavalry in diſorder, compoſed all of Gentlemen-Voluntiers, who ſerving upon their own expence, without pay or obligation, had in the revolution of the Civil Wars given over the uſe of Lances, for their conveniency, and as more ready, had taken Piſtols in their ſteads, in imitation of the Reiters: Wherefore deſiring by induſtry to remedy this diſadvantage, which he, and the moſt experienced Commanders were wont to deplore, he divided his Cavalry into many Squadrons, to render the encounter of the Lances leſs effectual; in whoſe paſſage, two or three leſſer Bodies might charge them on all ſides, and not receive the ſhock of their front, with a firm encounter and continued order. To every Body of Horſe he joined Squadrons of Foot, to the end that the hail of ſmall ſhot might not only favour his own men in the encounter, but that falling among the Enemies, and doing execution upon them, it might make them weaker, and their violence the leſs united: a remedy which for the need thereof in the difference of Arms, having often been conſulted and approved of, did that day give proof how conſiderable it was in effect. The King having invented the Form wherein the Army was to be drawn up and imbattelled, gave the deſign thereof into the hand of the Baron *de Byron* Camp-Maſter-General; and choſe Monſieur *de Vicy*, an old Colonel of the French Infantry, and a man of great valour and experience, Serjeant-Major-General; an Office, for the high importance of it, not wont to be conferred but upon ſuch perſons as by their approved knowledge and long practice in remarkable occaſions, had gotten the credit and reputation of Command, and conſequently both knew and were known of all. The remainder of the night was ſpent in reſt, till the Drums and Trumpets, at the firſt peep of light, gave notice of the approaching day; in the beginning whereof Maſs was celebrated in all the quarters of the Catholicks, and the Hugonots made their Prayers apart: after which, the whole Army being come forth into the field, the Carriages of proviſion paſſed without tumult or confuſion thorow all the files, the Mareſchal *de Byron* having care thereof, whoſe orderly Government, to the admiration of all, ſhewed his great experience in the diſcipline of War.

The King deſigns his form of Battel, and draws it with his own hand.

The Army being refreſhed and fed, they began with leſs haſte than they had done the evening before, to march toward the field of *Ivry*, appointed by the King for the place of Battel, as well becauſe it was large and ſpacious on all ſides, as by reaſon of many places of advantage, which he (preventing the Enemy) had deſigned to make himſelf Maſter of. This field takes the compaſs of many miles in a circular form; it is bounded on the left ſide (on which the Kings Army came) by two great commodious Villages, one called *Fourcanville*, the other St. *André*; and on the other ſide, where the Army of the League marched, a thick Wood ſhuts up the Plain, commonly called by the Country-people, * *Le clos de la prairie*: on the Weſt-ſide, towards which both Armies marched, it ends in a deep Valley, in which runs the River *Eure*, of a reaſonable breadth, upon whoſe banks are two great Bourgs, *Anet* towards the South, and *Ivry* ſituated on the other ſide towards the North. The River under *Anet* is wont to be eaſily forded without danger; but a large Bridge of planks, upon great pieces of timber, leads from the further ſide into *Ivry*. The field flat and open on all ſides, not encumbred with hedges, nor uneven with banks and ditches, hath only a little natural hollowneſs, which extends it ſelf a little way, almoſt in the midſt of the plain right over againſt the above-named Village of *Fourcanville*. The Sieur *de Vicy*, and the Baron *de Byron*, together with the Sieur *de Surene*, and Captain *Favas*, who that day executed the Office of Adjutants, being all rode before into this place, drew up the Army as it came, and diſpoſed it in ſuch manner, that the Village of St. *André* flanked it on the right ſide, and *Fourcanville* on the left; wherein, the ill weather continuing, they might

* *The hedge or incloſure of the meddow.*

The manner of drawing up the Kings Army for the battel in the field of *Ivry*.

1590. might quarter upon all occaſions conveniently under cover: and the hollow of the Plain happened to be in the Front of the Army, where the Forlorn-hope (which they call *Les Enfans perdus*) was to be placed. The Duke of *Montpenſier* led the Van, the King commanded the Battel, and the Mareſchal *de Byron* the Reer. The Cavalry of the Army was drawn into five Bodies, whereof the firſt, led by the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, with two Regiments of Firelocks by it, ſtood upon the left hand, in the uttermoſt part of the field. Next it, was the ſecond, commanded by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, flanked on the right hand by a Squadron of Swiſſe Infantry, and on the left by another of the Germans. The third, bigger than all the reſt, in which was the Kings Perſon, the Prince of *Conty*, the Count of St. *Paul*, and the choiceſt number of Lords and Gentlemen, was flanked by the Swiſſes of the Guard on the right hand, and by thoſe of Colonel *Balthazar* on the left. The fourth, led by Mareſchal *de Byron*, followed on the right hand of this, and had neer it two Regiments of French Firelocks. The fifth and laſt, of German Horſe, led by Count *Theodorick* of *Schombergh*, reached down to the houſes of the Village of St. *Andre*. Two other Squadrons of Horſe beſides theſe were in the front of the Battel, ſome fifty paces before all the reſt; one commanded by the Grand Prior and the Baron *de Giury*, wherein were four hundred Light-horſe; and the other by the Baron *de Byron*, in which were three hundred Cuiraſſes: And in the midſt, between theſe two Squadrons, were placed the Artillery, commanded by *Philibert de la Guiche*, with * fifty Harquebuſiers on horſeback, two hundred Pioneers, and the ordinary company of Cannoneers. The Forlorn-hope, led by three Colonels, St. *Denis*, *Brignolet*, and *Parabiere*, ſome fifty paces before the Artillery and the whole Army, lay cloſe in that hollow that was in the midſt of the Plain, ſo that it could not be hurt by the Enemies Cannon; and kneeling with one knee on the ground, could hardly be diſcovered by thoſe that knew not of their being there. In this manner the Army, not in a crooked form, or ſhape of a Half-moon, but ſpreading it ſelf in a ſtraight line, had an equal front, except only that the Grand Prior, and the Baron *de Byron* with their Squadrons, and the Artillery, being advanced forwarder than the reſt, covered the main Body of the Battel. They had not yet made an end of ordering and imbattelling the Army, when two ſeveral ſupplies from ſeveral parts came up unto the King: for the Sieurs *du Pleſſis*, *de Mouy*, and *de la Tremouille*, came out of *Poitou* with about two hundred Horſe; and out of *Picardy* the Sieur *de Humieres* with about * fourſcore Gentlemen, ſtirred up by the report which was ſpread abroad that there was like to be a Battel about that time: which ſupplies, though ſmall, yet coming ſo opportunely, and being increaſed by fame, gave wonderful courage and aſſurance to every one, all being of opinion that it was clearly the mercy of Heaven in favour of the King, who unexpectedly received thoſe helps, in ſo urgent a time of need: and every one more eſteeming the happineſs of the Omen, than the conſiderableneſs of their Forces, they were welcomed with loud joyful acclamations: and that they might not diſturb the order of the Army, they went into the Kings Squadron placed juſt in the middle of the Battel.

* *The French Tranſlation ſays five hundred.*

* *The French ſay four hundred.*

The Duke of *Mayenne* on the other ſide having intelligence that the King was riſen from the ſiege of *Dreux*, and that being neither ſtayed by any hinderance of the rain, nor by the darkneſs of the night, he marched with exceeding great ſpeed towards *Normandy*, was of opinion that he, by reaſon of the inequality of Forces, would have avoided the hazard of fighting, and therefore haſtened the march of his Army, hoping that the uſual confuſion of all Retreats might afford him ſome opportunity (eſpecially in the paſſage of ſo many Rivers) to break, or at leaſt endamage the Enemy: and being not only the belief of the General, but the univerſal opinion of the whole Army, every one of his own accord quickned his pace, promiſing themſelves an exceeding eaſie, and very ſecure Victory without loſs of blood: from which haſte it came to paſs, that though the Army marched as cloſe as they could in their ranks, yet were the Squadrons of it ſomething confuſed, and almoſt quite diſordered, by the unequalneſs of the way. But going on with this diligence towards *Ivry*, with an intention to take the King in the paſſage of the River, the Sieurs *de Rhoſne* and *Geſſan*, who led the firſt diviſions, in the entry of the Plain diſcovered the Kings Army; which, drawn up in Battalia, and having the advantage of the Field, expected the encounter of the day. This news, which paſſed from Van to Reer, did in great meaſure cool the courage of many, who already had inconſiderately promiſed themſelves the Victory without fighting, and cauſed the Army to make a halt to draw up and recover their order.

The

The Army of the League was divided into two Battalions, whereof the right was led by the Duke of *Nemours*, and the left by the Chevalier *d' Aumale*. In the point of the Right Wing was the Count *d' Egmont*, with the Lanciers he had brought out of *Flanders*; next which were a Body of Swiſſes commanded by their Colonels, *Fifer* and *Berling*, and flanked with the Regiments of *Ponſenac*, *Diſemieux*, and *Chaſteliere*. Then the Duke of *Nemours* his Regiment, wherein were Four hundred Horſe; and between theſe and the Swiſſes were placed the Artillery. In the Left Wing Four hundred Light Horſe, Burguignons and Spaniards, ſpred themſelves in the uttermoſt parts to the very edge of the Field, and by the ſide of them, the Body of German Foot, commanded by the Colonel St. *Paul*, and flanked by the French and Lorain Regiments of *Tremblecourt*, *Teniſſay*, and *Chaſtaigneraye*; and next theſe, was placed the Squadron of the Chevalier *d' Aumale*, wherein were the Troops of the Sieur *de Longchamp*, *de Perdriel*, and *de Fountaine Martel*. The Duke of *Mayenne* with his Cornet and Four hundred Gentlemen, which in all made Seven hundred Horſe, was in the midſt between the two Wings, flanked by the Flemiſh Carabines; and before all were two Squadrons of Reiters led by the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and by *Baſſompier*, who were to charge, and wheel off after their wonted manner, and ſo paſſing between the two Wings, ſhould fall as a Reſerve, and rally themſelves in order, that they might return more freſh into the Battel. 1590. The manner how the Army of the League was imbattelled.

In this order, the Army marching gently toward the Plain, and by degrees turning their backs to *Ivry*, and the banks of the River, came up to face the Kings Army, when the day was already almoſt ſpent; for having marched diſorderly, they had been forced to waſte a great deal of time to rank themſelves again: Whereupon the near approaching of night, together with the conſtant extreamity of wet weather, withheld both Generals from giving way, that the Battel ſhould be begun; but after they had ſtood thus ſome two hours, faintly skirmiſhing, becauſe each was careful not to engage their Forces, the day being already ſhut in on every ſide, the King drew his Army with a great deal of conveniency into *Fourcanille*, and St. *Andre*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* with as much inconveniency was fain to quarter his men as well as he could, having but very few houſes; which want he ſupplied by the help of Tents and Pavillions, ſet up within the deſcent of the valley, toward the bank of the River. The night was full of unquietneſs, and continual ſtir on both ſides, kindling great fires very thick in each Camp, and Sentinels being ſet out all over the field, which were changed every half hour by the Colonels who went the rounds; though the Kings Army, by reaſon of the abundance of victual, of the conveniency of houſes, and becauſe the Infantry was encloſed on all ſides with barricadoes, reſted more quietly, and by their eaſe received greater refreſhment. The Duke of *Mayenne*, a Friend to ſecure counſels, would willingly have avoided the encounter of a Battel, ſpinning out the War in length, to tire out the forwardneſs of the Nobility that followed the King, to reduce them into want of money, and in length of time to make them conſume their Ammunition of War, whereof he knew they had no very great ſtore; thinking by theſe arts, he ſhould at laſt perfect his deſigns. But on the one ſide, Count *Egmont* oppoſed it with fierce proteſtations, that he was not come to conſume the Catholick Kings Souldiers unprofitably, who depriving his Low-Countries of their own Forces to aſſiſt Religion in *France*, deſired the War might be ended with one manly blow. And on the other ſide, it was oppoſed (though more modeſtly) by Monſignor *Girolamo di Portia*, who was preſent in the Camp in the Legats name, and who alledging the wearineſs of the Confederates, and the great ſuperiority of Forces, excited the Duke to a generous reſolution: Nor was he himſelf without ſome conſideration of the Pariſians, whom he knew to be tired with contributions, pinched with dearth, unſatisfied with him, and ready (if things ſhould be drawn out in length) to embrace the opportunity of a revolt; wherefore at laſt, he reſolved he would no longer defer the encounter. Thereupon the next morning, being *Wedneſday*, the Drums and Trumpets calling at the firſt appearance of day, the Armies were imbattelled in the ſame place and manner as they had been the night before: But becauſe the Viſcount *de Tavannes*, who put the Horſe in order, while the Sieur *de Rhoſne* did the like unto the Foot, was extreamly ſhort-ſighted, he placed the ſeveral Diviſions ſo cloſe to one another, that he not only left no ſpace thorow which the Reiters, according to order given, might wheel about, and rally behind the Army, but even the very Diviſions themſelves, not having any intervals, by means whereof, they might open when they moved, if they did

The Armies face one another, but being overtaken by the night, they retire to quarters.

The errour of the Viſcount *de Tavannes* in drawing up the Diviſions of the Horſe.

1590. did but ſtir never ſo little, juſtled and crouded one another; a fault, which not being taken notice of by any body, and being therefore left without remedy, put the Army of the League into great confuſion.

On the other ſide, the Kings Forces, by reaſon of their leſſer number being eaſier to put in order, were not only ſet in Battalia without confuſion; but firſt the Mareſchal *de Byron*, and then the King himſelf viſited every Diviſion with great diligence, and reviewed every thing very carefully. The King was upon a great Bay Courſer, armed all over, except his face and head, and gallopping up and down thorow all the ſeveral Squadrons, did more by his looks and geſtures, than by his words, which could ſcarcely be heard by the multitude, recommend his own fortune, and the common ſafety unto his Army; in which, his whole ſtrength conſiſted, and with it the heighth of their common hopes: And he with an undaunted countenance, but ſometimes with tears in his eyes, put his Commanders, and all thoſe that heard him, in mind, that not only the ſafety of the Crown of *France*, but the ſole way to ſave each mans particular life depended upon the point of the Sword, and the valour of their own Arms; that there were no other Armies to be drawn together, nor other Nobility to take up Arms, or open any other way of ſafety, than to fight ſtoutly to the death: And at laſt, ſtanding ſtill at the head of the main Battalion, joining his hands, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he ſaid ſo loud, that he was heard by many, *O Lord, thou knoweſt the intentions of my heart, and with the Eye of thy Providence, thou pierceſt into the ſecreteſt of my thoughts; If it be beſt for this people, that I ſhould attain the Crown, which belongs to me by right, do thou favour and protect the juſtice of my Arms: But if thy will hath determined the contrary, if thou takeſt away my Kingdom, take away my Life alſo at the ſame time, that I may ſhed my Blood fighting at the head of theſe who put themſelves in danger for my ſake.* At the end of which words, there aroſe in the Front of the Battel, a loud acclamation from thoſe that heard him, with an unanimous cry of *Vive le Roy*, which being taken and redoubled from Squadron to Squadron, thorow the whole Army, gave a moſt happy beginning to the Battel. But he having taken his Helmet, covered with a long gallant plume of white Feathers for a mark, that he might be followed, and knowing that the wind was againſt him, which would have covered and blinded all his Army with the ſmoak of the Muskets and Cannon, began with great art to make his Diviſions wheel to the left hand, turning to gain the wind, yet moving but a very few paces; which the Duke of *Mayenne* ſeeing, who likewiſe ſtood in the Front of his Battalion, and being deſirous to hinder whatſoever the Kings intention was, cauſed preſently the ſign of Battel to be given by the Generals Trumpet; at the ſound whereof the Cannon fired with a thundering noiſe, but with ſo different art, care, and fortune, that the Dukes ſhot all too low, and killed not any body but a Gentleman of the Duke of *Montpenſiers*; and the Kings, by the diligence and skill of Monſieur *de la Guiche*, being charged and diſcharged the ſecond time, did with a very great ſlaughter diſorder the two Squadrons of Reiters which were in the Front of the Army, and alſo did much miſchief to Count *Egmont*, who with his Lanciers ſtood on the outſide of the Left Wing, and who being unwilling to ſtay till they ſhould fire the third time, and utterly rout his men, was the firſt that gave the On-ſet, falling upon the Grand Priors Light-horſe with ſo much gallantry, that they not being able to reſiſt the violence of the Lances, and the furious ſhock of ſtronger horſes, were broken into, and charged quite thorow the very midſt of their Squadron; ſo that the Flemings in contempt ran in, turning their horſe tails upon the Kings Cannon, and killing many of the Cannoniers and Pioniers which were by them; but having half diſordered themſelves by this vanity, they were at the ſame time charged with very great fury on the Right hand by the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, on the Left by the Baron *de Byron*; and the Grand Prior with the Baron *de Guiry*, having rallied their horſe again, being full of ſpight and anger, gave them ſo deſperate a charge in the Front, that being ſurrounded by all theſe in Van, Flank and Reer, they were all inſtantly cut in pieces with the Count that commanded them. At the ſame time the Squadrons of the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and that of the Duke of *Nemours* in the Van-Guard, and the Count *Schombergbs*, with that of the Chevalier *d' Aumale* in the Reer-Guard, charged one another with ſo much valour and courage on both ſides, that it was hard to know which would have the advantage at the laſt: For the Duke of *Montpenſier*, whoſe horſe was killed under him in the firſt encounter, and who by the great care and courage of his men was mounted upon another, being incompaſſed by the Gentry of *Normandy*, fought

The King all arm'd on horſe-back, viſits and exhorts his Souldiers with great efficacy, and at the head of his Army, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, prayeth heartily.

The ſign of Battel given.

Count *Egmont* and his Lanciers all cut in pieces.

fought with admirable valour: and the Duke of *Nemours*, very young, but of a generous ſpirit, raiſed by the advantage of the greater number of his Forces, (after the encounter of the Lances) was with ſhort weapons fallen pell-mell into the midſt of the Battel. On the other ſide, the Count *de Schombergh* with the German Horſe, not wheeling off, but charging home into the very Body of the Enemy, with Volleys of Piſtols, did great execution upon the Squadron of the Chevalier *d' Aumale*, who, no leſs valiant than fame reported him, being ſeconded by a ſtrong party of his men, made the Conflict very ſharp and dangerous. But the Reiters who were placed before the Duke of *Mayenne*, having received much damage by the Artillery, advancing nevertheleſs wheeling to make their charge: but when they came into the hollow of the field, they found the Forlorn-hope, who ſtanding up courageouſly upon their feet, welcomed them with a terrible ſtorm of Musket-bullets, by which the Duke of *Brunſwick*, one of their chief Commanders being ſlain, and many other wounded and beaten to the ground, aſſoon as ever they had diſcharged their Piſtols, they fell off according to the cuſtom of their Diſcipline, turning to get behind the Body of the Army, as they had received Orders from their General: but not having found the paſſage open, as by directions it ſhould have been, they, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the Intervals between the Squadrons, ruſhed upon and diſordered that great Body of Lances wherewith the Duke of *Mayenne* followed them to charge the Battel, ſo that he was conſtrained to ſtop, and make his men couch their Lanches, ſetting himſelf to keep off the Reiters, and diſingage himſelf from them, leſt he ſhould have been routed by their inconſiderate violence: which the King obſerving, and laying hold of the opportunity that diſorder of his Enemies afforded him, ſetting ſpurs to his Horſe, and being boldly ſeconded by the flower of the Nobility that followed his Cornet, he fell in fiercely to the Battel before the Duke of *Mayenne* could recover himſelf from the incumbrance of the Reiters, and make his Lances take their career; whereby they becoming uſeleſs, becauſe they do their effect and receive their force and vigour by running, it was neceſſary to throw them away, and fight with their Swords alone, againſt the Kings Squadrons, in which all were Knights and Gentlemen, who beſides their Tucks, were admirably well armed, and had each man a Caſe of Piſtols at his Saddle: yet did not this ſtartle the valour of the Duke, nor make thoſe that followed him loſe courage; but after a furious Volley of Carabines, ruſhing in boldly with gallant horſes, they made the Victory firſt doubtful, and then bloody to the Enemy: for in the very beginning, the Sieur *de Rhodes*, a youth of great expectation, who carried the Royal white Cornet, being ſlain with a thruſt thorow the ſight of his Bever, and a Page falling in the ſame place, who wore a great Plume like that of the Kings, it was commonly believed of all that the King himſelf was dead: upon which miſtake, the Squadron began to break, ſome yielding back to the right, ſome to the left hand: But the Kings Horſe and Plume being known afterwards, he himſelf fighting deſperately with his Sword in his hand in the firſt rank, and with his voice exhorting thoſe that were near to follow him, they turned, and ſhut themſelves cloſe together all in the ſame place, and taking their ſecond Piſtols, fought with the wonted valour of the French Nobility: ſo that all impediments being overcome and broken to pieces, they at length overthrew the Enemy with an exceeding great ſlaughter, and made them turn their backs; and being mingled with them, purſued them, terribly wounding and killing, to the very entry of the Wood, into which the Reiters alſo, being diſordered, firſt falling foul upon their Cannon, and then ſometimes upon one Squadron, ſometimes upon another, were retreated, without ever turning their faces, to their own infinite diſhonour, and the no leſs prejudice of their Army. Almoſt at the ſame inſtant, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, relieved by the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, who fell in upon the flank, had routed the Vanguard of the Duke of *Nemours*; and the Count of *Schombergh*, relieved by the Baron *de Byron*, had likewiſe beaten the Reerguard of the Chevalier *d' Aumale*; and the Grand Prior, having rallied his Light-horſe, had broken and done great execution upon thoſe of the Spaniards and Bourguignons, who ſhut up the Reerguard in the very uttermoſt parts of the Army: ſo that all the Cavalry of the League being diſordered and put to flight, had left the field free unto the Enemy; and fleeing with all ſpeed, made towards *Ivry*, to ſave themſelves by paſſing the River.

1590.

A page being ſlain who wore a great white Feather like the Kings, it was thought the King himſelf was killed

The Cavalry of the League being defeated, ſave themſelves by flight.

But the Victory was neither ſecure nor pleaſing in the Kings Camp, becauſe they did not yet ſee the Kings Perſon; and the firſt news of his death that was diſperſed, was yet believed true by many: nor would there have been any joy in the Army, if he had not appeared

1590. appeared at the head of his Squadron, wherewith he had routed and purſued the Enemies: But at his appearance, who had put off his Helmet to be better known, that joyful cry of *Vive le Roy* was reiterated, which in the beginning had given an happy Omen of the end of the Battel. The Infantry of the League remained untouched, but invironed on all ſides by the Kings Forces. The Swiſſes made ſhew as if they would defend themſelves; but ſeeing that the Cannon were bringing up to rake thorow and break them, they took a reſolution to yield; which the King ſeeing, becauſe he would not exaſperate that Nation, whoſe friendſhip was nearly to be valued, aſſoon as they had laid down their Colours and Arms upon the ground, they were received, and quarter given them by the Mareſchal *de Byron*. The Germans thought to have done the like; but being the ſame who having been raiſed with the Kings money, had revolted to the Duke of *Lorain*, and with a mercenary ſpirit had born Arms in favour of the League, after they had ordered their Pikes, and laid down their Colours, were by the Kings command all cut in pieces, for a puniſhment of their perfidiouſneſs. The French Infantry that yielded, had their lives given them: for the King from the very beginning of the Victory, having, to gain the general love, cried out aloud often times, that the ſtrangers ſhould be put to the Sword, but the French ſaved alive: the ſame voice being taken up by the whole Army, thorow all parts of the field, and every one, even in the fury of the Battel, enjoying the benefit of this remarkable clemency, the French that yielded themſelves were received without any difficulty. Theſe things being diſpatched with very great haſte, and the Army remaining Maſter of the whole field, the King rallying his men in order, followed towards *Yvry*, whither the Enemy was gotten; in which place the tumult was dreadful, and the confuſion miſerable: for the Duke of *Mayenne* having paſſed the Bridge, had cauſed it to be broken down, that the Enemy might not have means to follow him: Whereupon a great number of Run-a-ways crowding and ſtopping one another, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the place, and of the deep dirt that was in the Town, did in that terrible hurly-burly delay and hinder their own flight; which diſorder the Kings Infantry being come up, who fleſh'd with the ſlaughter of the Germans, purſued fiercely to deſtroy their Enemies, many precipitated with fear, reſolved to venture the wading over the River, which being deep of it ſelf, and ſwelled by the abundance of rain, the greater part of them were miſerably drowned. But the Reiters not having the heart to hazard themſelves in the water, cut off their horſes legs, that they might ſerve them for a Breſt-work, and reſolved now to give that proof of their valour and courage, which they ſhould much more fitly have done in the Battel. This execution, rather than fight, laſted above an hour: for the Muskets playing upon them on all ſides from the higher grounds and places of advantage, deſtroyed thoſe reliques in ſuch manner, that very few of them remained alive; but not without much blood; for many of the Conquerours, by their too haſty deſire of getting to them, were either choaked in the mud, and ſlaughter of dead bodies, or ſlain by the Reiters with their Piſtols. The Duke of *Nemours*, the Chevalier *d' Aumale*, *Baſſompierre*, *Rhoſne*, the Viſcount *de Tavannes*, and others, took a different way, and paſſing by the Wood ſide, with a longer, but more ſecure journey, retired to *Chartres* without being followed. The Duke, Colonel St. *Paul*, *Montſignor di Portia*, and a great many Gentlemen who eſcaped from the Battel, having fled ſeven leagues with very great ſpeed, came to *Mante*, into which Town they were received the ſame evening, though the people at firſt wavered in their reſolution. The King omitted not to proſecute them in the heat; but not being able to paſs at the Bridge of *Yvry*, which was already broken and beaten down; to avoid the danger of whirlpools, he was forced to go about, and ford the River near *Anet*; by which delay having loſt above two hours time, he could not poſſibly overtake the Enemy, but quartered in a Village called *Rhoſny*, a league from *Mante*, where the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, the Grand Prior, and the Duke of *Montpenſier* arrived alſo; the Mareſchal *de Byron* ſtaying behind with the Infantry and the remainder of the Army.

The Swiſſes have quarter given them.

The Dutch that had been raiſed by the King, and had taken Arms for the League are put to the Sword.

The Kings clemency towards the French.

The Reiters of the League being reduced to neceſſity, fight till they are all deſtroyed.

There died that day, what by the Sword, what in the paſſing of the River, above ſix thouſand of the Army of the League, among which the Count *d' Egmont*, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the Sieur *de la Chaſtaigneraye*. There were taken the Sieur de *Cygogne*, who carried the Dukes white Cornet, the Count of *Anfriſt*, a German, the Marquiſs *de Magnelay*, the Sieurs *de Bois-Dauphin*, *de Medavid*, *de Long-champ*, *de Flandre*, *de Fontaine Martel*, and their Colonels, *Teniſſay*, *Diſemieux*, and *Chaſteliere*.

Six thouſand of the League ſlain.

The

The Conquerors took twenty Cornets of Horſe, the Standard of the Flemiſh Lances, the Banner of the Colonel of the Reiters, Four and twenty Enſigns of the *Swiſſes*, Sixty French Colours, Eight pieces of Cannon, with all the Baggage and Ammunition which followed the Camp. The number of the dead on the Kings ſide, were not above Five hundred, among which the Sieur *de Clermont*, Captain of his Guards, one of the German Colonels, the Sieur *de Crenay*, who carried the Duke of *Montpenſiers* Cornet, the Sieur *de Loncaunay*, a Norman Gentleman, who being Threeſcore and twelve years old, died fighting in the fury of the Battel, and the Marqueſs *de Neſle*, who being left wounded upon the ground, died within a little while after. Among the wounded, who in all were not full Two hundred, were the Baron *de Byron*, the Counts of *Choyſy* and *Lude*, *Maximilian de Bethune*, Sieur *de Roſny*, and the Sieurs *de Montluet*, *d' O*, and *de Lavargne*, of which hurts, they were cured within a few dayes without any danger. 1590.

Two hundred and four Enſigns and Cornets taken by the King, with all their Cannon, and Baggage: On his ſide but Five hundred ſlain.

This was the Battel fought in the field of *Yvry*, upon the Fourteenth day of *March*; wherein, as the Kings valor appeared eminent, and his prudence wonderful; ſo there was no doubt, but that, after him, the firſt praiſes belonged to the Mareſchal *d' Amont*, the Baron *de Byron*, and the Duke of *Montpenſier*; ſince that the firſt two in the beginning of the day, fighting gallantly, repelled the violence of the Flemiſh Lances, who were victoriouſly come up to their very Cannon; and in the latter end they defeated the Carabines, who having done much miſchief to the King's Squadron, roving afterwards up and down, and wheeling about the Field, did furiouſly infeſt, and hinder all the other Squadrons of the Victory: And the Duke of *Montpenſier* charging the Enemies Right Wing, wherein was the flower of their youth, though his Horſe were killed under him, he being fain to fight deſperately, in very great danger, to get upon another, and that before his eyes the Sieur *de Crenay* was ſlain, who carried his Cornet, which he was fain to recover with much hazard; yet fought he with ſo great courage, that the enemies being routed and ſcattered, he was one of the firſt that followed the King in the purſuit of thoſe that fled.

But in all the revolutions of the Battel, which was for the moſt part between the Cavalry on both ſides, the bravery of the French Gentry appeared very ſingular, who fighting for no other reward, ſave only honor, being excellently well armed, and gallantly mounted, had ſtill the victory in all encounters, though fighting often with Swords and Piſtols againſt the violence of Lances; they alſo did ſometimes find the diſadvantage of thoſe Weapons, which their own conveniency, not the Direction or Diſcipline of their Commanders had taught them to make uſe of. On the other ſide, the error of the Viſcount *de Tavannes* was very remarkable, in placing the Diviſions ſo near and cloſe together, that they could not turn without falling foul upon one another; ſo that not onely the Reiters, who were much feared, became uſeleſs; but even the Duke of *Mayenne*, who with great conduct diſ-engaged himſelf from that ſo great diſorder, was fain after to loſe the effect and vigor of his Lances: Which notable example teaches, That in matters of War, Prudence, and bravery of Courage, ought in a Commander to be alſo accompanied with a ſtrong and perfect conſtitution of body, free from all defects. Nor was the vanity of the Flemmings leſs conſiderable; who out of a pride to turn their horſe-tails upon the Cannon, diſordered themſelves in ſuch manner, that it was very eaſie to break into them, and beat them back: For if with the ſame fury, wherewith they charged thorough the Grand Priors Squadron, they had ruſhed upon the Duke of *Montpenſier* who followed him, and had been backed by the Duke of *Nemours*, who ſhould preſently have given him a ſecond charge, the Victory might very eaſily by that means have inclined in favour of the League. At the ſame time, the Kings Juſtice and Clemency, worthy of eternal glory, appeared likewiſe; who, with an example of memorable ſeverity, commanded, that the Germans who had broken their Faith, ſhould all be put to the ſword to the laſt man: And on the other ſide, with exceeding great benignity, he received not onely thoſe who yielded voluntarily, but even thoſe alſo who fighting conſtantly were taken priſoners. His wiſdom alſo and policy in Government was noted by many; for knowing how much the Gentry love the Gentry, which are like themſelves, and how nearly thoſe very men are linked, either in blood or friendſhip, who in Civil Wars charge one another in a hoſtile manner, he ſhewed a very great and anxious care, even to the commanding with a hoarſe voice, and crying aloud thorough the field every moment, that the French Gentry ſhould be ſpared; which act was ſo plauſible and po-

1590. pular, that it gained him the eternal love of his own ſoldiers, and no ſmall praiſe from his very enemies; every one confeſſing him to be a worthy King, and a worthy Father, who, with ſo much affection, ſpared the blood of his Subjects and Sons, though they were diſobedient and rebellious. His familiarity likewiſe gave great ſatisfaction; for ſupping in publick at *Roſny* the ſame night, he would needs have his Commanders ſit with him at the ſame Table, adding theſe memorable words, *That thoſe who had been partakers of the ſame dangers, ought worthily alſo to be partakers of the ſame conveniencies and honors:* And, while Supper laſted, calling all thoſe that were preſent by their Names, praiſing, cheriſhing, and thanking even the meaneſt ſoldier, with demonſtrations (in his preſent weakneſs) of a full gratitude of mind in time to come, he filled all men with wonderful great hope, and infinite deſire to follow him: Arts, to ſay truth, admirably well ſuted to the narrowneſs of his preſent condition, and to the urgent need he had of the help of every particular man.

After the Victory, the King made his Commanders ſup with him at *Roſny* familiarly, ſpeaking to every one, and praiſing even the meaneſt Soldier.

The news of this defeat came the next day to *Paris*, brought by the Sieur *de Tremblay*, who being a priſoner upon his Parole, had not been engaged in the Battel, and had had opportunity to retire with the firſt: Which news being told by him to the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, deputed Chancellor, and head of the Council of the League, was afterward communicated to the Legat, and the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, every one of which being exceedingly diſmaid, feared with reaſon, that this news would make the people riſe, and very much diſturb the City of *Paris*, which expecting every hour to be eaſed of its diſtreſſes by the ſucceſs of a Victory, being now deprived of all hope to free its ſelf of the ſtraightneſs of its preſent condition by the way of Arms and Force, would think of doing it by way of compoſition and agreement; hunger being the quickeſt and ſharpeſt ſpur that can ſtir up an Inſurrection among the common people, who, not withheld with the Bridle of Decency, is alwayes moſt prone to follow their preſent profit; wherefore, deſirous to remedy that inconvenience as much as poſſibly they could, after long deliberation they determined, that the Preachers (in whom the People had a wonderful great Faith) ſhould be the relaters of the news of this Battel in their Sermons, endeavouring, with the wonted effects of Eloquence, to confirm their courages, and perſwade them ſtoutly to reſiſt the croſsneſs of their preſent fortune. The firſt of them that executed this charge, was Don *Chriſtino de Nizza*, who, Preaching to the People upon the Sixteenth day of *March* being Friday, in the firſt part of his Diſcourſe, took an occaſion to bring in theſe words, *Quos ego amo, arguo & caſtigo*; upon which he enlarged himſelf, foretelling, that God would not fail to prove the Faith and conſtancy of the Pariſians, as by infinite examples of Scripture he gave clear teſtimony, that he was wont to try the courage of his Children; and then in the ſecond part, being come into the Pulpit, with Letters in his hand, which ſeemed to be delivered to him at that inſtant, he lamented that he had not that day done the office of a Preacher, but of a Prophet; and that God had been pleaſed by his mouth to advertiſe the People of *Paris*, of that temptation which was to fall upon them, as now it troubled him to relate; ſince that the Catholick Army having fought with the Enemy two dayes before, was come off with the worſt; to which news, he, with the force of his Eloquence added ſo many, and ſo effectual Prayers and Exhortations, that the people who hearkened to him, did not onely not ſtir in the leaſt manner whatſoever, but ſhewed themſelves moſt ready to perſevere in the defence of themſelves, and of Religion, without fearing the heavy tryals of a future ſiege or famine. The ſame did *Guilliaume Roſe*, *Boucher*, *Prevoſt*, and all the other Preachers; and laſt of all *Monſignor Franceſco Panigarola*, who, though he Preached in the Italian Tongue, was nevertheleſs continually followed by abundance of perſons, by reaſon of the fame of his Eloquence.

Father *Chriſtino* of *Nizza* tells the Pariſians in the Pulpit, of the defeat, and makes them reſolve to endure any thing for the Catholick Religion, taking an occaſion to diſcourſe of theſe words, *Thoſe whom I love I rebuke and chaſten.*

The Duke of *Mayenne* came three dayes after; but not having the heart to appear in ſight of the Pariſians; and fearing thoſe Tragical accidents which of late years had been ſeen very frequent among the people, he ſtaid at St. *Denis*, whither the Cardinal Legat, the Ambaſſador *Mendozza*, the Commendatory *Morreo*, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and the Sieur *de Villeroy* came to him: and, at laſt, the principal Deputies of the Pariſians, by whom (but much more by his ſiſter Madam *de Montpenſier*, who by the quickneſs of her wit upheld the Affairs of the League exceedingly) having underſtood the good inclination of the People to perſevere conſtantly in their defence: firſt praiſing ſo generous a reſolution, he afterwards diſcourſed with them about the ſtate of preſent matters, ſhewing, That the loſs of the Battel having proceeded rather from the diſorders of the Reiters, and ſeveral accidenta

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chances, than from the great Forces of the Enemy; and his Army, eſpecially the Ca- 1590
valry, being rather routed than defeated, he hoped within a ſhort time to draw toge-
ther a Body of men more powerful than the former: That he could not doubt either
the Pope or the Catholick would be wanting to Religion, and to the conſervation of
the State; and ſo much the rather, by how much the need appeared to be more ur-
gent; and that thereby they ſhould within a few weeks ſee a greater Army on foot,
with which, freſh, and entire in ſtrength, he doubted not to ſubdue the wearied and ti-
red Troops of the *Navarrois*: That all conſiſted in oppoſing the firſt on-ſet, and in
valiantly ſupporting the firſt brunt of the ſiege which he was confident was preparing
againſt *Paris*; for the defence whereof, he would willingly have ſhut himſelf up in the
City, and, by his example, have taught them how to endure hunger, (for as for any
other danger, there was nothing to be feared from the Enemy) but that it was gene-
rally much more profitable for all, and particularly for the reliefe of the Pariſians, that
he ſhould march to the confines of *Picardy*, to gather an Army with all ſpeed, and re-
ceive ſupplies from *Flanders* and *Lorain*, and thence with ſufficient Forces to return and
raiſe the ſiege; which he was certain, if they had but patience to ſuffer a little in-
convenieney, would, in the end, prove vain and fruitleſs: That in his ſtead he would
leave his brother the D. of *Nemours*, a youth of wonderful high courage, and his Couſin
the Chevalier *d' Aumale*, to command the Soldiers, and have care of the Military
part of their defence; and for other things, the Cardinal-Legat, and the Miniſters of
the Catholick King being there, and ſeconded by the ardent zeal of the Council of
*Sixteen*, he could not doubt, but all things would be managed with that prudence
which need required: That to ſhew how little he feared the City could fall into the
Enemies hands, and for a pledge of the ſpeedy relief which he meant to make ready
for them, he would leave his Mother, Wife, Siſter, and Children in the City, to beat
part in that fortune which the Citizens ſhould run: That finally, there being no-
thing elſe requiſite, but to perſwade the people, and reſiſt the greedineſs of the belly,
he could not doubt of a happy iſſue, with the exaltation of the League, and total ſub-
verſion of his enemies. All of them commended his advice, and the Heads of the
people promiſed to keep united and conſtant in defending the place to the laſt man; be-
ſeeching him onely to uſe all the ſpeed he could poſſibly, to prevent the extremities
of the peoples ſufferings, who, for Religion, and in hope of his promiſes, diſpoſed
themſelves boldly to meet all thoſe many weighty dangers which they ſaw hang over
their heads. The next day the Duke departed towards *Picardy* to meet with the D. of
*Parma*, General for the Catholick King in the Low-Countries, knowing that to be the
principal point; and that if the Spaniards lent not their aſſiſtance in a conſiderable
manner to him, it would be a very difficult buſineſs to get a ſufficient Army to raiſe the
ſiege, and relieve *Paris*: and in the City they began with infinite diligence to repair
the Walls, to ſcowre the Moats, to caſt up Works, to diſpoſe their Artillery, to arm the
People, and principally to provide whatſoever they poſſibly could againſt the imminent
neceſſity of hunger.

In the mean time *Mante* and *Vernon* had yielded themſelves to the King ſince the
Victory, in which places he was conſtrained to ſtay longer than he intended: for the
extremity of ill weather, and continual abundance of Rain, had not onely overflowed
the fields, and made the wayes exceeding deep, but had made it impoſſible to lie in the
Field, or march with Cannon and Baggage; for men and horſes could hardly ſave
themſelves and be ſecure within the ſhelter of houſes. In which time notice came to
the King of another encounter which had happened in the Province of *Auvergne*, neat
the Wall of *Iſſoire*, where the Sieurs *de Florat* and *Chaſeron*, who were for him, had
routed and ſlain the Count of *Randan*, who commanded for the League; and with the
death of about Two hundred of the Enemy, had made themſelves maſters of the
place. Nor was it long before other news came from the Country of *Mayne*, where *Guy
de Lanſac*, who commanded the party of the League, and the Sieur *d' Hertre* Governor
of *Alancon*, Head of the King's Forces, charging one another, had not altered the wont-
ed event of things; but *Lanſac*, Three hundred of his men being ſlain, and the reſt
diſperſed, was fain to ſave himſelf by flight, leaving the King's Forces maſter of the
field in thoſe parts.

Theſe ſeveral diſaſters, the news whereof came to *Paris* one upon the neck of another,
did much perplex the thoughts of thoſe that governed; but above all, of the Cardinal-Le-
gat, upon whoſe ſhoulders lay the weight of all preſent affairs, every one thinking, that

1590. he, as one that represented the Pope's person, should, in a cause wherein Religion was the principal object, give supplies both of Men and Money for the relief of that adversity which the League was in at that time: and the Duke of *Mayenne* complained publickly concerning it, and wrote freely to the Pope, that his backwardness to help so necessary a Cause, was the principal occasion of all those evils. The Spanish Ministers made the same lamentations, being of opinion, that the Legat was the cause the Catholick King was not satisfied in his demands; and that while he, neglecting his own businesses, succoured the danger of Religion with Men and Money, the Pope keeping his Purse close, and nourishing ambiguous thoughts in his mind, did neither send those necessary supplies which he had often promised, nor consent to the satisfaction of the Catholick King, who, if his just demands had been yielded to, would have employed his utmost Forces for the common benefit. Nor were the Parisians backwarder in complaints than the rest, who groaning under their present necessities, and the extraordinary scarcity of provisions, did importunately beg to be assisted by the Legat, and relieved by the Pope, since they did all, and suffered all for the Catholick Faith, and for the service of the Holy Church: so that the Legat being surrounded by these troubles, was in wonderful great anxiety of mind; which was augmented to the extremity, when he understood, that by the Duke of *Luxembourg*'s arrival and negotiation, the Pope was almost utterly withdrawn from the designs of the League; and moreover, that he seemed ill satisfied at his being gone on to *Paris*, and that he had not rather stayed in some neutral place, as a disinteressed Mediatour between both parties, and as a labourer for such a Peace as might be effected without danger or damage to the Catholick Religion.

The Duke of *Luxembourg* was gone to *Rome* with the name of Ambassador from the Catholicks that followed the King, but indeed, to see if he could reconcile the King himself to the Pope, and to the Church, and to take away those opinions, which, being spread abroad by those of the League, were generally believed of him, that he was an obdurate Heretick, a persecutor of the Catholiks, obstinate, and disobedient to the Apostolick See, and a perverse enemy to the Church: Wherefore, having first made a little stay at *Venice*, to determine with that Senate what manner of proceeding was to be held; all things being resolved on with most prudent advice, he continued on his way boldly to *Rome*; where, having in his first audience, by the dexterousness of his carriage, introduced the Cause of the Catholicks into his discourse, he excused them for following the King, attributing it to be an advantage to the Catholick Religion, not to abandon the lawful King in the hands of the Hugonots, but to hold him on with protestations of service, and win him by modest seasonable instances to return into the bosome of the Church; which would absolutely have been despaired of, if being forsaken by them, he had been necessitated to have cast himself as a prey to Hereticks; he began afterwards to let the Pope know those interests, which, under a cloke of Piety, and under the name of Religion, did sway and govern the Lords of the League, how under that pretence, they sought to rob the lawful Successor of the Crown, to bring it into the power of stranger Princes, or to divide it into many parts, and so Canton the Kingdom; which, as in it self it was unjust by all Laws, both divine and Humane, so would it prove exceeding prejudicial to Religion it self, and to the See of *Rome*, which would come to lose that Crown that had ever held the protection of the Church, and bring it into the hands of many weak impotent Princes and Tyrants, or else unite it with the too great power of the Spaniards, to the general ruine: That it was much more just, much more easie, and much more profitable for the benefit of Christendom, to invite and perswade the King to his Conversion; which he not only shewed himself inclined to, with those means that were sutable and convenient for his honor, and which befitted a King of *France*; but to which, he was also brought by the necessity of his affairs, finding daily how little he could promise himself from the Hugonots, toward the attaining of the Crown, since that in all his most weighty occurrences, he had for the most part been attended and followed by the Forces of the Catholick Lords, who would fall off from him at last, if he should not resolve to return into the Church; which considerations accompanied with all their circumstances, set forth and amplified by the Dukes eloquence, made a deep impression in the Pope; to which, another motive of the Ambassadors being added, that his Holiness should not think the Catholicks that followed the King to be few and weak, but the best, soundest, and most considerable part of *France*, and that with the League there concurred very few of the Gentry, but a rabble of mean, disorderly common people;

people; and that not onely men of better quality, but alſo in a manner all the chiefeſt Prelates of the Kingdom followed the Kings party, upon caution of the promiſe he had made to turn Catholick, and forſake the rites of Calviniſm, ſtirred up in the Popes conſideration, beſides the fear of loſing the Kingdom of *France*, and increaſing the greatneſs of the Spaniard, this other weighty reſpect alſo; not to exaſperate ſo much Catholick Nobility united together, which it was moſt difficult to overcome by force; but to ſeek by milde remedies, and gentle wayes, to win the King, and procure the union of the Kingdom by the means of peace; and the Ambaſſador having affirmed unto him, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, *Lenon-court*, and *Gondy*, together with the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, and other Prelates, had offered the ſame conſiderations to the Legat, praying and exhorting him to ſtand neutral, till matters being come to the knowledge of his Holineſs, he might have been able to have given him ſuch Commiſſions as he ſhould have thought moſt convenient: The Pope began to ſuſpect no leſs than others, that Cardinal *Gaetano* was too much enclined to favour the deſigns of the Spaniards; and therefore did no longer give that belief, which was requiſite unto his Letters, and withheld his hand from furniſhing them with more money; wherefore the Legat being encompaſſed with many difficulties, either to take off that ſuſpicion that lay upon him, of his depending too much upon the King of *Spain*, or ſeeking to recover that name of Neutral, and diſ-intereſſed, which perchance he might more wiſely have maintained from the beginning; or endeavouring to hinder the ſiege of *Paris* (as he affirmed and told the Spaniſh Miniſters) invited the Mareſchal *de Byron* to a meeting with him at *Noyſy*, a Caſtle of Cardinal *Condy's*, a dayes journey from *Paris*, to find out ſome remedy to put an end to the preſent miſeries, which not diſpleaſing the King, for whom it was, by all means, good to ſhew an affection to the Apoſtolick See; and that he was not backward to do what lay in him, to put an end to the War, the interview was agreed upon, and performed within a very few dayes. 1590.

Pope *Sixtus* V. grows jealous, that Cardinal *Gaetano* is inclined to favor the Spaniſh deſigns.

There met on the Kings ſide the Mareſchal *de Byron*, the Baron *de Giury*, Secretary *Revol*, the Sieur *Liancourt*, and *de la Verriere*: And on the other, the Cardinal Legat, the Sieur *de Villeroy*, the Marquiſs of *Belin*, and other Lords of the League. Their reception was very honorable on both ſides, but the event fruitleſs: For the Legat trying either to perſwade the Catholicks to forſake the King, or without any ſure foundation of peace, to delay the ſiege of *Paris*, which was already ſet in a way; and on the other ſide, the Mareſchal labouring to get the Cardinal Legat to come to the King, and exhort him to turn to the Catholick Religion, with ſecurity to bring all his Subjects unto their obedience, who had alienated themſelves for reſpect of Religion; intentions ſo diverſe, could not agree, and the wiſdom of both parts did not ſuffer the one to make it ſelf ſuperior to the other, ſo they parted again without fruit or concluſion, the Legat having neither obtained the name of Neutral, nor the revolt of the Catholicks from the King, nor the diverting of the ſiege, which perhaps was his principal aim in the procuring of that meeting. Yet neither was all treating utterly broken off by this parting: for the Sieur *de Villeroy*, either with a hope of concluding a good Accommodation, or for the ſame end of delaying the Kings coming, did, with the Duke of *Mayennes* conſent, introduce a Treaty of this buſineſs with the Sieur *de Pleſſis Mornay*, a great Confident, and ancient ſervant of the Kings; but being a Hugonot, very unproper for the preſent buſineſs.

The Cardinal Legat meets with the Mareſchal *de Byron*; divers things are treated of without any concluſion.

But the King not loſing time, for all the Treaty of Peace, and knowing, that by how much more the Enemy was ſtraitned, ſo much more advantageous would be the conditions of Agreement, was wholly intent upon taking in thoſe places near the City, and upon making himſelf maſter of all thoſe Paſſes, by which proviſions were brought thither, in ſhutting up the Paſſages of the Rivers, and cutting off the ways into the Country; by this means to obtain that by the neceſſity of hunger, which was in a manner impoſſible for him to imagine could be done by force of Arms. To which end, marching with his Army from *Mante* upon the Twenty ninth of *March*, he poſſeſt himſelf without difficulty of *Cheureuſe*, *Montl'hery*, *Lagny*, and *Corbeil*, all places proper to block up the City; and upon the fifth of *April* ſate down before *Melun*. *Melun* is a little Town, but well fortified, ſeven Leagues diſtant from *Paris*, through which run two Currents of the River *Seine*, and therefore is divided into three parts by the Stream, and onely joyned together by Bridges. Monſieur *de Forone* was in it with ſixty Horſe, and Five hundred Foot, but little proviſion of things neceſſary for their defence, and by terror of the Victory not of too reſolute a courage: Yet made they a ſhew as

*Melun* ſtands upon the *Seine* above *Paris*.

if

1590. if they would ſtand out, and the rather, becauſe Five hundred Townſmen well armed and experienced were joyned with them: But the Raveline of the Gate being battered with ſeven pieces of Cannon, and two very great Culverines, the Kings Foot (now accuſtomed to maſter great difficulties) aſſaulted it with ſo much fury, that though the breach was very narrow, and high from the ground, yet entred they both the Raveline and the Gate, killing above ſixty of the defendents, who retiring into the further part, beyond the ſecond Bridge, and oppoſite to the Town, ſet fire on the place they quitted, to keep the aſſailants, who were at their heels, from being able to follow them; many houſes were burned, and the reſt furiouſly ſacked by the violence of the Soldiers. But the other part of the Town whither the defendents were retired, being altogether deprived of the means of making reſiſtance, agreed to yield (as it did) if within two dayes there came no relief.

*The ſiege and taking of Melun by the Kings Army.*

The King being lodged there perſonally in the Suburbs, the Sieur *de Villeroy* having a ſafe conduct, came unto him, and perceiving that the Sieur *du Pleſſis*, for fear the King ſhould change his Religion, did not go on heartily in the Treaty of Agreement, he had obtained leave, by the means of the Sieur *de la Verriere*, to have admittance to the King himſelf, and to that end was come thither unto him. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was already gotten to *Soiſſons*, had refuſed at firſt to give way that *Villeroy* ſhould enter into this Treaty, thinking it might be aſcribed to want of courage in their preſent fortune; but afterward, whether he ſought by making the Spaniards jealous of a peace, to ſtir them up to the giving of greater and more reſolute ſupplies, or that he hoped to delay the ſiege of *Paris* by the hope of an Accommodation, or that he ſought by this means to penetrate into the Kings deſigns and intentions, or that all theſe ends moved him together, he permitted *Villeroy* to meet, and to introduce that negotiation; for which purpoſe, being come to *Melun*, and kindly received by the King, he began (with his wonted efficacy, not accompanied with very deep Learning, but naturally copious and powerful in ſpeech) to repreſent unto him, how being anxious for the danger and calamity of his Country, and deſirous to ſee it out of thoſe ruinous diſtractions, wherein it periſhed miſerably, he had obtained leave from the Duke of *Mayenne*, Head of the party of the League, to come unto his Majeſty, to ſee if any remedy could be found, whereby diſcords being compoſed and buried, a happy Peace might be procured; that he hoped (nay, was certain) that His Majeſty would have no leſs deſire to end the Civil Wars, and reſtore the former quiet and tranquility to that Kingdom, which God, Nature, and his Valor had deſtined to him; that the onely means to attain ſo great a good, was very eaſie, and depended wholly upon his own will; for the ſum conſiſting onely in the point of Religion, the Duke of *Mayenne* proffered to acknowledge and obey him, as ſoon as he, at the Petition of the Catholicks (not at all for fear, or for their threatnings) ſhould reſolve to return into the boſome of the Holy Church: Wherefore, upon his will depended, not onely the ſetling of peace in the Kingdom; but alſo the making himſelf the moſt flouriſhing, moſt powerful, moſt obeyed, and moſt reverenced Prince that *France* had ſeen of many years; that the preſent conjuncture of time was very ſeaſonable for that reſolution; for having conquered and overcome his enemies with the Sword, it could not be ſaid, that his converſion was cauſed by fear, or that he imbraced the Catholick Religion by force, but that good would be attributed to his own will, his own conſcience, and his own election: That this opportune and wholeſome effect would make his Victory twice as fruitful and happy, as his vertue had made it glorious and magnificent; and he might thereby attain that true end which ought to be proper to all Victories (eſpecially thoſe in Civil Wars) which is, The enjoying of Peace: for, that goodneſs of his would bring more Cities under his ſubjection in one day, than he could take by the force of his Arms (though victorious) in the courſe of his whole life: That by proſecuting Victory with the Sword, would enſue an infinite number of miſchiefs, and lamentable calamities; the ruining of Fortreſſes, ſacking of Cities, ſlaughters of Men, deſolation of Countries; which all redounded to his own loſs, who naturally was the maſter of them: but, the War ending by this converſion, the Victory would redound to the general ſecurity, tranquility, ſafety, and happineſs, which ought to be more dear to him, being a lawful Prince, than all the Victories that could be imagined in the World: That His Majeſty ought to conſider, though his Victory had been great and ſignal, yet had it neither diſmayed the Cities, nor terrified the adherents of the League in ſuch manner, that any of them had been moved by it to forſake their party, and yield themſelves up to his devotion;

*The Sieur de Villeroy being come to Melun to treat an Agreement with the King, perſwades him by many reaſons to turn Catholick, and propounds a Ceſſation of Arms.*

devotion; the reaſon whereof was only the power and command which Religion hath in the hearts of men, which perſwaded every one to ſuffer all the calamities which could be preſented to imagination, rather than put their ſoul and conſcience in danger: but if the common people of their ſide, perſwaded by this reſpect, were ſo conſtant, he might think, by conſequence, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Heads of that party, the Pope, and the Catholick King, would be much more conſtant, being reſolved to employ all their Forces for the ſecuring of Religion: That he knew well, and had often had experience of it in his Hugonots, that the reſpect of Religion is ſo great, that it makes mens minds invincible, and can neither be tamed by Arms nor Force: That it would be a prudent conſideration, to foreſee how much uſe ſtrangers might make of this pretence of Religion for their advantage; which, if in former times it had perſwaded the Hugonots to make Agreements with the *Engliſh*, it would be no wonder if the urgency of preſent neceſſity ſhould force the Catholicks to conſent unto the demands of the *Spaniards*: That this danger ought to be foreſeen and prevented by ſecuring mens Conſciences, and not reducing them to utter deſperation: That his Majeſty ſhould ſet before his eyes how many Cities he muſt of neceſſity aſſault, how many Provinces he muſt ſubdue, how many other Armies he muſt conquer, how many Fortreſſes he muſt take in, before he could ſettle himſelf King in peace by means of War: And that he might overcome all thoſe difficulties in one day, by ſatisfying his ſubjects in point of Religion: That his Victory had been great, but that it was neceſſary to ſecure it from the inconſtancy of fortune; which he might do, not by hazarding new enterpriſes, but by moderation, and the ſatisfaction of his ſubjects: That time and opportunity invited him to that worthy and holy reſolution, and not to ſtay till the Duke, and the other Heads of the League, ſhould be ſo nearly engaged and intereſſed with the Catholick King (whoſe aſſiſtance was neceſſary while the War continued) that they would no longer have power to diſpoſe of themſelves: in concluſion, That both duty and profit were joyned together in this reſolution: for having received ſo great a bleſſing from God, it was no longer time to defer his Converſion, ſince now by the favour of his Divine Majeſty, he might do it with reputation and glory, and without ſuſpicion of baſeneſs of mind, or meanneſs of ſpirit. 1590.

The King anſwered graciouſly, That he commended the Sieur *de Villeroy*'s intention to endeavour the peace of the Kingdom, and was glad to hear that the Duke of *Mayenne* was well diſpoſed to it: That he acknowledged the Victory he had obtained, firſt from the hand of God, and then from his Nobility: That God, the Protector of Juſtice and Right, had protected his Cauſe; and that thoſe invincible Lords and Gentlemen that followed him, had been the inſtruments of his Divine mercy: That the Kingdom appertained to him of right, by a direct and natural ſucceſſion, and by a lawful way known to all; ſo that forraign Princes were moſt manifeſtly to blame for diſturbing him in the poſſeſſion of it; and much more his Subjects, for denying him their due obedience: That he had never offended any, nor deſerved ſo unjuſt an oppoſition as was made againſt him: That he had alwayes moderately and modeſtly defended himſelf, and had done neither violence nor injury to forraign Princes, nor to the Subjects of the Crown, for which they now had any reaſon to revenge themſelves; but that when he called to mind the miraculous power, and merciful favour of God, wherewith he had preſerved him in the times of his weakneſs and miſeries, and had defended him from ſo many, and ſo long perſecutions, when the whole World ſeemed to have conſpired againſt him, he could not believe his Divine Majeſty would leave ſo great a work unperfect, but was aſſured in himſelf that he would look upon the juſtice of his Cauſe, and thoſe Prayers which he to that end always made unto him from the bottom of his heart; and therefore he neither feared the Arms of *Spain*, nor the Forces of Rebels, but truſted in God, and the faithfulneſs of his Nobility, that he ſhould ruine and defeat them: That he knew well, modeſty and moderation were more profitable in Victory, than at another time; but he neither pretended to oppreſs nor wrong any body, but only to make himſelf be rightfully obeyed by thoſe who by nature were his ſubjects, and put under his authority: That his aim was to be King indeed, as he was by right; and that the end of the D. of *Mayenne*, and thoſe that followed him, ought to be, to live in peace, ſecurity, and honor, under the obedience of that King which God and Nature had appointed for them by lawful ſucceſſion: That in this he was ready to give them all ſecurity, and all ſatisfaction, and to afford them a gracious ſhare in his favour, without ever calling to memory what was paſt: That he deſired to conquer

The King's Anſwer to the Sieur *de Villeroy*.

Moderation more profitable in Victory than at another time.

1590. quer rather by pardon, benignity, and liberality, than by the Sword, as well becauſe it was the ſhorter way, as becauſe it was ſutable to his genius and nature, averſe from blood and revenge, and inclined to do good unto his Subjects, and to pacifie the troubles of his Kingdom: That it belonged to him to give the Law unto his Subjects, and not to receive Conditions from them; yet nevertheleſs, if, jealous of their Conſciences, and of Religion, they deſire to ſecure it any way, he would give them all convenient ſatisfaction; and that the candour and firmneſs of his Faith was already known to every one by many proofs; which having never broken for the time paſt, he was moſt fully reſolved never to break for the time to come: That the Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen that followed him, which were much more numerous than thoſe that followed the Duke, had contented themſelves with the promiſe he had made them, and with the ſecurity he had given them, that they ſhould live peacefully, in their conſcience, liberty, and religion, and that therefore the others ought to be contented with the ſame; and being ſecured in their own particulars, ought to permit him to think of his own ſalvation, by thoſe means which it ſhould pleaſe the Lord to inſpire into him, in a ſeaſonable time, and a fitting convenient manner. Then he asked the Sieur *de Villeroy*, if he had ſeen his Promiſe and Declaration made after the death of the late King: who anſwered him, That he had; and that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Lords of his party had ſeen it likewiſe; but that they all believed they could not in conſcience, upon any condition whatſoever, obey a King that was not a Catholick, but of a different Religion from that which they held by ſucceſſion from their anceſtors. To which the King replied, That he was neither Infidel, Pagan, nor Idolater; that he adored and ſerved the ſame God with the Catholicks; and that he eſteemed the Religion in which he had been bred up, not to be incompatible with the Roman: That in ſuch a caſe as concerned his Conſcience and Salvation, God was to work, and not men: That it ought to be done by kind gentle inſtruction, and not with Sword and Piſtol: That if he had not yielded to turn in the late King's time, when he ſaw his ruine and deſtruction before his face, much leſs would he do it at the requeſt of thoſe that rebelled againſt him, now that by the favour of God he had the upper hand: That he was not obſtinate, but would yield to the truth, and be informed and inſtructed in it; yet that he would ſatisfie his Conſcience in it: and if he left freedom of Belief unto his Subjects, it was not fit that he ſhould be conſtrained by them to do that in a raſh humour, which ought to be done with maturity of deliberation, and in the time prefixed by God's Divine will and pleaſure: That he was a man of Conſcience, and one that eſteemed more the ſalvation of his Soul, than all earthly things; and therefore he would go very circumſpectly about that buſineſs, with due and convenient cautions. The Sieur *de Villeroy* replied, That becauſe he was by all accounted a Conſcientious Prince, affectionate to his Religion, every one doubted ſo much the more, that, being ſetled in his Kingdom, he would not tolerate his Subjects to live in a Religion different from his, and which he held to be falſe and damnable: That he had ever heard ſay, and even by *Theodore Beza* himſelf, in the Conference at *Poiſſy*, that the belief of the one is further from the other, than Heaven is from Earth; but that thoſe Diſputes were not to be made with Arms: That his Majeſty had alwayes ſaid he would cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed, but never came to the act of that inſtruction: That there wanted not Prelates and Doctors, who, in a ſhort time, might certifie him of the truth: That it was not good to foment War any longer, and let Diſcords run on without end, but, by the obſervation of his promiſes, to comfort all his Subjects, as well thoſe that had gotten the Victory, as the others, who for the zeal of Religion, ſtood alienated from him: Finally, That it could no longer be ſaid, that either contumacious or ſeditious perſons were cauſe of the War, things being now reduced to that point, that it was in his Majeſties power to give Peace by his Converſion; which if he ſhould not do, after ſo many promiſes, all future evils and calamities would be imputed to him, and to no other body. Theſe laſt words pierced the King's mind to the very quick, who anſwered, That he would take the Opinion of his good and faithful ſervants that followed him, and that therefore he would confer with them about it, and give his reſolution the day following: At which time, he, being already upon the point of his departure from *Melun*, ſent for the Sieur *de Villeroy*, and bad him return to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and tell him, That he took in good part what had been delivered from him, that he deſired to be reconciled, and to do good to every one, and particularly to the

Duke

Duke of *Mayenne*, and all the reſt of his Family, if by them he ſhould be aſſiſted to ſettle peace in the Kingdom, as they might eaſily do, and that in it he would give them all reaſonable ſatisfaction: That for the point of Religion, he had already contented thoſe Catholicks that followed him, who were many, of great extraction, of exceeding great ſtrength, and of profound wiſdom, to whoſe determination he thought all the reſt might accommodate themſelves: That if they deſired to have more ſecurity and caution for the preſervation of their Religion, and ſafety of their Conſciences, he was ready to give it moſt fully, having taken into conſideration, all that he had repreſented to him; but that he could not proceed to treat further with him, having no power nor authority at all from the Duke of *Mayenne*, to conclude any thing; but if Deputies and Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent unto him with ſufficient power, he would willingly admit them, uſe them well, and endeavour to give the Dukes party the greateſt and moſt compleat ſatisfaction that might be, out of his great deſire to free his people from the afflictions and calamities of Civil War. The Sieur *de Villeroy* anſwered, That his Majeſties conſideration of not treating, but with ſuch as had power to conclude, was very prudent and reaſonable; but that he ſhould remember, the Duke of *Mayenne* was not abſolute Maſter, but Head of his party, which hath relation to all the other members, without whoſe conſent he could not acknowledge his Majeſty to be King of *France*, nor determine in point of Religion: That it was neceſſary for him to conſer with them, and that they ſhould reſolve together; how his Majeſty having been ſo many years Head of his party, had by his own experience found, that that could not be done without delaying time; it being needful to unite thoſe that were intereſſed from ſo many ſeveral diſtant Provinces: That while the War was ſo hot, it was impoſſible to make that Aſſembly; wherefore a Ceſſation of Arms was neceſſary, or at leaſt a ſufficient number of paſſes, to draw thoſe together who were to deliberate about the ſum of affairs. At the naming a Ceſſation of Arms, the King replied ſuddenly, That that was not to be ſpoken of; for he would not by any delay, loſe the fruit of his Victory, nor ſlacken the progreſs of his Arms, having had experience of how great importance that was to the whole buſineſs; but that for the manner of aſſembling his party, he left the thought to the Duke of *Mayenne*, being reſolved not to forbear the proſecution of his Arms, no not for a moment: With this anſwer, and ſuch like diſcourſes had with the Mareſchal *de Byron*, *Villeroy* departed without any concluſion, either of Peace or Truce, and all the endeavours uſed to divert the ſiege of *Paris* proved ineffectual. 1590

The Sieur *de Villeroy* is diſmiſſed without concluſion, the King being reſolved not to grant a Ceſſation of Arms.

Wherefore, the King (to whom *Creſſy* and *Moret* (weak places) had ſurrendred themſelves, and *Provins*, a rich Town, but not ſtrong, though chief of the Province of *Brie*, and but twenty leagues from the City of *Paris*) marched to *Nangy*; where having re-united his Army, which had been divided to gain theſe places, he advanced upon the Fifteenth day of *April* to take other Towns which might ſtreighten and block up *Paris*; *Montereau*, *Bray*, *Comte-Robert*, and *Nogent* upon the *Seine*, yielded without reſiſtance; but *Mery*, a little place, having had the boldneſs to ſtand out, was by the violence of the Souldiers moſt furiouſly taken and ſacked. There remained on that ſide, the City *Sens*, a great Town, and affectionate to the League, ſeated upon the Confines of *Brie* and *Bourgogne*, wherein were the Sieur *de Chanvalon*, and the Marquiſs *Fortunato Malvicino*, but they agreed not well together; for *Chanvalon* ſought an opportunity to go over to the King, and to make his peace by giving up the City into his hands; but the Marquiſs on the other ſide would defend it, as his honour obliged him, having (as a ſtranger) no other aim but to ſhew himſelf a gallant Souldier, and to do ſervice for the Duke of *Nemours*, being Lieutenant of his Troop of *Gens d' Arms*; wherefore *Chanvalon* having treated ſecretly with the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, and exhorted the King to come before the Town, ſiege was laid unto it, the Cannon planted, and they began to batter, with hopes that ſome tumult might ariſe among the Citizens in favour of the King; but having, to try the conſtancy of the Defendents, made an aſſault, which the Marquiſs and thoſe of the Town reſiſted valiantly, the King not willing to loſe time about that place, which was not very neceſſary, and interrupt his deſign upon *Paris*, wherein conſiſted the ſum of his affairs, raiſed the ſiege without delay, and minded the taking and fortifying of thoſe other places, which might cut off the paſſage of proviſions to *Paris*.

In the mean time the Cardinal Legat, anxious and ſollicitous, both for his own danger, and the imminent ſiege of the Pariſians, had cauſed a new Treaty of Agreement

1590. *Marc' Antonio Mocenigo* Biſhop of *Ceneda* treats with the Mareſchal *de Byron*, and propounds a Ceſſation of Arms; but it is not accepted.

to be introduced between the Biſhop of *Ceneda*, and the Mareſchal *de Byron*, for which purpoſe, the Biſhop came to *Bray*, to confer with the Mareſchal; and as one, who becauſe he was a Venetian, and ſo of a Country favourable to the Kings affairs, had freer acceſs than any other, he treated with a great deal of liberty about his Converſion; and afterwards deſcended to ſpeak about a Ceſſation of Arms, by means whereof they might have leiſure to negotiate Peace maturely on either ſide; but this attempt was no leſs vain than the reſt, the King being reſolved not to delay the progreſs of his Arms; and by how much the more the Enemy laboured for it, ſo much the more unwilling was he to allow them any ſpace to take breath; and the more he ſaw the Lords of the League intent upon gaining time to get Armies and Supplies, the more did he enter into a ſecure hope, within a while, to obtain the City of *Paris* by means of a ſiege, without danger, and without blood. Wherefore all things proving contrary to the Biſhops deſign, he procured to confer perſonally with the King, but in ſuch manner as it might ſeem to have hapned by chance, and not to have been ſought by him; which having ſpoken of to the Abbot *del Bene*, he brought to paſs, that the King ſhould go forth betimes in the morning a hunting, and that the Biſhop ſhould depart a little later to return to *Paris*, ſo that they met, as it were, accidentally upon the way; which incounter began with kind ſalutations, and then riding together a good part of the way, the Biſhop entred into the diſcourſe which he had intended to make, exhorting the King to his converſion, and to return into the boſom of the Church. To which the King having made his wonted anſwers, That he was not obſtinate, but would be made capable of the truth by thoſe circumſtances of times, perſons, and places which were fitting; nor would he be driven by force, or the threatnings of his Enemies, but be drawn by the Grace and Inſpiration of God. The Biſhop replied, The beſt means for that, would be a Truce, wherein the commotions of mens minds, kindled by the exerciſe of Arms, ceaſing, he might have opportunity to receive inſtruction, and to do with honour and deliberation whatſoever was needful. But as ſoon as the King heard him motion a Truce, he anſwered with a loud voice, That if he had been a good Venetian, he would not have given him that counſel; but, that theſe were the devices of Cardinal *Gaetano*, who ſhewed himſelf a much better Spaniard, than a Church-man. And here he began to complain very much of him, that, carrying himſelf differently from the Popes Commiſſion, he had declared himſelf his Enemy at his entry into the Kingdom, and made his reſidence in that City, which was Head of the contrary party; whereas it had been fit for him that repreſented the Apoſtolick See, to have ſtood Neutral, and to have endeavoured and procured a Peace by his good counſel, and by actions conformable to right, and his profeſſion, which then would have had more credit; but, that now terrified by the preſent danger, or elſe co-operating with the deſigns of the Spaniards; he ſought not to introduce Peace, but to fruſtrate the effects of his labours, and the fruits of his Victories, while the League might gain time to recover ſtrength; and that therefore he was not diſpoſed to give any ear unto it: With which words they parted, and the Biſhop returned with this final anſwer to *Paris*.

The Biſhop of *Ceneda* confers with the King; prays him to grant a Truce; the King abſolutely denies it, complaining of the Cardinal Legat.

But at his return, all hope of Truce failing, they ſet their minds with ſo much the more ſollicitouſneſs to make neceſſary proviſions to ſuſtain the ſtrict ſiege which the Enemy was preparing. The people was already diſpoſed by the long exhortations of their Preachers, and the earneſt negotiation of thoſe that governed, to endure the ſiege, and hazard their lives rather than their conſciences; being wrought upon by the frequent Decrees of the *Sorbonne*, and by the Declarations and Proteſtations of the Cardinal-Legat, that an Agreement could not be treated with the Hereticks without damnation, and that a King of a different Religion, obſtinate in his opinion, a Perſecutor of the Church, and an Enemy to the Apoſtolick See, was not to be received. By theſe opinions, which every hour were thundered out of the Pulpits, and diſcourſed of in meetings, mens minds were ſo effectually moved and confirmed, that they were not only ready to ſuffer conſtantly the danger and toil of bearing Arms, and that which was much more evident, and more terrible, the extream miſery of an enraged hunger; but moreover, they could not ſo much as endure any one that durſt hold or affirm the contrary: ſo that many who let ſlip ſome words, that it was better to make an Accommodation than ſtarve for hunger, and that Peace was better than a Siege, were by the fury of the people either executed in publick, or caſt headlong into the River, as damned perſons, Enemies of the Catholick Faith, and infected with the poiſon of Hereſie. This conſtancy was augmented by the preſence of the Cardinal-Legat, the reſidence of the Dutcheſſes

Some are put to death by the fury of the people, for ſaying, It was better to make Peace with the King than ſtarve with hunger.

of

of *Nemours*, *Montpenſier*, and *Mayenne*, the forwardneſs and vigour of the Duke of *Nemours*, and Chevalier *d' Aumale*, and much more by the moſt certain hopes which the Duke of *Mayenne* gave them every hour by effectual Letters, that he would relieve the City powerfully within a few weeks. The Heads being deſirous to increaſe and confirm this inclination of the people, by ſome outward circumſtances, a great ſolemn Proceſſion was made by order from the Cardinal-Legat, to implore Gods aſſiſtance in thoſe preſent neceſſities: in which Proceſſion, the Prelats, Prieſts and Monks of the ſeveral Religious Orders, walked all in their accuſtomed habits; but beſides them, armed openly with Corſlets, Guns, Swords, Partezans, and all kind of Arms offenſive and defenſive, making at once a double ſhew, both of devotion, and conſtancy of heart prepared to defend themſelves: which Ceremony, though to many it ſeemed undecent and ridiculous, was yet of great uſe to augment and confirm the courage of the common people, who ſaw the ſame men that exhorted them with words to ſtand it out, prepared and armed to hazard the ſame dangers, and unanimouſly to undergo the ſame ſufferings. Thus ſometimes even the vaineſt ſlighteſt things, help forward the moſt weighty important thoughts and deſigns. 1590.

A ſolemn Proceſſion, in which the Eccleſiaſtical Orders appear in their religious habits; and not only ſo, but armed as Souldiers.

After this Proceſſion, they made another of all the Magiſtrates of the City; and among the Ceremonies of it, the Duke of *Nemours* their Governour, and other Commanders of the Souldiers, and the Magiſtrates of the people, ſwore publickly in the great Church, to defend the City to the laſt man, nor ever to incline to yield, or make an Agreement with an Heretick Prince, for any calamity, danger, ſufferance or neceſſity whatſoever that ſhould fall upon them. There were in the City two hundred choſen Horſe, commanded by the Sieur *de Vitry*, the Duke of *Nemours* his Company of *Gens d' Arms*, and that of Chevalieur *d' Aumale*; one hundred Harquebuſiers on horſeback, and eight hundred French Foot, part whereof hath been in *Melun* with the Sieur *de Forone*; five hundred Swiſſes, and one thouſand and two hundred of thoſe German Foot that were levied by the Count *Collalto*, commanded by the Baron of *Erbeſtein*: But the foundation of their defence conſiſted in the union and conſtancy of the people, which infinitely numerous, and now by long uſe accuſtomed to Arms, being diſpoſed under their Magiſtrates, and divided into ſeveral Bands, according to the diviſion of their Quarters, preſented themſelves voluntarily, and ready for all encounters; and by the example of the Prieſts and Friers, who went armed up to the Works, and engaged themſelves in all things with admirable conſtancy, failed not in any duty that was neceſſary for their defence. Double Chains were drawn croſs the Rivers, where it enters, and where it goes out of the City; the Walls and Breſt-works were repaired in thoſe places where they ſeemed to be decayed; Platforms were made in convenient places, and *parapets* made upon ſome new places of the Wall: the Artillery was diſpoſed of orderly to the moſt dangerous Poſts; and the readineſs of the Citizens appeared wonderful in every buſineſs. But this troubled not thoſe that bore the ſway in the Government: for every one was certain that the King would never attempt to take the City by force, defended, in ſo great a number of Citizens, rather by the bodies of men, than by the ſtrength of their Bulwarks; but that he would ſtrive to tame it by Famine; which ſeemed to be very eaſie, by reaſon there were ſo many people accuſtomed to live in plenty and abundance, who now were in ſo great neceſſity, that being deprived of all other ſuſtenance, they were forced at an extraordinary rate to feed only upon bread: and there was no doubt but if relief were delayed, and that the King ſhould ſtraighten the ſiege cloſer, the City would be reduced to the laſt intolerable calamities of want; which they foreſeeing, moſt earneſtly ſollicited the Duke of *Mayenne* to draw forces together for their relief; and the Cardinal-Legat diſpatched his Nephew *Pietro Gaetano* into *Flanders*, to exhort the Duke of *Parma*, according to the Catholick Kings order, with all haſte to ſend ſpeedy ſupplies: and the *Commendatory Morreo*, Pay-maſter and Commiſſary of the King of *Spain*'s Forces in *France*, was gone thither for the ſame purpoſe. To theſe proviſions abroad, were added alſo others within: for the Governours in chief being intent to remedy the neceſſity of the people as much as they could, did with very great care cauſe that Corn that was found in the City to be divided; the price whereof being infinitely beyond the ordinary rate, and the common people not having means to help themſelves, Cardinal *Gondy* Biſhop of *Paris*, not out of any inclination he had to favour the League, but out of pity to ſee the poor wretches periſh who had not money to relieve themſelves, all Trading being quite left off in the City, gave way that all the Silver and Plate that had been offered to the ſeveral Churches,

A ſolemn Oath taken by the Magiſtrates.

The City being blockt up on every ſide, is in great ſcarcity for want of Victual.

1590. Churches, ſhould be taken out and turned into money, to feed the poor, with an Obligation to reſtore them as ſoon as the preſent neceſſity was over. The Cardinal-Legat intent upon the ſame, diſtributed among the poor fifty thouſand Crowns extorted from the Pope with much ado; and cauſing his own Plate to be melted and coined, did, with a great deal of praiſe, give it among thoſe that ſtood in need. The Ambaſſador *Mendozza* promiſed ſixſcore Crowns a day in bread: and the Dutcheſſes and the richeſt Lords helped to the uttermoſt of their abilities, ſelling their houſhold-ſtuff, jewels and ornaments for the ſo miſerable neceſſity of the common people. But theſe proviſions began already to be very ſcarce, in reſpect of the infinite number of mouths, and the continual waſting of Corn: for the King advancing, by the taking in of the Neighbouring Towns, did ſtraighten the ſiege every day more and more: nor was there any kind of Victual at all brought into the City by the Rivers: for *Lagny*, St. *Maur*, and the Bridge of *Charenton*, (the care of which places was committed to the Baron *de Guiry*) ſhut up the paſſage of the River *Marne*: *Montereau*, where there was a ſtrong Gariſon under the command of Monſieur *de Chanliot*, ſhut up the paſſage of the River *Yonne*: the Gariſons of *Moret*, *Melun*, *Bray*, and *Corbeil*, ſtopt up the *Seine* from above: and from below, the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* quartered at the Bridge of St. *Cloud*, a league from the City; and *Poiſſy*, and *Conflans*, well Gariſon'd, did wholly interrupt the paſſage up the River; as *Beaumont*, ſtrongly guarded, hindred all Boats from moving upon the River *Oyſe*. So that the Rivers which are commonly called the Nurces of the People of *Paris*, being ſhut up, there remained only that little which could be gotten thither ſecretly by Land: to cut off which, the King having paſſed the *Seine*, and being come into the Plains near the City, ſpread his Army from the *Porte St. Anthoine*, which looks toward the Eaſt, to the *Porte Mont Martre*, which ſtands towards the Weſt; and making uſe of the advantage of ground, cauſed two Pieces of Cannon to be planted upon the Hill of *Mont faulcon*, and two others at *Mont Martre*, encloſing them with Trenches, and guarding the place with a ſtrong Guard: and the next day, which was the ninth of *May*, he cauſed his Horſe to make incurſions even to the very Gates of the Fauxbourgs St. *Martin*, and St. *Denis*, which ſtand between the two aforeſaid Gates, and to burn and deſtroy the Wind-mills every where: yet could they not get into the Fauxbourgs, becauſe they were fortified with trenches, banks, and barrels full of earth: which day, while they were ſmartly skirmiſhing with the Sieur *de Vitry*'s Horſe which ſallied out of the *Porte St. Martin*, with ſome Companies of Foot-Souldiers and Citizens, the Sieur *de la Noüe*, in whoſe conduct and courage every one truſted very much, was, according to his wonted misfortune, wounded with a Musket-ſhot.

The Biſhop of *Paris* gives way that the Church-plate ſhould be turned into money for the relief of the poor.

The King had made choice to quarter his Army on that ſide, for two principal reaſons: one, becauſe the *Bois de Vincennes*, ſeated on the Eaſt-ſide near the River, and the Town of St. *Denis* on the Weſt-ſide holding ſtill for the League, he might not only ſend out parties of Horſe, and cut off the ways conveniently, ſo that there might be no paſſage from thoſe places to the City; but he alſo beſieged them in ſuch manner, that he hoped to take them within a little time; the other reaſon was, that relief being expected out of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, he was quartered juſt upon the great highway which leads from thoſe Provinces to the City of *Paris*, ſo that he was ready to turn his Army thither where he ſhould ſee the Enemy appear. Thus the Army being ſpred from the banks of the River *Marne*, to the lower part of the *Seine*, the whole field was obſtructed with continual parties, and there were every hour great skirmiſhes with thoſe of the City, who being ſtreightned with want, ſtrove to catch either Corn, Roots, or other Victual, even to the very dead Horſes that lay there, which they could very ſeldom effect; and at the very ſame time St. *Denis*, and the *Bois de Vincennes* (a very ſtrong Caſtle) were cloſely beſieged, and the Count *Montleurier* having paſſed the *Seine*, had laid ſiege to *Dammartin*, a Town belonging to the Lords of *Montmorancy*, ſeven leagues diſtant from the City, into which, there was gotten a great deal of proviſion; ſo that the Pariſians being ſhut up on all ſides, began already to feel the extremity of hunger, and only ſuſtained the bitterneſs of their preſent fortune, by the conſtancy of their courage.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* dies at *Fontenay*, which produceth no alteration at all; only the Duke of *Mayenne* invites the Deputies of the Provinces to *Meaux* to chuſe another King.

While the ſiege and defence of the City of *Paris* is thus laboured with infinite contention on each ſide, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, burd'ned with years, and waſted by the tedioufneſs of his impriſonment, departed this life at *Fontenay*, whoſe death gave evident proof to all the World, that his perſon had only ſerved for a cloak to cover the paſſions

paſſions and intereſts of thoſe that were moſt powerful; for it cauſed no alteration at all in the party of the League, but both the Pariſians continued their conſtancy with new Decrees of *Sorbonne*, That a new King of a different Religion could not be accepted of; and the Duke of *Mayenne* ſetting forth a *Manifeſt* to invite the Deputies of the Provinces to meet at *Meaux*, for the electing of a King, with the common conſent, kept the ſame title of Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, and continued in the ſame manner to make War, the end whereof at preſent was wholly ſet upon the way of relieving the City of *Paris*, which being not to be done without powerful aſſiſtance from the Catholick King, the Duke of *Mayenne*, both to agree upon the means, and to haſten the execution, went to *Conde*, a place upon the confines, to confer with *Aleſſandro Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma*, under whoſe Government were all the Spaniſh Forces. 1590.

The intention of King *Philip* was, that the League ſhould be relieved, and the people of *Paris* delivered from the preſent danger, but with ſuch moderation, that ſo many ſums of money profuſely ſpent, and ſo great forces as were employed in that enterpriſe, might not prove vain and unprofitable to his proper Intereſts: For he foreſaw, That if the Duke of *Mayenne* and the League ſhould agree to acknowledge the King of *Navarre*, he ſhould reap no other benefit from ſo many labours, but the gaining of a powerful Enemy; and likewiſe, if the Crown ſhould fall to the Duke of *Mayenne*, or any other of the Houſe of *Lorain*, he knew he ſhould advantage himſelf but little more, ſince the intereſts of State would in a ſhort time make him his Enemy, whoſoever ſhould be free and ſole Poſſeſſor of the Crown; weighty preſent intereſts having more power with men, than the remembrance of paſt obligations: Wherefore he being to ſpend vaſt ſums of money for the bringing a powerful Army into *France*, and in the mean time leave the affairs of *Flanders* in great danger, where the States of the United Provinces, under the command of *Grave Maurice* of *Naſſau*, not finding the wonted obſtacles, were like to make very great progreſs, he deſired, that at leaſt things ſhould be compoſed in ſuch a manner, that the benefit might in good meaſure redound to him, which ſhould ſucceed from his charges, dangers, labours, endeavours, and from his Armies; which by reaſon of the nature of the French, and the preſent ſtate of affairs, was moſt difficult to be brought to paſs: For the Duke of *Mayenne*, Head of the League, and abſolute Maſter of the Forces, did not only pretend to obtain the Kingdom for himſelf, but was alſo firmly reſolved, not to conſent that any Member, Province, or City, that belonged to the Crown ſhould be alienated from it; and the major part of the people being naturally Enemies to the Spaniards, and made their adherents now only by neceſſity, would never endure to be commanded by them, and thought it ſhould ſuffice the King of *Spain* to be cryed up for the Protector and Defender of the Catholick Religion, and that the King who ſhould be eſtabliſhed ſhould aſſiſt him to ſubdue the Provinces of the Low-Countries, without pretending any other benefit from that principal relief which he lent to the common cauſe. Wherefore it was very hard to find a middle way among ſo many difficulties, and almoſt impoſſible to keep ſuch leight uncertain minds from inclining to acknowledge and take part with King *Henry*, a home-born Natural Prince; and therefore it was neceſſary to govern that deſign with huge expences, great induſtry, long delays, and infinite patience, which, among ſo many ſuſpicions, and ſo many difficult buſineſſes, appeared to be of great loſs and detriment, without much hope of proportionable advantage. For this cauſe the Duke of *Parma*, a prudent wary Prince, and an Enemy to leight adventuring upon the arbitrement of Fortune, thought it pernicious counſel to leave his own buſineſſes of *Flanders*, to employ all his Forces in ſo uncertain an enterpriſe, wholly founded upon the inſtability of the French, and had endeavoured to divert the Catholick King from ſuch a thought; but the Council of *Spain*, either deſirous to augment their glory in the defence of Religion, or perchance too much allured by future hopes, having judged otherwiſe, and order being come from the King that he ſhould apply his mind principally to the affairs of *France*, he thought that might more eaſily be brought to paſs which was deſired in *Spain*, if avoiding the neceſſity of venturing whole Armies, and hazarding all their reputation at one clap, the protracting of the War, and the ſpinning of it out with ſlow proceedings were endeavoured; by which means, the Party of the LEAGUE no leſs wearied out than the KINGS, it would in the end remain in the King of *Spain*'s power, to diſpoſe of the Affairs of *France* and Religion his own way; and therefore he

The intereſts and deſigns of the King of *Spain*.

The Duke of *Parma*'s opinion.

was

1590. was not ſo ready to give aid, as the urgent need of the Pariſians required, and as the Duke of *Mayenne* would have had him; who being come to *Conde*, and having met him there, endeavoured by moſt effectual perſwaſions to move him to march without delay to the relief of *Paris*: But he conſidering that the reputation of the Catholick King, and the ſum of affairs, ought not without convenient Forces to be put in danger againſt a valiant and expert Souldier, and againſt a victorious Army, ſhewed, That the proviſions that were requiſite, could not be got together ſo ſuddenly, neither could he ſo ſoon give order, as well for the drawing of the Army into a Body, as for the defence of their own buſineſſes in *Flanders*; and concluded finally, that he could not be in *France* before the beginning of the Moneth of *Auguſt*, a time which ſeemed wonderful long to the Duke of *Mayenne*; and doubting, or rather thinking for certain, that the Pariſians could not hold out ſo long, he deſired him in the mean time to let him have ſome number of men, with which, added to his own, he might attempt ſome way to put victuals into the City: With that the Duke of *Parma* was contented, it being a propoſition ſuitable to his own thought, which was to keep the War alive with ſlow proceedings; on the one ſide, by little and little to conſume the Kings Forces; and on the other, by length of time to tire out and break the conſtant reſolution of the Duke of *Mayenne* and his adherents, not to admit a ſtranger to the Crown, nor to diſmember any part of the Kingdom: And therefore he willingly granted him Fifteen hundred Spaniſh Foot, who had been out in a plundering mutiny, and being now entred again into ſervice, were commanded by Don *Antonio Quiroga*, Twelve hundred Italian Foot led by *Camillo Capuzichia*, a Roman, and Eight hundred Flemmiſh and Bourguinon Horſe; with which Forces, the Duke not loſing any longer time, marched with all ſpeed toward *Picardy*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* having met the Duke of *Parma* at *Conde*, and not being able to perſwade him to go into *France*, obtains ſome ſupplies for the relief of *Paris*.

But at the ſame time the deſigns of the Duke of *Parma* had like to have been ruined, and the minds of the French to have been ſtirred up to ſome commotion by the counſel of the Ambaſſador *Mendozza*, and the other Spaniſh Miniſters that were in *France*, who being more intent upon preſent benefit, than the greatneſs of the future deſign, and not being well acquainted with the ſecret intentions of the Duke, began to deal with ſome Governours of places in *Picardy*, to the end, that being well rewarded for their pains, they might deliver them up into the hands of the Spaniards; which practices would not only have expreſly ſhown the Catholick Kings intentions to be different from the outward appearance, but would alſo have ſo moved the haſty fiery minds of the French, that without any regard they would have agreed to acknowledge the King, that they might not be deceived by the ſuſpected arts of the Spaniards, and would have ſmoothed the way to the revolt of the Pariſians, who with ſo much art and patience were kept firm in their reſolutions. But the Duke of *Parma*, aſſoon as he came to the knowledge of it, inſtantly cut off all thoſe Treaties, and laboured to make appear that it had been the inclination of thoſe Governours, but neither the will of the Catholick King, nor the practice of his Miniſters, being moſt averſe from any other Intereſt ſave that of Religion: and yet the Duke of *Mayenne*, deeply moved at thoſe Treaties, was fain to lengthen his journey, paſſing in his return by all thoſe places that were ſuſpected, and making ſome ſtay in each of them, cauſed all the Governours to promiſe, and take a ſolemn Oath not to fall off from that party, nor to hold any private Treaty with any Prince: but not truſting wholly to this, he ſtrove to ſecure thoſe Fortreſſes with all poſſible proviſions; and it being neceſſary to leave ſtrong Gariſons of his own men in every place, he was conſtrained to diminiſh his Forces in ſuch manner, that they were not ſufficient to give any conſiderable relief to the ſiege of *Paris*: yet becauſe he would not fail in any thing that was poſſible, he advanced upon the way that leads to *Paris*, with an intent either to raiſe the King from the ſiege, or at leaſt to ſlacken it in ſome part; which was not altogether without ſucceſs: for the King being advertiſed of the Dukes advance with his Forces, went from the ſiege with one thouſand and two hundred Cuiraſſiers, five hundred Reiters, and one thouſand and two hundred Harquebuſiers on horſeback; and having marched eighteen leagues in one day, met him near unto *Laon* upon the fifth day of *June*, and arrived ſo unexpectedly, that the Duke, not being in a condition to fight, was conſtrained to retire apace into the Suburbs of the Town, and there to quarter his men under favour of the Walls and Cannon, that he might not be forced to a Battel. The skirmiſh was hot and furious the next day, *Quiroga*'s Spaniards coming on very boldly encouraged with the ſpoil they had gotten while they were out in mutiny, armed

The Spaniſh Miniſters deal with ſome Governors of places, to deliver them up into the hands of the King of *Spain*.

armed with excellent Arms, and wonderfully gallantly ſet forth. But the Baron *de Byron* having made the Harquebuſiers alight from their horſes, and two Troops of *Reiters* to advance one upon each flank, they retired without much diſputing, leaving a greater opinion of their vain oſtentation, than of their valour and Military diſcipline, which ill agrees with the licence of plunderings; ſo that the Italian *Tertia*, made up of old well-diſciplined Souldiers, was fain to ſecond the skirmiſh, in which thoſe of the League, neither ſuffering themſelves to be beaten off from their place of advantage, nor from the ſhelter of the Town, it continued till the evening without coming to a Battel. 1590.

The Sieur *de St. Paul* puts in relief into *Paris*.

But while the Forces skirmiſh thus at *Laon*, the Sieur *de* St. *Paul* (who from the beginning had ſeparated himſelf from the Duke of *Mayenne* with that intention) being with eight hundred Horſe and great ſtore of Victual advanced by the way of *Champagne*, came ſafe to *Meaux*, and from thence along the bank of the River *Marne*, (having avoided the Guards of the Kings Army, which, becauſe their number was diminiſhed, could not ſcowre the ways with their wonted diligence) entered ſafe into *Paris*, where having put in the proviſions, he retired without having received any prejudice: which being come to the Kings knowledge, both becauſe he might not leave open the paſſage for other Succours, and becauſe he ſaw that his ſtaying to face the Duke of *Mayenne* (ſafely intrenched in the Suburbs of *Laon*, and well furniſhed with Victual) was no way advantageous, he returned upon the ninth of *June* to his old quarters, where he was more careful in the beſieging of St. *Denis*, and in cutting off all paſſages to the City; in which buſineſs he himſelf ſpending many hours both of the day and night, and by his example the other Commanders doing the like, and particularly the Baron *de Byron*, a young man, in the full ſtrength of his years, and unwearied in all toil and labour, all attempts proved vain which were uſed by the beſieged, or by the Provinces bordering upon them, to get any quantity of Victual (though never ſo little) into the City: but how exact ſoever the diligence of the Kings Commanders was, yet was it no more than was neceſſary in the preſent occaſion: for a Buſhel of Wheat being ſold in the City at one hundred and twenty Crowns, and all other things at a ſutable rate, not only the Friends and Confederates of the League, but even their Enemies alſo, and ſome of the Kings ſide, moved by the greatneſs of the profit, endeavoured to get ſome ſmall quantity of Corn and Fleſh to paſs ſecretly into the City; which nevertheleſs, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe that ſcowred the ways, happened but very ſeldom, and was in a manner but an inſenſible help to the Pariſians, who afflicted by extream miſeries, only ſuſtained themſelves by conſtancy of courage, and the near hope of relief; which that it might be kept alive, both the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was without, and the Lords that were within, uſed marvellous art and induſtry, in making rumours to be ſpread, ſometimes that the Forces were upon their march from *Flanders* to raiſe the ſiege; ſometimes that proviſion of Victual was making ready to ſupply the City; ſometimes that ſome favourable accident had befallen their party: ſo that Letters and Meſſages arriving every day, and mingling true things with falſe, both publiſhed in the Pulpits, and divulged upon the Guards, fed the people with hopes for ſome few days: But the neceſſity increaſing daily, theſe arts at laſt became unwelcom to the ears of men of underſtanding; ſad doleful voices being heard, and many ſigns of diſcontent obſerved thorow the whole City. The month of *July* was already begun, and the Corn of the City was quite ſpent, nor was any thing left for the people to live upon but Oats, of which ſome little quantity remained; and that being ground in the Mills that ſtood in the ſtreams of the River within the City, ſometimes was turned into bread, ſometimes cooked into pottage, which the French call *bouillie*; and for dainties, ſometimes a little fleſh, either of Horſes, Dogs, Aſſes, or Mules, keeping no other Horſes alive, but thoſe which were made uſe of in the War; the reſt being publickly ſold, to keep the Families of the greateſt Lords. But this manner of living was tolerable, and to be wiſhed for, in reſpect of the common people, who drawing no profit at all from their Trades, and being reduced to extremity of miſery, without money, and without bread, were fain, like brute beaſts, to feed upon thoſe herbs which they found in the yards, and ſtreets, and along the *ramparts*; which yet not being ſufficient for ſo great a multitude, and either giving little nouriſhment, becauſe they were dried up with the heat, or elſe by their poiſonous qualities producing vomits and fluxes, the miſerable people were often ſeen to fall ſuddenly dead in the ſtreets; which was ſo ſad and lamentable a ſpectacle, as would have cauſed horror in any heart, how fierce or cruel ſoever.

The deſcription of the miſeries the people ſuffered in the ſiege.

Yet,

1590. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, the Heads of the Faction, and thoſe that governed the people, the Legat, the Ambaſſador *Mendozza*, and the Princes, were ſo conſtant and ſo firm, that they never ſo much as entertained a thought of yielding, but with exceeding great ſeverity cauſed one *Renard* the *Procureur* of the *Chaſtelet*, and ſome other of his accomplices to be executed; who deſiring to free themſelves from ſo great danger, had had the boldneſs one day when the Council was aſſembled, to cry out with a loud voice, * *Ou Pain, ou Paix:* and even the common people, in the midſt of ſo great ſtraights, and the expectation of preſent death, rejoyced to ſuffer and endure their miſery, being fully perſwaded that it was a kind of true and glorious Martyrdom, for the ſafety of their Conſciences, and the maintenance of Religion. Not, but that ſome more compaſſionate of themſelves, or of weaker ſpirit, or perchance not ſo conſtant in matters of Faith, ſought and contrived to make ſome uproar, either to introduce a Treaty of Agreement, or to open a way for the King to be received by the people, and went ſo far ſtirring men up, by the apparent terrour of unavoidable death, and the moſt cruel torment of hunger, that ſome having made an Agreement among themſelves, reſolved to meet one morning and ſeize upon the Heads of the Government, who aſſembled themſelves in Council in the Palace of Juſtice: but the buſineſs being ſecretly come to the ear of *Don Chriſtino de Nizza*, one of the chief Preachers that laboured to make the people hold out the ſiege, he cauſed the Princes and Legat to be informed of it, who having put all the Militia in Arms, divided the care of the City, and ordered, that the Duke of *Nemours* ſhould ride armed both that day and night, thorow all the Wards of the City, and that the Chevalier *d' Aumale* ſhould ſtay conſtantly to guard the Palace: yet nevertheleſs they of the Plot came in great numbers at the time appointed, crying, *Bread or Peace*, and threatning to cut the Council in pieces, if ſome courſe were not taken; when one of the City Captains, whoſe name was *Goix*, inconſiderately going about to oppoſe them, was ſhot and killed by one of them, with a Piſtol which he carried privately. But the Chevalier *d' Aumale* having cauſed the Gates of the Palace to be ſhut, and the Duke of *Nemours* and the Ambaſſador *Mendozza* coming ſuddenly with the Militia in Arms, he that had diſcharged the Piſtol was thrown down from the Galleries of the Palace; and ſome other of the chief of them, who could not eſcape, being taken and executed the ſame day, the tumult diſſolved of it ſelf, leaving the City free from danger, but not the Heads from fear, that hunger would cauſe many of thoſe commotions: the ſtate of things ſtill growing worſe, and no certain hope of relief appearing. The exceſſive heats which this year followed the exceſſive rains, as they made the ſufferings more grievous, ſo did they haſten the ripeneſs of Corn in the Field; which being ſeen by the beſieged, who watched night and day upon the Walls, was a cauſe that they went out armed and unarmed in divers Companies, ſometimes Horſe, ſometimes Foot, with Sicles and other reaping Inſtruments, hoping to catch ſome part of it: But the diligence of the Kings Army was great in running to beat back the beſieged as often as they came forth, burning up the Corn, and with ſhot driving thoſe Women and Children in again, that came out unarmed to get ſome by ſtealth: So that the whole Field being full of burnings and bloody incurſions on all ſides, the Pariſians could not furniſh themſelves with any fruits out of the Field, ſave thoſe that grew within ſhot of their Walls, which was ſo little as ſufficed not to keep them above five or ſix days, after which, the famine grew more miſerable and deadly than ever; they being fain from Meal and Oat-pottage, to come to the eating of noiſom things, and even to the grinding of Dead-mens Bones to make Bread; a food not only loathſom and abominable, but alſo ſo unwholſom and peſtiferous, that the poor people died wonderfully faſt. They likewiſe wanted Wood for firing ſo much, that they eat the fleſh they got almoſt raw; and the skins and hides tanned for ſhooes and for mens clothing, were boiled and devoured by thoſe, who pulling down their own houſes, or other mens, could find wherewithal to kindle fire; nor was there any kind of nouriſhment ſo ſtrange, but it came into mens fancies to make uſe of, being become ingenious by neceſſity, which forced them to invent ways to keep themſelves alive; and that which gave the greateſt relief was, that by reaſon of the infinite number that were dead and fled away ſecretly, ſome ſtreets, eſpecially thoſe of the Suburbs, being not frequented, brought forth Graſs, which gave marvellous relief to thoſe poor famiſhed Wretches.

*Renard* the Procureur of the Chaſtelet, with ſome others, executed for having cried in the face of the Council, *Bread or Peace.*
* *Bread or Peace.*

An Inſurrection appeaſed with the death of divers of thoſe made it.

The Pariſians make Bread of Dead mens Bones.

But even this ſmall help was likewiſe quickly taken away: for the Prince of *Conty*, the Sieur *de Chaſtillon*, the Duke *de la Tremouille*, the Marquiſs *Piſani*, the Duke of

*Nevers*, and other Lords of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Gaſcogne* and *Languedoc* being come unto the Army, which was by that means much increaſed in number, the King cauſed the ſiege to be more nearly ſtreightned, and the Suburbs to be therefore aſſaulted and taken; to which end, upon the Four and twentieth day of *July* at night, being the Eve of S^t *James* the Apoſtle, the whole Army being diſpoſed in ſeveral places under their Commanders, as the Clock ſtruck three, all the *Fauxbourgs* were aſſaulted at one time, clapping a great number of Scaling-Ladders againſt the Works. The Baron *de Byron* aſſaulted the *Fauxbourg St. Martin*, the Sieur *de Fervaques* that of St. *Denis*, Monſieur *de St. Luc* fell on that of *Mont-Martre*, the Mareſchal *de Biron* at *St. Honore*, the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* at *St. Germain*, Monſieur *de Lavardin* near the Portes *de Buſſy* and *Neſle*, Monſieur *de Chaſtillon* aſſaulted *St. Michael* and *St. Jaques*, the Prince of *Conty* and Duke *de la Tremouille* did the like at *St Marceau* and *St. Victoire*, in ſuch manner, that being attacqued and ſtormed all at the ſame time, the Defendents ſtrove, but in vain, with their Cannon and Musket-ſhot from the Walls of the City; for all the Suburbs were taken by the Army, and the City and People thereby much more incommodated and ſtreightned. 1590.

Upon Saint *James* his day the King aſſaults and takes the Fauxbourgs of *Paris*.

The Town of *St. Denis* was taken before this upon the ſeventh of *July*; in which ſiege the defendents having felt the ſame calamities, capitulated at laſt to yield, if within three dayes they received not relief from *Paris*, or ſome other place; which not being come to paſs, by reaſon of the weakneſs of the Pariſians, and the places near adjacent, and becauſe the King had obſtructed all the Avenues, ſitting on Horſeback himſelf Forty hours together, they in the end gave up the Town, marching out with their Arms and Baggage: And the ſame did they, who held the Caſtle of *Dammartin* on the lower part of the River. So the whole Army being now ſet to ſtreighten the City, which had before been divided to beſiege thoſe two places, the evil proved now without remedy; there coming no certain news from any part, that the Forces were upon their march to relieve them. Wherefore, though formerly they had refuſed to anſwer many of the Kings Letters, in which, promiſing them their lives, and ſecurity for their conſciences, he exhorted them to deſiſt from ſo great ſtubbornneſs, and yielding up themſelves, to acknowledge and obey him for their Natural King: yet now ſome Meſſages having paſſed between the Legat and the Marquiſs of *Piſani*, who had been Ambaſſador at *Rome*, they were content at laſt to yield to ſome treaty of Peace, but more with an intention to ſatisfie the people, or to ſlacken the ſiege in ſome meaſure, than with a thought of concluding any thing. Wherefore due ſecurity being given and received, the Legat and Cardinal of *Gondy* went tothe *Hoſtel* of *Girolamo Gondy* in the *Fauxbourg St Germain*, whither a while after camethe Marqueſs of *Piſani*, with others from the Camp: but after a long diſcourſe nothing was concluded; for the Legat inſiſted to have the whole buſineſs remitted to the Pope's arbitrement, and that there might be a Ceſſation of Arms till the Deciſion came from *Rome*; and the Marquiſs demanded to have the Pariſians ſubmit themſelves unto the King's obedience, who would afterwards give the Pope due ſatisfaction in point of Religion; which things being ſo diſtant, and ſo general, could produce no concluſion at all of agreement. The Legates return into the City without effect, deluded the Peoples expectation, and every one being afflicted at it, increaſed the conſideration of their preſent miſery, and of the certainty that they ſhould loſe their lives within a few dayes: ſo that the cries and groans of the people not only filled all the ſtreets, but did alſo multiply the number of thoſe, who being overcome by the ſharpneſs of their ſufferings, called out for *Bread, or Peace*, cries moſt frequent in the City, eſpecially in the night. This beginning of inſurrection was increaſed by the Sieur *d' Andelot*, brother to *Chaſtillon*, and ſome other Gentlemen of the King's party, who being taken by the beſieged in the ſkirmiſhes, which were moſt frequent every day under the Walls, and having liberty given them to go abroad upon their *parole*, divulged among their friends and acquaintance the King's Clemency, his readineſs to pardon, the liberty and ſecurity wherewith the Catholicks lived under his protection, the reſpect he ſhewed toward the Catholick Religion, his great ſtrength, which increaſed more and more every day, wherewith he was reſolved to meet their Succors and fight with them, having aſſured hopes to beat them, and to find the ſame facility he had done in the Battel of *Ivry*, wherein the Forces of the League, though intire and united, were utterly diſſipated; by which inſtigations, many already deſpairing of relief, and drawn by their neceſſity, inclined to

The King at the ſiege of St. *Denis* ſits on his Horſe back Forty hours together.

A Treaty propounded, the Legat and Cardinal *Gondy* meet the Marquiſs of *Piſani* in the *Fauxbourgs*, but return without concluding any thing.

1590. try the ſo much commended clemency and faith of the Conqueror. Whereupon there was like to be a very great inſurrection of the People, to force the Princes to a reſolution of yielding, and to make themſelves maſters of ſome gate, and let in the King's Army, which, if it ſhould have come to paſs, the Forces of the Soldiers and Citizens were ſo weakened by famine, that it was thought they would have been able to make little reſiſtance againſt the fury of the Enemy: Wherefore the Parliament and Council being joyntly aſſembled in the Hall of *St Lewis*, they reſolved to appoint two Deputies, that ſhould go to treat with the King, and if he permitted, ſhould paſs on to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to take care not to yield up the City; but if it were poſſible, to include the particular agreement of the City, in the union of the general Peace.

For fear of an Inſurrection, the Council of *Paris* chuſeth two Deputies, the Cardinal *Gondy* and Archbiſhop of *Lyons* to treat with the King.

For this imployment they choſe Cardinal *Gondy* and the Arch-biſhop of *Lyons*, being aſſured, that neither of them would treat any thing that ſhould be prejudicial to Religion; and yet the Duke of *Nemours* roſe up almoſt angry from the Council, atteſting, he would maintain what he had ſworn in the beginning of the ſiege, and that he had reſolved rather to die, than yield the City into any other hands than his Brother's, who had truſted him with it. Nor did the Cardinal-Legat ſeem altogether pleaſed, but ſaid, he permitted that Counſel by neceſſity, but that he approved not of it, and that having done and ſuffered ſo much, they ought to have patience for a few days, and expect the coming and iſſue of the relief which was ready to appear every hour. But yet the Deputies went forth with ſafe conduct to the Abbey of *St Anthoine des Champes*, half a mile without that Gate which is ſo called; where they found the King with a great many Princes and Lords, and among the reſt the High-Chancellor *Chiverny*, who having lived retired from the time that King *Henry* the Third diſmiſſed him from the Court, had a few dayes before been recalled by the King to execute his wonted Office in keeping the Seals. The Deputies told the King, that the Councel and Inhabitants of *Paris*, moved to compaſſionate the miſeries of the people of *France*, which were the conſequences of an obſtinate Civil War, had given them commiſſion to come and treat with him, and from thence to go on to the Duke of *Mayenne* the Head of the Catholick party, to ſee if they could find out ſome way of accommodation; and therefore they who had willingly undertaken ſo honourable an imployment for the general good and ſafety, exhorted his Majeſty to hearken to thoſe Conditions which were fit for the ſecurity of Religion, and the common peace of the Kingdom; but that he ſhould not think, that for any ſuffering or danger in the World, the Pariſians would ever accept of any Agreement which ſhould in the leaſt manner be prejudicial to their Conſcience and Religion, being reſolved rather to die a corporal death, than injure or blemiſh the ſpiritual life of the Soul, for which they were ready to ſuffer any kind of Martyrdom; which yet they did not fear, being certain to be powerfully relieved within a few dayes. Here Cardinal *Gondy* (though in himſelf affectionate to the King's party) added many other things, to make it be believed, that not driven by neceſſity, but moved with a charitable zeal of Univerſal Concord, they were choſen Deputies by the City and Council of *Paris*, to find out a way to the quiet of the Kingdom. Which things being ſpoken in publick, and amidſt a great concourſe of Soldierly Nobility, did ſo diſguſt every one that heard him, that the reſpect of the King could not ſo reſtrain the French impatiency, but that it broke forth ſometimes into laughter, ſometimes in words of diſdain, hearing a Meſſage more proper for a diſ-intereſſed, or a conquering people, than a City reduced to the laſt inevitable calamities of hunger. And the King, either through his own Spirit, or excited by the general reſentment, which had, as it were, preſcribed him the tenor of his Anſwer, replied readily, That he knew very well the common people of *Paris* had the knife at their throat; and that howſoever the true meaning of the Embaſſie were palliated, yet were the Deputies come indeed to find ſome remedy for the extremity of the condition they were brought to; but that the contents of their meſſage was very different from what it ought to have been: That if the Senate of *Venice*, a State not depending upon any body but it ſelf, yet by its antient reſolution, alwayes a Mediator of Peace among Chriſtian Princes, had interpoſed to conclude a Peace between him and the Duke of *Mayenne*, it would not have ſeemed ſtrange to him, and he ſhould have taken it in good part; but that the common-people of one of his own Subject-Cities, who having forgot their natural duty, had ſhewed themſelves contumacious and rebellious againſt him, ſhould dare to uſurp the name of a Council,

The High-Chancellor *Chiverny* recalled to the execution of his Office by *Henry* the Fourth.

The Speech of the City-Deputies unto the King.

The King's Anſwer.

Council, and preſume to be the Mediators of Peace and Concord, was a thing ſo ridiculous on the one ſide, and ſo worthy of ſcorn and puniſhment on the other, that it would be no ſmall matter, if from his clemency they ſhould be able to obtain pardon for themſelves, without medling any further in the buſineſs. And here with many expreſſions (wherein he was naturally very happy) deſiring alſo to give ſatisfaction to the Nobility that heard him, he ſaid divers other things, to ſhew that he deſired Peace out of his own goodneſs and clemency, and for the preſervation of the people which God had committed to his Government; but that he neither feared the War, nor the powerful ſuccours which the Pariſians fancied in their own imaginations: And finally concluded, that he would be contented to loſe one finger from his hand, upon condition, the War between him and his Enemies and Rebels, might be ended with the Sword the day following; but that he would gladly give two, that by the way of Peace every one would acknowledge their own duty. 1590.

After which words, the Deputies were led forth into a room prepared for them, and the King retired to adviſe with his Council. The High Chancellor *Chiverny* ſhewed, that the Kings anſwer had been very ſharp and high, and that though that ſcornful reſolute behaviour ſeemed fit in publick, yet now in conſulting the matter calmly, that ſtile was to be altered, not to loſe that end which had till then been endeavoured with ſo many labours: That the Kings aim was to bring the City of *Paris* under obedience, but not with the deſolation of the Citizens, nor with force of Arms; but that the way of ſiege had been choſen, as well by reaſon of the ſtrength of the people united for their defence, as not to deſtroy the greateſt and richeſt City of the whole Kingdom: Wherefore, now that the Pariſians being tamed by hunger, began to treat of an Agreement, reaſon perſwaded to uſe them gently, and not to ſtand upon any Conditions; but, provided they would but yield the moſt large and honourable Capitulation that could be, was to be accepted of; and that if the deſire of ſaving *Paris* induced the Duke of *Mayenne* and others of his party to embrace an Agreement, it was not a thing to be contemned, but rather to be wiſhed for: Wherefore he was plainly of opinion, that the Deputies ſhould be moderately treated with in private touching an Accommodation, and alſo that they ſhould be permitted to go on to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to ſee if they could draw him to conſent to Peace. The Mareſchal *de Byron* approved the firſt part of the High Chancellors counſels, which was to give any conditions whatſoever to the Pariſians, provided, they would ſubmit to the Kings obedience; ſo much the rather, becauſe by long watchings and continual ſufferings, the Forces of the Army were much tired and leſſened, and diſeaſes, in regard of the ſeaſon, began already to be very rife in the Camp: But he was not of opinion, that the Deputies ſhould have leave granted them to go on to the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſhewing, that that was a prolonging of the time, till the relief ſhould arrive out of *Flanders*: That the negotiating of a General Peace was a thing that required long time, and much maturity, which could not ſtand with the preſent buſineſs: That it was good to ſtrike the Iron while it was hot, and to ſtraighten the Pariſians till hunger forced them to think of their own ſafety: For *Paris* being ſubdued, the foundation of the League was taken away, and it would afterward be moſt eaſie to make an Agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne* and the reſt of his party. All the reſt concurred in this opinion; and therefore the Deputies being called, after many diſcourſes, this was the concluſion, That if *Paris* would yield, the King would give them full ſatisfaction in the ſecurities, and other matters they deſired of him; but that he would not receive Laws from them, in what concerned his Conſcience and Converſion, which he reſerved to his own freedom, and to the inſpirations of God; neither would he give way, that they ſhould go treat with the Duke of *Mayenne*, he being reſolved not to treat any Agreement, except concerning the City of *Paris*: And finally, he cauſed a Writing to be given unto them, penned by Secretary *Revol*, wherein he declared the ſame things with very gentle words, and proffers of all poſſible ſecurity and ſatisfaction. He added alſo private kind Letters to the Duke of *Nemours*, the Dutcheſs his Mother, and to Madam *de Guiſe*, exhorting each of them to Peace, and aſſuring them all, That they ſhould receive more from his favour, than they knew how to deſire. With this Anſwer the Deputies returned: But the Duke of *Nemours* being averſe from Peace, by the counſel of the Legat, and the Ambaſſador *Mendozza*, would not give way that the Writing ſhould be read unto the people, but that the Deputies ſhould tell them only, that the King would have no other Agreement, but that the City ſhould put it ſelf into his power, without the aſſent of, and without including

The opinion of the High Chancellor *Chiverny*.

The Mareſchal *de Byrons* opinion, to which the Kings Counſellors aſſent.

The Deputies return with the Kings Anſwer: All thought of Peace is laid aſide.

1590. including the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Lords of the League; which being contrary to the ſenſe of the major part, eſpecially of thoſe of the Council, (for the City would by no means ſeparate themſelves from the Duke of *Mayenne*, but run the ſame fortune with him to the uttermoſt) the thought of Peace being laid aſide, they returned to the care of their defence.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma* (notwithſtanding that he had made his opinion fully known in *Spain*) had received a new abſolute order from the Catholick King to march perſonally with the whole Army into *France* to relieve the Confederates, and to raiſe the ſiege of *Paris*; the Council believing that enterpriſe ſo honourable, ſo important, and full of ſo lively hopes, that it was without doubt to be preferred before the intereſts of the affairs of *Flanders*, which they thought to be reduced into ſuch a condition, that they could receive but little or no damage by the abſence of the Duke and his Army for a few months; and therefore approving, that part of the Duke of *Parma*'s opinion which was to nouriſh and prolong the War, to obtain that from the weakneſs and the wearineſs of the French, which at firſt ſeemed impoſſible to be effected, they had nevertheleſs determined, that *Paris* ſhould be powerfully relieved, purpoſely not to ſuffer the League to be ſo ſoon ſubdued, and the King to remain Conquerour; to whom, that City being once taken, all other things would become eaſie, and quickly be diſpatched: Beſides, that that Monarchy, even from the weakneſs of its beginnings, having been accuſtomed ever to unite its own ends with the ſo favourable and plauſible pretence of Religion, it could not now in this important occaſion diſunite thoſe intereſts ſo nearly joined, without taking off that glorious reputation which they ſo much boaſted of, that they never had other Enemies, but the Enemies of the Church it ſelf: Therefore they had cauſed a determinate order to be given the Duke, that having ſtrengthned thoſe Gariſons of *Flanders* as much as he could, which were frontiers towards the Confederate States, he ſhould not defer to relieve the City of *Paris* with all his force; which being once delivered and freed from the ſiege, he ſhould not care to proceed, or do any thing further. But the Duke, aſſoon as he had received this laſt ſo abſolute order, was in much trouble which way to execute it: For on the one ſide, he could not leave the Cities of *Flanders* ſo well Gariſon'd, but that ſome great loſs was to be feared, which in *Spain* (where he ſaw the opinion in this buſineſs was very different from truth) would be imputed to his careleſneſs, and not to the neceſſity of things, and the Orders he had received: and on the other ſide, he could not march into *France* without the ſtrength of the Army, being to make a War wherein there was little to be truſted to from his Friends, and much to be feared from a brave, valiant, unwearied Enemy, bred up in War, and guarded with almoſt an invincible Body of French Nobility; and ſo much the more, becauſe it was neceſſary to go and find him at home in the midſt of all his Forces. Moreover, the ſtraightneſs of time troubled him very much, becauſe he knew *Paris* was already reduced to the extreameſt neceſſity of hunger, and yet firſt to furniſh *Flanders* with what was requiſite, and then to go into *France* with that order, and thoſe proviſions which were fit for the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, it was neceſſary to ſpend ſome time; ſo that it was infinitely to be doubted, the Pariſians could not be able to hold out ſo long. But as a Prince of high courage, who to maturity of reſolution joined celerity of execution, judging this (as indeed it was) the moſt weighty and difficult enterpriſe that had ever fallen within his conduct, he propoſed to himſelf to overcome all difficulties, and to effect it with that glory which he had gained in his other actions: and therefore having diſpoſed the order of all things in his mind, he betook himſelf to the effecting of them with ſo much diligence, that he hoped to be able to relieve *Paris* by the midſt of *Auguſt*; wherefore deſiring neither to deceive, nor be deceived, as he had told the Duke of *Mayenne* before, ſo he writ a Letter to the beſieged, about the end of *July*, wherein giving them an account of his expedition, he aſſured them that he would be in *France* by the midſt of the next month, and exhorted them to overcome all difficulties, and arm themſelves with patience to expect that time, within which he hoped certainly he ſhould be able to free them from all trouble. This Letter came to *Paris* upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, and being read by the Magiſtrates, and communicated to the people, filled every one with wonderful great deſpair, the time ſeeming ſo long to them, that they believed they ſhould never be able to hold it out with life; wherefore the Souldiers began by ſtealth to forſake their Colours, and fly away by night: and the poor of the City being deſtitute of ſuſtenance, ſought to get out of the

The Duke of *Parma* hath expreſs order from *Spain* to go and relieve *Paris*.

At the coming of the Duke of *Parma*'s Letters, which promiſed relief within fifteen days, the ſouldiers and people deſpairing, ſtrive to flye away from the City.

the ſiege and eſcape ſome whither elſe, the Governours in chief not forbidding them, who from the beginning had given leave to all to depart freely. But the King, as he willingly ſuffered the run-away Souldiers to paſs, ſo had he given ſtrict orders that the Towns-men ſhould be driven back, and forced to return into the City, knowing that the beſieged ſought to unburthen themſelves; which order being punctually executed by the Guards, was the cauſe that very few of them could eſcape by ſtealth. Among the greateſt difficulties that the Governours had, was the reſtraining of the Germans, who having lived in all kind of liberty, and without regard deſtroyed fair houſes and gardens to ſell the wood and get money; now that every thing was conſumed, had given themſelves over to all manner of villany, ſo that they might but get any nouriſhment by it; and many have reported, that they ſecretly killed all the children they could get into their hands, to feed upon their fleſh; and notwithſtanding all this they began to mutiny, and deſire to diſband, though both the Duke of *Nemours* and the Chevalier *d' Aumale* did uſe all poſſible means to keep them together. The beſieged finding themſelves in this ſtreight, writ to the Duke of *Mayenne* (for a final reſolution) that if they were not relieved within ten days, it would be impoſſible for them to hold out; and having done all that was poſſible, they ſhould be excuſed both before God and man, if they took care of their own ſafety: and the Dutcheſs of *Mayenne* wrote to her Husband to the ſame purpoſe, conjuring him by his affection to their children, that he ſhould not ſuffer them to fall into the hands of ſo bitter an Enemy. Which Letters being reing received by the Duke, and being in no leſs perplexity of mind than the Pariſians, he united all his Forces together and advanced to *Meaux*, ten leagues diſtant from *Paris*, and diſpatched the Marquiſs *Aleſſandro Malaſpina* to let the Duke of *Parma* know, that if he made not haſte with his Army, all their labour would be loſt, the beſieged not being able to hold out any longer, and for aſſurance of it, ſent him the ſame Letters he had received. There were with the Duke of *Mayenne* beſides *Quiroga*'s mutineers, *Capizucchi*'s *Tertia*, and the Walloon Horſe the Duke of *Parma* had given him, ſix hundred Lanciers of the Duke of *Lorain*'s, commanded by the Count *de Chaligny*, Brother to the Queen Dowager of *France*, the French Infantry under Colonel St. *Paul*, the Duke of *Aumale* with the Troop of *Picardy*, the Marquiſs *de Menelay*, Monſieur *de Balagny*, Governour of *Cambray*, and the Sieur *de Rhoſne*, and *de la Chaſtre*, with their Regiments and Attendents, which in all amounted to the number of Ten thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand and four hundred Horſe. With theſe Forces, though he advanced as far as *Meaux*, to be ready upon any occaſion that ſhould be offered, and to put courage in the beſieged by being ſo near, yet he did not think them ſufficient to be able to relieve or victual *Paris*, becauſe he knew the King, by the addition of many ſupplies, had under his Colours Six and twenty thouſand Foot, and more than Seven thouſand Horſe, among which, Five thouſand were Gentlemen, who bearing Arms only for Honour, being well attended and gallantly mounted, were eſteemed by him, both for their number and quality, without compariſon ſuperiour; and therefore he diſpatched Letters and Meſſengers every hour to the Vice-Seneſchal *de Montelimar*, who reſided for him near the Duke of *Parma*, to the end, that he might with all diligence ſollicite his coming, without which he thought it impoſſible to relieve the beſieged.

1590.

The German Souldiers in *Paris* having no other food, kill little children to eat.

The Duke of *Mayenne* to give hope to the Pariſians, advances with his Army as far as *Meaux*.

The Duke of *Parma* having called a Council of War upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, told them the Order he had received from the Catholick King, to march with the whole Army into *France*, and ſaid, That that reſolution was contrary to his opinion, alledging the Reaſons for which he eſteemed the enterpriſe to be of great danger, and little advantage: But ſince it had pleaſed the King their Maſter to command it ſo, as he was reſolved in that Expedition to imploy all thoſe abilities God had given him, ſo he prayed all the reſt to apply their endeavours, to the end, that the Offices committed to their care, might be diſcharged to the praiſe of God, the Kings ſatisfaction, and to their own honour: And there, having given every one his charge, he commanded, that the Army already drawn down together, ſhould be ready to march by the fourth of that month. He writ to the Duke of *Mayenne* the certainty and time of his coming, and gave the Pariſians notice of the ſame, atteſting to them, That for the only purpoſe of relieving them, and for the maintenance of Religion, the Catholick King neglecting his own Affairs, ſparing neither blood nor money, and without thoſe ſecurities of ſtrong Towns for Magazines of Arms, and places of Retreat upon the Confines, which are wont to be demanded and granted, to the end, that every one might know his candour in proceeding to be more lively, and more real, undertook that weighty enterpriſe; which never-

The Duke of *Parma* declares, that he had never been of opinion, that the King of *Spain* ſhould ſend his Army into *France* to ſerve the League.

1590. The Duke of *Parma* moves with his Army from *Valenciennes* to relieve *Paris*.

nevertheleſs he hoped, by the help of God, and the juſtice of the Cauſe, to bring to an happy concluſion; and with this Reſolution, his Army moved upon the Fourth of *Auguſt* toward *Valenciennes*. The Marquiſs *de Ranti* led the Van; in the Battel with the Duke, were the Princes of *Aſcoli*, *Chaſteau-bertrand* and *Chimay*, the Count *de Barlemont*, the Count of *Arambergh*, and many other Flemiſh, Italian, and Spaniſh Lords. The Sieur *de la Mothe*, Governour of *Graveling*, commanded the Reer, in which there were twenty pieces of Cannon, two Bridges to be made upon Boats, and all thoſe other warlike inſtruments, which are wont to be carried along in Royal Armies. The Duke of *Parma*'s Armies had ever been very well diſciplined, ready, and accuſtomed to hardſhip, punctual in obedience of commands, and no ways given to pillage or plunder in a Friends Country: And now knowing he was to enter into a Kingdom, where the name of a Spaniard was generally hated by the people, and that he was no leſs to govern ſuſpicious minds, ready to riſe upon every ſlight occaſion, than to make War with a victorious Army, and a wary compleat Souldier, he was more careful than ever, and ſtrove with all poſſible diligence to keep his Souldiers from doing any injury, uſing any violence, or giving any cauſe of complaint unto the French. He encamped always, as if the Enemies Army had been cloſe by him, kept all his men together from ſtragling, and orderly in their quarters; he made careful diſcoveries, and marched without confuſion or tumult; he came into quarters betimes in the evening, and while they were diſpoſed of, and made defenſible, he cauſed the greater part of the Army to ſtand to their Arms; he ordered ſtrong Convoys to attend the Victual, whereof he had made, and did ſtill make exceeding great proviſions; and yielding the honour and advantage in all things to the French, ſtrove to gain the love of the Nation; to which end, he having lived in *Flanders* among the Spaniards with retiredneſs and gravity, equal to the humour of thoſe with whom he converſed, now being come into *France*, he laid aſide the ſtate of Ante-chambers, and the ſtrict keeping of doors, eat in publick, kept a Table for the French Gentlemen, and both in words and actions ſhewed himſelf wonderful affable and familiar. And becauſe in that multitude of Officers of note that were about him, he reſolved only to truſt himſelf, he would perſonally hear the relations of thoſe parties that had been abroad to diſcover and ſcowr the ways, himſelf would talk with Spies, diſpoſe the order of the Guards, and hearken to all things appertaining to the diſcipline of his Army: for which purpoſe watching all the night, he only gave thoſe few hours to ſleep, which paſt between the beating of the *Reveille*, and the marching of his Army. With this diligence marching gently, not to tire out his men, he came to *Meaux*, ten leagues from *Paris*, upon the three and twentieth of *Auguſt*; and having, as he marched, met the Duke of *Mayenne* in the field, they joyned their Armies together in that very place.

The Duke of *Parma*'s manner of conduct in his marching thorow *France*.

The Duke of *Parma*'s arrival at *Meaux*, where he joins with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

There the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and Preſident *Vetus* arrived; who having newly been with the King to introduce ſome overture of Agreement, and now with his Safe-conduct (for at the drawing near of the Spaniſh Army, he had yielded ſomething from his former ſtiffneſs) were come to negotiate with the Duke of *Mayenne*, by whom being brought into the Council, they related in what extremity the Pariſians were, and and that they could not hold out above four days longer: whereupon they earneſtly deſired, if within that ſpace they could not be relieved, that an Agreement might be made, whereby the City might be freed from the certainty of that danger wherein it was. The Duke of *Parma*, with modeſt and grave expreſſions, made known that he was come by the Catholick Kings command, with order only to relieve the City, and to provide againſt the danger of Religion, and that he had no Commiſſion to treat of any Accommodation; nor did his Conſcience dictate to him any thought of making an Agreement with a Prince that was an Heretick, and an Enemy to the Church: but that the Pariſians having with infinite honour, and with an heroick example of Chriſtian fortitude ſuffered ſo much, they ſhould endure yet the delay of a few days; for he hoped, by the help of God, and the ſtrength of that Army, that they ſhould very eaſily be delivered; and that therefore they ſhould return to the City, and perſwade them to that ſhort patience. The Deputies returned to the King, where they had left Cardinal *Gondy*, and declared that in the Army there was no intention of lending an ear to Peace, and that the Duke of *Parma* had diſmiſſed them with aſſurance of a ſpeedy and infallible relief: whereupon, being likewiſe diſmiſſed by the King, the thoughts on both ſides were turned wholly upon matters of War.

An Accommodation is again propounded; but the Duke of *Parma* ſaying he had only order from the King to relieve *Paris*, and not to treat, the Deputies return.

The

The King was in great perplexity of mind: for beſide the diminution of his Army, cauſed by diſeaſes, whereof many had died (and among the reſt the Abbot *Pietro del Bene*, a man of great ability in State-affairs) many various and different reſolutions repreſented themſelves unto his thoughts. It ſeemed hard unto him to riſe without fruit from that ſiege, after ſo many labours and ſo many dangers, and after having reduced the City to the laſt degrees of deſpair; and therefore he inclined to a deſire of leaving part of the Army to make good the paſſes, and to advance with the other to meet the relief. On the other ſide, he thought the Duke of *Parma*'s ſtrength to be exceeding great, and that it would be requiſite to uſe all his Forces to oppoſe and reſiſt him; and therefore durſt not hazard to go againſt him with only a part of his Army, which he believed not able to withſtand him. Thus doubtful and uncertain in his mind, he called a Council of all his Commanders, in which the principal were the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Mareſchals of *Aumont* and *Biron*, the Baron his ſon, *Philibert de la Guiche*, the Sieurs *de Lavardin*, *Guitry*, and *de la Noue*, the Viſcount of *Turenne*, the Duke *de la Tremouille*, and Monſieur *de Chaſtillon*; who not having their mindes poſſeſſed with paſſion, concurred all in the ſame opinion, that to divide the Army was a pernicious counſel; for that way the ſiege would neither be maintained, nor the relief hindred: That this was not the firſt ſiege, which after many experiments had been quitted by famous ſoldiers; and that if they could but effect the deſign, either of defeating the Duke of *Parma*, or making him return, the proviſions which the Pariſians could get in the mean time from places near adjacent, would be ſo inconſiderable, that at their return the City would in a few dayes be brought to the ſame neceſſity: Which, after it was determined in the Council, the King having given ſuch Orders as were fitting, that they might be ready time enough to oppoſe the Enemy, raiſed the ſiege upon the thirtieth of *Auguſt*, and marched with his whole Army to quarter in *Chelles*, a Town three leagues from *Paris*, and but four from the Army of the League. *Chelles* is a ſpacious *Bourg*, ſeated in a Fenny Plain, and overflowed with the water of a little Rivulet, which ſtands in pools round about it: It hath on both ſides a large Campagne, and before it two hills, on whoſe aſcent is the great high-way that leads ſtraight from *Meaux* to *Paris*. Here the Army (wherein were Seven thouſand Horſe, and between eighteen and twenty thouſand Foot) was diſpoſed in ſuch manner, that the Light-horſe backed by the Foot of the *Vanguard*, poſſeſſed the bottoms of the hills, and the paſſage of the high-way: the body of the *Main Battel* lay under cover in the houſes of the *Bourg*; and the Cavalry of the *Rereguard*, ſheltering the back of the Army, lay at the entry of the Plain that leads towards *Paris*. On the right hand of the *Bourg* the Swiſſes were quartered, and the Sieur *de Chaſtillon*, with four French Regiments; and on the left, the Germans with five Regiments of Firelocks, and with the Sieur *de Lavardin*: and on both ſides were placed the Artillery.

1590.

The Abbot *del Bene* dies.

Upon the 30 of Auguſt the King riſes from the ſiege of *Paris*, and marches to *Chelles* to hinder the relief.

The manner how the King's Army was diſpoſed at *Chelles*.

The Kings Army was hardly quartered, when upon the ſteep of the hills the Italian and Bourguinion Horſe of the League appeared, who began to skirmiſh at the front of the Quarters; and in the mean time the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, with few in company, riding every where about, diſcovered the ſtrength and diſpoſition of the Army diſtinctly; which ſeeming to them admirably well ordered, they retired to their own Quarter, which was in the bottoms beyond the Hills, and were careful to fortifie it with a broad Trench and a high Breſt-work, which flanked round about with Bulwarks and Half-moons, upon which the Artillery were planted, made their Camp ſecure from the fury of any ſudden aſſault whatſoever. The Armies lay ſtill on this manner for the ſpace of four dayes: for the Duke of *Parma* knowing that the Pariſians going out of the City, had both from the places near adjacent, and by thoſe things that had been left by the Army, furniſhed themſelves with ſufficient proviſions for ſome few dayes, did not haſten very much, nor would he precipitate his counſels: and the King, though deſirous to fight, and full of hopes of the Victory, thought it an extream raſhneſs to aſſault an enemy ſtronger than himſelf in his own Quarters. In the mean time they skirmiſhed very often, proved the valour of all the ſeveral Nations, and tried all ſorts of Arms; the Horſe often charging Foot, and the Cuiraſſiers ſometimes Light-horſe and Carabines, ſometimes Lanciers, wherewith the Army of the League abounded very much: in which time the King, anxious of that delay, and fearful leſt the late ſufferings, and want of money ſhould make his men disband, or at leaſt that his Army ſhould decreaſe, it being full of dangerous diſeaſes, reſolved to try the courage of the enemies, by ſending a Trumpet to let the D. of *Mayenne* know, That at laſt the time was come

The Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Parma*, while their Horſe skirmiſh, go to diſcover the ſituation and ſtrength of the Army.

While the two Armies lie ſtill obſerving one another, the Pariſians make ſome proviſion of Victual.

1590. come of ſetling the differences, and putting an end to the miſeries of the War, and that therefore riſing forth of his den, where he lay rather like a Fox than a Lion, he ſhould bring his Army into the open field, where the valour and courage of men might preſently decide the future Victory. The Duke of *Mayenne* ſent the Trumpet to the Duke of *Parma* as ſuperior: who ſmiling anſwered, That he knew very well what was fit for him to do, for the attaining of his own ends, and was not come ſo far to take Counſel from his enemy: That he ſaw clearly enough, that his way of proceeding diſpleaſed the King; but that if he were ſo great a Soldier as fame reported him, he ſhould ſhew his skill in forcing him to a Battel againſt his will; for he would never put that willingly into the arbitrement of Fortune, which he had already ſafe in his own hands. But by this time the affairs of *Paris* began to preſs: for that little being conſumed which they had been able to catch, the City returned to its former exigency; and it was neceſſary to open the paſſes, to the end that Victuals might go in: wherefore the Duke of *Parma*, having in theſe dayes tried the King's Soldiers, diſcovered the Country exactly, and maturely deliberated what he ſhould do, gave out, that he would fight in the open field; and having drawn up his Army in Battalia upon the fifth of *September* in the morning, he advanced very early towards the enemy. In the Van he placed two great Squadrons of Lances, and all the Light-horſe of the Army, and gave the Command of them to the Marquiſs *de Ranty*, giving him order, that as ſoon as he was out of the woody place, which was upon the aſcent of the Hills, and was come to the top, where the Plain enlarged it ſelf, he ſhould cover and take up the ſpace of the hills as much as poſſibly he could, by ſpreading his Lanciers out at length, commanded by the Prince of *Chimay* and *Georgio Baſta*, and by making two great wings of the Light-horſe, and then marching toward the Enemy, ſhould begin to deſcend, but very ſoftly, to go into the open field, making many ſtands, and ſtaying to expect his Orders. To the Duke of *Mayenne* he gave the charge of the Battel, in which he put all the ſtrength of the Italian and Spaniſh Foot, together with twenty pieces of Cannon; and the Rere was led by the Sieur *de la Motbe*, with the Bourguignon Lances, and the Walloon Infantry. In the Flank of the Battel, but ſeparated on the right and left hand, he put the Sieur *de la Chaſtre*, and Colonel S^t *Paul* with the French Horſe and Foot; and he himſelf remained free to ride every where up and down, having with him Count *Aleſſandro Sforza*, *Nicolo Ceſis*, and *Appio Conti*, with onely One hundred Horſe.

The King ſends a Trumpet to the D. of *Mayenne*, challenging him to Battel. The Duke of *Mayenne* ſends him to the D. of *Parma*, who returns a notable anſwer to the King.

As ſoon as the Army of the League was ſeen to march reſolutely toward the Enemy along the great Highway, it was the general opinion of both ſides, that they ſhould certainly fight that day; and the King full of courage, his eyes ſparkling for very joy, having, with admirable celerity and exact diligence, drawn up his Army, in the ſame manner as it lay quartered before, waited with a longing deſire, till the Enemy coming down into the open field, ſhould give him opportunity to fight with equal advantage. The Kings Squadrons were already all in order, with the Artillery placed ready to fire, and the Marquiſs *de Ranty* ſtretching forth his Body of Lances as far as ever he could, already leaving the Hill, deſcended but very gently toward the Plain; when the Duke of *Parma*, ſeeing all the Field covered with his Vanguard, and that the Kings Army ſtood intently expecting him with a thought to fight, ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and galloped up to the head of the Battel, where having ſtaid the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was ſtill marching toward the Enemy, he made him turn ſuddenly towards *Lagny*, which ſtands upon the left hand; and having changed his order, ſo that the Battel became the Van, and the Rere the Battel, he marched ſpeedily to poſſeſs the Suburbs of that Town. *Lagny* is ſeated upon the River *Marne*, in ſuch manner, that the Suburbs, though but of a few houſes, ſtand upon the Bank on the right ſide, on which both the Armies were, and the Town is built upon the left; the paſſage between is by a large Bridge over the River, which being the principal that brings Victual to *Paris*, was alſo one of the chief Paſſes that was to be opened. Monſieur *de la Fin* was in *Lagny* with Fifteen Colours of French Foot, who (contrary to his expectation) ſeeing the whole Army of the League turned againſt him, and not thinking he could defend the Suburbs, which ſtood beyond the River, on that ſide the Enemy was coming, having broken and thrown down the Bridge, to the end they might not ſo eaſily paſs over, he retired with his men to defend the circuit of the Town, which before they could aſſault, it was neceſſary to paſs the River. The Duke of *Parma* having taken and poſſeſſed the Suburbs without reſiſtance, preſently quartered the French

The Duke of *Parma* draws his Army into Battalia, marches towards the Enemy, makes ſhew as if he would give Battel; then running ſuddenly, goes to *Lagny*, and deceives the King, who thinking to fight, had diſpoſed his Army in a readineſs.

French Infantry there, and about half a mile from them he encamped in the field of *Pompone* with the reſt of the Army, endeavouring, with infinite diligence, and with Trenches, Breſt-works, Redoubts, and Half moons, to ſecure the Camp, and to hinder and obſtruct the paſſages of all the Countrey round about. 1590.

The Marquiſs *de Ranty*, after he had with the Vanguard, held the Kings Army for many hours in ſuſpence, with a hope of fighting, towards the evening began likewiſe to march toward *Lagny*, leaving the King very doubtful what the Enemies deſign ſhould be; for he thought it neceſſary for them to paſs the River, if they would take that Town, which he believed they could not do, without great danger of loſing at leaſt their Rere-guard, if nothing elſe; and it ſeemed to him much more difficult to believe, that the Duke of *Parma* would aſſault any place before his face; but moſt difficult of all, that he would march toward *Paris* on that ſide, leaving the paſs of *Lagny* behind him, becauſe ſo he ſhould have ſhut himſelf up in the middle, and depriving himſelf of the concourſe of proviſions, would have beſieged his own Army himſelf; wherefore being doubtful in his mind, and not knowing what to reſolve on, to try what the enemies intent was, he ſent forth the Baron *de Biron*, the Grand Prior, and Monſieur *de la Noue*, to follow the Marquiſs *de Ranty*, and to begin as hot a skirmiſh as they could, to take ſome conjecture of the deſigns and proceedings of the Enemy; but the Carabines (who were got into the woody places that were there round about) having received the encounter very valiantly, and *Georgio Baſta* advancing with Four hundred Lances to ſecond them, the Skirmiſh was various till night, which parted them, ſo that without further action they retired both to their own Quarters. The Duke ſtill buſie in taking and fortifying all the Poſts that were between both the Armies, to defend himſelf if he ſhould be aſſaulted in the Rere, cauſed the Artillery to be planted againſt *Lagny* that very night, though with the River between, and the next morning by break of day began to batter the Wall with eleven pieces of Cannon. *La Fin* at firſt deſpiſed the Dukes Battery, ſeeing the River between them, and that though a breach ſhould be made, they could yet by no means come to aſſault it, by reaſon of the River; but he found himſelf much deceived, when he ſaw that the Duke having cauſed a Bridge of Boats to be caſt over it two Leagues above, had commanded *Capizucchi's Tertia* of Italians to paſs over, with *Berlotte's Tertia* of Walloons, and *Georgio Baſta's* Eight hundred Horſe, that they might be ready when it ſhould be time to ſtorm the Wall; which weak, and not lined with Earth, was like, within a few hours, to afford ſufficient paſſage for the aſſault.

In the interim, the King at laſt ſuſpecting what the Enemy was about to do (but at the time when the Quarter of the League was already well enough fortified, and all the paſſage ſtopt up with *Corps-de-Garde*, which the Duke of *Parma* had placed on every ſide) ſent forth divers Troops, and ſeveral ways to relieve the * beſieged, which all entred without reſiſtance; for the Duke cared not, nor valued that Relief, ſo long as the whole Army marched not: But the King could take no way that was not moſt difficult and dangerous; for if he moved not, *Lagny* was certainly loſt, and the paſſage was open to victual the City on that ſide; and if moving to relieve it, he ſhould paſs the River, the Duke leaving *Lagny*, would march with the victual he had brought, the ſtraight way to *Paris*; for which cauſe, he ſtaying, as it were, unmoveable, where he was, not being able to take any reſolution, conſulted nevertheleſs what was beſt to be done. The Mareſchal *de Biron* was of opinion, that following the ſame way by which the Marquiſs *de Ranty* was retired, and forcing two *Corps-de-Garde* that were on that ſide, he ſhould aſſault the Dukes Camp on the left hand toward *Meaux*, where it was leſs fortified than in the other places. Monſieur *de la Noue* was of opinion, that it was better to paſs the River, and placing themſelves behind *Lagny*, to reinforce and refreſh the Garriſon every moment, hoping, that being ſo relieved, it might hold out againſt the violence of the Enemy. To both theſe the King anſwered, That either way the Duke had free paſſage left him to *Paris*; for, by turning towards *Meaux*, the way by *Chelles* was left open, and, by paſſing the River the ſame way, would be neither more nor leſs free to him.

* In *Lagny*.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma* being reſolved not to loſe a minute, and aſſured of the ſolidneſs of his deſign, cauſed a furious aſſault to be given to the Walls of *Lagny*, though the breach was not very wide; where, while they are fighting ſtoutly on both ſides, the King, drawn by anger, to ſee all his paſt toils and labors loſt, could not contain hi mſelf from advancing that way with his whole Army in Battalia, but

1590. not with any ſetled reſolution what to do. The Duke of *Parma* on the other ſide, not ſtirring out of the compaſs of his Works, put his Army likewiſe in order within the circuit of his Camp, facing toward the Enemy, and leaving the appointed Forces without impediment to proſecute the aſſault, which having at firſt been happily repulſed by thoſe within, a diſorder gave the victory to the enemies: For being about to change and relieve thoſe that had endured the aſſault, they did it not file by file, as the good rule of defence directeth; but either for haſte, or want of experience, would needs do it all at once, from whence tumult and confuſion ariſing, the aſſailants not loſing the opportunity, redoubled the aſſault with ſo much readineſs, that the defendants being beaten off, who before were half diſordered by themſelves, they entred the Caſtle, and took *la Fin* priſoner; and the King, to the greater increaſe of his affliction, was only a ſpectator of the ſlaughter of his men, who being encompaſſed by the Walloons and Italians (who had given the aſſault with great emulation of each other) were, without mercy, put to the Sword. Wherefore, there being no more poſſibility of doing any thing about *Lagny*, neither to defend it, nor recover it, he was conſtrained, full of moſt bitter grief, and without any fruit at all, to return the ſame Evening to his old Quarters. *Lagny* being taken, and the paſſage of the River opened, the Victual already gathered together for that purpoſe, was carried from the far ſide of the River abundantly into *Paris*, the City opening their Gates with joy, and welcome to their deliverers, whereas ſix dayes before they thought they ſhould have been forced with utter ruine and deſolation, to have ſet them open to the Enemy. But the King ſeeing *Lagny* taken before his own eyes, and the hunger of the Pariſians relieved by that means, reſolved to withdraw from the enemy, becauſe it was certain that the Duke of *Parma*, having effected his deſign, would not fight any more of his own accord; and, to force him in his quarters, ſtrongly intrenched, and abounding with all manner of proviſions, was not a thing to be thought on; whereas, on the other ſide, his Army, conſumed by the continual toil and duty of the whole Summer, and therefore full of grievous diſeaſes which increaſed daily, began alſo to ſuffer for want of Victuals, the whole Country behind him being eaten up; and the impatiency of the Nobility, the want of money, the nature of the French, who having loſt the hope of taking *Paris*, and of coming to a Battel with the Enemy, could no longer endure the ſufferings and hardſhip of Arms, perſwaded him to that willingly, which within a few hours, not dayes, he would have been neceſſitated to do by force: Whereupon, the next day, which was the ſeventh of September, having put his Army in Battalia, he ſtood firm a while defying the enemy to Battel, and none appearing, no not ſo much as to skirmiſh, but the Field remaining free, he marched away, retiring to the Walls of St. *Denis*.

The Duke of *Parma* takes *Lagny* before the face of the Kings Army, whereby the paſſage of the River *Marne* being freed upon the ſixth of September, great ſtore of victual enters *Paris*.

The King withdraws his Army from the enemy and marches towards St. *Denis*.

But being exceedingly troubled and afflicted for the unproſperous ſucceſs of his affairs, and deſirous to do ſomething that might recover the ſpirit and credit of his Arms, it came in his mind to give an unexpected Scalado that night to the City of *Paris* it ſelf, attempting to get that ſuddenly by force, which he had not been able to attain by ſo long a ſiege, and by ſo great an extremity of famine: nor was it without much reaſon that he fell into this thought; for the ſtrictneſs of the ſiege being over, many of the Citizens, not well aſſured of the event, had taken refuge in the Country; and thoſe that remained in the City ſurfeiting in their great weakneſs with exceſs of meat, which their hunger made them greedily devour, were ſo faint and ſickly, that for the moſt part they lay unfit for ſervice: beſides, many of the Souldiers were gone forth to convoy the Victuals which were brought from *Chartres* and other places, and to guard them from the King's Garriſons which were near on every ſide: and, which imported moſt of all, it was credible that the Neighbourhood of ſo great an Army of Friends, which they knew waited cloſe upon the King's, would make men already tired out, and ſpent with hard duty and ſuffering, more negligent in their wonted Guards and fitting Watches to keep and make good ſo great a circuit of ground. Now the King being reſolved to attempt that enterpriſe, gave order that all ſhould meet as at a general Rendezvous in the Plain of *Bondy*, not far from the City; and having put the Scaling-ladders together, which for that uſe were carried with the Army, he took his way toward *Paris* * between eight and nine of the Clock at night. The Mareſchal *d' Aumont* led a

* The Italian ſayes, *Su le due hore della notte*; but their account of hours beginning from Sun-ſet, and ſo to 24, which end at Sun-ſet again, it is plain the Author meant 2 hours within night, which, according to the time of Sun-ſet there in that ſeaſon of the year, muſt needs be before Nine a Clock; for after 2 they could not have had time enough before day-light to march ſo far, and to make ſeveral attempts to ſcale the City.

fleeing

fleeing ſquadron with its Ladders; the Baron *de Biron* led ſuch another; and a third, in the ſame order, was brought up by the Sieur *de Lavardin*. The King followed with all the Princes and Commanders, and with the Cavalry drawn up ready to fight; and having paſſed the *Seine*, went toward that part of the City, which, as being furtheſt from danger, they thought would be leaſt guarded. The Scaling-ladders were preſented to the gates and walls of St. *Germain* by the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*; at St. *Michel* by *Biron*; and by *Lavardin*, between St. *Jaques* and St. *Marceau*. But they found the defendants ready and vigilant every where: for the Duke of *Nemours*, who cauſed the wayes to be diligently ſcowred, had had an inckling of their drawing together at *Bondy*, and of their marching toward *Paris*, and therefore had carefully diſpoſed and viſited the Guards in every place: whereupon, the foundation of the ſurpriſe failing, which was negligence, and the ſmall Guards of the Citizens; the Commanders, without much obſtinacy, brought off their Ladders, and returned to the place where the King with the Cavalry tarried for them; who facing about with an eaſie pace, drew off the ſame way he came: but not being able to withhold himſelf from trying to effect ſomething, and thinking that the Defendants, having beaten off his men, would perchance, after that nights watch, be more negligent and ſecure in the morning, having cauſed his Cavalry to make an halt, he turned about again to lead up the three fleeing Squadrons into the Trenches of the Gate and Curtine of St. *Mereau*, being reſolved there to make his laſt attempt: nor was his opinion altogether deceitful: for the Towns-men already wearied with long watching, were retired to ſleep; by which means two Ladders were ſet up with great ſilence, ſo that none either heard the noiſe, or ſtirred to hinder them; but a Jeſuite who ſtood ſentinel without the *Corps de Garde*, which was kept by thoſe Fathers, and *Nicholas Nivelle* a Book-ſeller, who was likewiſe upon the Gate, though farther off, hearing the noiſe, gave the Alarm, and running preſently to that place with the Halberds they had in their hands, overturned one of the Ladders, which being too long, reached above the Wall, and made ſo good reſiſtance at the head of the other, that the Sieur *de Cremonville* and *Parabere's* Lieutenant being killed, who were neer getting upon the Breſt-work, gave time for the coming of help: for at the noiſe of *Arm, arm*, and the cry of the Sentinels, the Guards who were aſleep drew forth armed, and a great number of Citizens running from all parts, before whom the Duke of *Nemours* was come, who, with ſingular diligence had rode round the Walls all that night: wherefore, the ſecond attempt proving alſo vain, the King retiring with all his Forces when it was broad day, marched off to the Walls of St *Denis*.

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The King marches towards St. *Denis*; but in the midſt of the night gives a ſcalado to the walls of *Paris*: yet the vigilancy of the Duke of *Nemours* makes it ineffectual. The Kings ſoldiers return at break of day to ſcale the walls again, 2 ladders are ſet up: but being diſcovered, they are repulſed, with the death of the firſt that went up.

Many were of opinion, that in this occaſion the King failed much in point of art and Military diſcipline: for if, leaving the principal poſt near *Paris* well guarded with part of his Army, he had advanced with the reſt as far as *Claye*, a much more fenny, and a much more defenſible place than *Chelles*, and had there fortified and intrenched himſelf, keeping that place diligently, he might perchance have held the Duke of *Parma*'s Army ſo long in play, which could paſs no other way to *Paris*, that the City being reduced to extreme neceſſity, would have been forced to yield, ſince the D. of *Parma* would not have been able to have forced that paſſage, kept by ſuch a ſtrength, if it had been fitly intrenched and fortified. Nor could he have had paſſage to have got to *Lagny*, if the King had been encamped on that way. Many others conſidered, that the King being reſolved to fight, and being riſen from *Paris* with that intent, he ought in the firſt encounter to have fallen boldly upon the Duke of *Parma*, before he had time to intrench himſelf: for though the time from night to morning was but ſhort, yet the Duke's ſoldiers, accuſtomed to labour, wrought with ſo much order and induſtry, that in leſs than Twenty four hours they finiſhed their Trenches; wherein the Commanders and Gentlemen working no leſs than the common ſoldiers, the Duke himſelf aſſiſted likewiſe, making the Engineers draw forth, and divide the work in his preſence. Some others taxed the impatiency of the King's Army, which had ſeen ſo great conſtancy in the common Trades-men, and the very women that were ſhut up in *Paris*, that after ſo many moneths of deſperate hunger, they held out ſtoutly nevertheleſs to the uttermoſt; and yet that ſo many Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, whereof that Army was compoſed, had not had the courage to endure, no not ſo much as the ſuſpition of hunger, but after a ſhort ſtay, and in a manner no oppoſition, except only the ſhew of a deſire to fight, left the field free, and the honour of the Victory to the enemy: whereupon on the one ſide, the D. of *Parma*'s art and diſcipline was praiſed to admiration; and on the other, the French humours and impatiency was much

Errors imputed to the King and his Army.

1590. blamed, having lightly believed that a Soldier of ſo great fame, would raſhly put that into the hand of Fortune, which might ſecurely be obtained by ſolid counſel, and upon this belief had neglected thoſe things which the commodiouſneſs of their ground afforded.

Excuſes in favour of the King.

Others excuſed the King, and ſaid (perhaps with as good reaſon) that the leaving of weak Guards about *Paris*, would have been but a giving of them up to be cut in pieces by the Citizens and Soldiers, who would have ſallied deſperately out of the City in great abundance; and that to aſſault the Duke's Army, much ſuperior in number, ſo without conſideration at their firſt coming, would have been a raſh and ruinous advice: for though he were not abſolutely fortified, yet was he already lodged; and that they ſhould not have had to do with a tumultuary inexpert body of men, gathered together in haſte, which might have been frighted with an aſſault, or diſordered, by being put into a confuſion, but with an old Army, led by Commanders of exceeding great valour and experience, who would have known how to make uſe of their own advantage, and the temerity of the aſſailants. They likewiſe excuſed their retiring ſo ſoon and aſcribed it not to the impatiency of the French humour, but to a wiſe well grounded counſel, ſince Armies are not to be adventured, nor put to endure certain hardſhip, unleſs a benefit equal to their ſuffering and danger might reſult from them: but the nearneſs of the King's Army could no wayes incommodate the D. of *Parma*, who was intrenched in his Quarters, and had the paſſage of the River open behind him, nor could it hinder the carriage of Victuals into *Paris*; wherefore, that it was prudently done to withdraw the Nobility from the danger of diſeaſes, which increaſed very faſt, and from other ſufferings, being ſure of hunger, and to reſerve it for a better uſe, and a fitter occaſion.

The King being come to St. *Denis* without money or victual, ſeparates his Army, which was oppreſſed with many diſeaſes.

However it was, the King, being come to St. *Denis*, ſeeing the diſeaſes increaſe, and not having money either in publick, or particular to maintain his Army, reſolved to ſeparate his Camp, and providing for the ſecurity of the Provinces, onely to keep a flying Army near himſelf, wherewith he might hinder the D. of *Parma* from making any greater progreſs. He therefore ſent the P. of *Conty* into *Tourain*, the D. of *Montpenſier* into *Normandy*, the D. of *Longueville* into *Picardy*, the D. of *Nevers* into *Champagne*, the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* into *Bourgongne*, he left Monſieur *de la Noue* in *Brie*, and he himſelf with the Mareſchal and Baron *de Biron* (having furniſhed and ſtrengthned thoſe Garriſons he held near about *Paris*) marched with a Body of men more expert then numerous, into the moſt rich and fertil places that are along the River *Oyſe*, to refreſh his Soldiers after ſo many ſufferings: And being come to *Clermont* (a Town which, becauſe it was reaſonably well garriſoned, had the boldneſs to ſhut its Gates againſt him) he fell to batter it with ſo much violence, that the Walls being beaten down, it was taken the third day, and ſacked with a very great ſlaughter; and the next day after, the Caſtle yielded it ſelf to him without reſiſtance; whereupon, remaining Maſter of the whole Country round about (for *Senlis* and *Compeigne* were already at his devotion) he had conveniency to quarter at large, and refreſh the Army he had with him; at which time, the Sieurs *de la Guiche* and *Sippierre*, having left the Camp to return to their own houſes with a good number of Horſe, met with the Viſcount *de Tavannes*, and the Sieur *de Falandre*, who were conveying victual from *Dreux* to *Paris*, and without having time to diſcover one another, they charged at the firſt encounter, with exceeding great valour on both ſides; but after a ſharp fight, for two hours, the Kings party had the better; *Tavannes* and *Falandre* leaving their victual and carriages, ſaved themſelves in the Town by flight.

The King aſſaults and batters *Clermont* ſo violently, that upon the third day he takes and ſacks it.

*Claude* Prince of *Jainville* defends *Troyes*, and beats back Monſieur *de Tinteville*, who had like to have ſurpriſed it by intelligence, with ſome of the Citizens.

The City of *Troyes* about that time was in great danger of being ſurpriſed by Monſieur *de Tinteville*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Champagne*; for he having held a Treaty with ſome of the Citizens, it ſucceeded ſo fortunately, that being entred the Town, he was already come up to the Market-place, when *Claude de Lorain*, Prince of *Jainville* (Son to the late D. of *Guiſe*, a youth, in valour and courage, not unlike his Father) who was then in the Town, having drawn his men together, charged the aſſailants with ſo much gallantry, that being repulſed with a very great ſlaughter, they had much ado to ſave themſelves.

The Duke of *Parma*, againſt his own will, lays ſiege to *Corbeil*.

In the mean time the D. of *Parma*, after the diſſolution of the Kings Army, having taken St. *Maur*, and the Bridge of *Charanton*, minded the facilitating of the paſſage of victuals to *Paris*; and being ſpurred on by the frequent intreaties of the D. of *Mayenne* and the Pariſians, upon the 22 of September, laid ſiege to *Corbeil*, to free the paſſage of the River *Seine* on that ſide alſo. The Duke had conſented unwillingly to put himſelf

himſelf upon that enterpriſe; for *Corbeil* was ſufficiently manned and fortified: Where- 1590.
fore, though the Town was little, and of ſmall account, he ſaw it was nevertheleſs ready to hold out the ſiege, ſo that the Duke having but few Cannon to batter the Walls; and, which imported more, ſmall ſtore of powder and bullet, doubted that to the leſſening of his own reputation, and the credit of his Army, it would prove very difficult for him to take it. Moreover, he feared leſt the Diſcipline of his Army (till then conſtantly obſerved) ſhould be broken: For the French of the League, not making thoſe proviſions of victual which he with wonderful order was wont to make, to keep plenty ſtill in his Camp; but on the contrary, the proviſions of the Army often failing through their negligence, he was forced to ſuffer his Souldiers to run about the Country, and his Troopers ſcattered themſelves, plundering far abroad, a thing which beyond meaſure troubling his mind, (averſe from oppreſſing or deſtroying a Friends Country, and from ſuffering his men to pillage licentiouſly) now made him take the greater thought about this ſiege, wherein he ſaw (if it ſhould laſt many days) thoſe faults, diſorders, and neceſſities, would be multiplied. Nor did the event deceive his expectation; for having laid ſiege to *Corbeil*, defended by *Rigaut* the Governour, it reſiſted ſo conſtantly, that for want of Victuals the Spaniards and Italians, and much more the Walloons, were fain to ſpoil all the Country, ſacking even thoſe places which the King in the long ſiege of *Paris* had left untouched: Whereupon the French of the League, though the fault proceeded from themſelves, murmured nevertheleſs againſt the Dukes Souldiers, and hated them no leſs than formerly they hated and murmured againſt the Hugonots. But the ſiege of *Corbeil* alſo, through many defects proceeded ſlowly, not being furniſhed with thoſe things that are neceſſary for the taking of ſtrong places; and particularly, there being ſuch ſmall ſtore of great ſhot, that it was neceſſary to ſend for ſome, though but a few, from *Orleans* and *Pontoyſe*; and yet the Duke endeavouring with induſtry to ſupply thoſe ſo important wants, renewed the Battery in ſo many ſeveral places, and with ſo many experiments, that upon the 16 of *October*, after they had fought four hours together, with wonderful obſtinacy, the Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, entred pelmel into the Town; *Rigaut* with the greater part of the defendents being ſlain, *la Grange* taken priſoner, and the Town ſacked with infinite violence.

The French of the League begin to hate the Duke of *Parma*'s Souldiers.

The Duke of *Parma* takes *Corbeil*: *Rigaut* the Governour is ſlain, with moſt of the defendents, and the place ſacked.

In the mean time, the King was moved from *Clermont* with Eight hundred Horſe, to try if he could put ſome relief into *Corbeil*; but having heard it was loſt, in his return back he fell upon a Quarter of two Troops of Light-horſe, which lay apart from the reſt, and having defeated them in a moment, and taken the Captains, he put moſt of the Souldiers to the Sword.

*Corbeil* being taken, the diſguſts between the Duke of *Parma*, and the French Heads of the League, increaſed; for the Duke thought it convenient to put a Gariſon of Walloons or Italians into it, which might be ſufficient to keep what he had gotten; and the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Pariſians grew jealous that the Spaniards, under ſhew of helping them, would make themſelves Maſters of that place, and many others, and uſurp for themſelves whatſoever acquiſitions they ſhould make. Wherefore the Duke of *Parma* having found what the French ſuſpected, and being again returned to his firſt deſigns of ſpinning the War out in length, to conſume the Forces, and tame the humour of both parties, and knowing that mens minds were not yet diſpoſed to receive that form which the Catholick Kings affairs required, he reſolved to depart, and go back again into *Flanders*, where there was exceeding great need of him and his Army. Many other circumſtances perſwaded him to the ſame reſolution; the waſting of his Forces, which by reaſon of diſeaſes diminiſhed every moment, want of money, and ſcarceneſs of proviſions, which were cauſes that he could not maintain the Diſcipline of his Army; the unfitneſs of the ſeaſon, which hindred him from making any further progreſs; whereupon he doubted, that by lying ſtill, his reputation would decreaſe, and the valour of his Souldiers degenerate; the neceſſary redoubled inſtances which from all parts were inſatiably made unto him for moneys; every one having perſwaded himſelf, that he to ſatisfie the covetouſneſs of them all, had brought Mountains of Gold along with him; and finally, the ſuſpicions of many, who already did rather murmur, than give him thanks for the relief he had given them in ſo great neceſſity, and in ſo evident danger. For theſe cauſes, having put *Corbeil* into the hands of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and having left *Lagny* entire, which before he had determined to diſmantle, he gave the Duke and the Pariſians to underſtand, that the neceſſity of the affairs of *Flanders* called him back, and that having obeyed the Catho-

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1590. lick Kings command in raiſing the ſiege of *Paris*, and opening the paſſages that were convenient for victuals, he ought not to ſtay longer in ſo contrary a ſeaſon, and ſo unfit for action, but return to take order for his own affairs, which to relieve his Friends, had been left in danger and confuſion.

This reſolution did much trouble thoſe of the League; who having conceived hope that the Spaniſh Army ſhould not forſake them till the enterpriſe were fully perfected, and that the Duke of *Parma* with his Men, and the Catholick Kings money, ſhould totally aſſiſt their party, did now ſee all thoſe deſigns fall in one inſtant, and their party remain deſtitute of thoſe neceſſary ſupplies of men and money. Wherefore, both the Duke of *Mayenne* in perſon, and the Deputies of *Paris*, and *Monſignor Sega*, Biſhop of *Piacenza*, (whom the Cardinal-Legat, departing ſuddenly by reaſon of the Popes death, had ſubſtituted Vice-Legat) urged the Duke of *Parma* with earneſt reiterated intreaties and conſiderations, to change that reſolution: And when they ſaw words prevailed not, and that the Duke was ſtill ſetting his Army in order to depart, the Duke of *Mayenne*, by the means of Monſieur *de Villeroy*, began a new Treaty of Accommodation with the King, to work a jealouſie in the Spaniards, and make them believe, that if their Forces were once gone, the Peace would immediately be concluded, and by conſequence, that all the expences and pains they had already undergone would be utterly loſt: But neither did this move the Duke of *Parma* from his determination, knowing the Duke of *Mayenne* would not eaſily bring his mind to lay aſide his preſent hopes, and to ſubmit himſelf to the power of his Enemies; and that though he ſhould do ſo, the buſineſs conſiſted not in him alone, but it was neceſſary that ſo many others, who were far off, divided, and drawn by different intereſts, muſt conſent unto it: That before they could conclude any thing, he might have leiſure to return, and undo whatſoever ſhould be agreed upon in the mean time. But leſt the affairs of the League ſhould grow deſperate, he promiſed them, aſſoon as he came to *Bruſſelles*, to pay down two hundred and thirty thouſand Ducats, for the payment of the Foreign Forces, and to leave a convenient number of Horſe and Foot under the Duke of *Mayenne*'s command, to uphold and continue the War. But that ſum of money ſeemed very ſmall to thoſe who had fancied to themſelves that all the Treaſures of the *Indies* ſhould be poured down upon them: and the men he left were indeed ſufficient to maintain the War, but not to make an end of it: Whereupon every one (but eſpecially the Pariſians, who had ſuffered ſo much before the coming, and had conceived ſo great hopes after the arrival of the Spaniſh Army) was reduced into wonderful great perplexity of mind, which was increaſed by the departure of Cardinal *Gaetano*, and becauſe they knew not what might be expected from the new Pope *Urban* the Seventh, and after him (who lived but twelve days) from *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who ſucceeded him in the Apoſtolick Chair.

The death of *Sixtus Quintus*

The Duke of *Parma*, though earneſtly intreated to ſtay in *France*, prepares nevertheleſs for his departure.

*Urban* the VII. created Pope after *Sixtus* V. he lives but twelve days, and is ſucceeded by *Gregory* XIV. a *Milaneſe*.

But the Duke, firm in his reſolution, after twenty days time which he had given the Army to refreſh it ſelf, marched towards *Champagne*, to hold the Enemy in doubt which way he would bend his courſe, and by that means to keep his paſſage free from Ambuſcadoes. He divided his Army into four parts; the Vanguard led by the Marquiſs of *Ranty*; the firſt Battalion by the Sieur *de la Motbe*, the ſecond Battalion he commanded himſelf, and the Reerguard was led by *Georgio Baſti*. All the ſeveral Diviſions marched always drawn up in Battalia, and with their Carriages of Baggage on each ſide, which ſhut them up, and encloſed them like a Trench, and were ſo near, that they might help one another mutually in a ſhort time. Proviſions of Victual were made; and marching thorow fertile plentiful Countries, they were not neceſſitated to enlarge themſelves; except the Light-horſe, who ſcowred the Neighbouring Ways, to diſcover the Country: neither did they go far off; for the Army being always ready, and diſpoſed to fight, feared not to be catch'd, and aſſaulted unaware.

The ordering of the Spaniſh Army in their return into *Flanders*.

But he was ſcarcely gone, drawing toward *Chaſteau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, when the Baron *de Guiry*, who was at *Melun*, aſſaulted and took *Corbeil*, which the Pariſians had negligently and weakly Gariſon'd, and with the ſame fortune returned, and recovered *Lagny*, which, contrary to the Duke of *Parma*'s advice, had not been ſlighted: at which the Pariſians, much moved and troubled, were exceeding earneſt with the Vice-Legat *Sega* to procure the ſtay of the Spaniſh Army, until ſuch time as thoſe places, ſo neceſſary for the bringing in of proviſions, were recovered. The Vice-Legat diſpatched the Promotary *Caraccioli* to the Duke, to preſent unto him the earneſt deſires and the neceſſity of the City of *Paris*: and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was in the Army, laboured

The Baron *de Guiry* recovers *Corbeil* and *Lagny*, which had been taken by the Duke of *Parma*

with

with all poſſible efficacy to perſwade him to ſtay: But the Duke of *Parma* excuſing himſelf, That his Army was much diminiſhed by ſickneſs, That the ſeaſon was ſo contrary, nothing could be done, and that the Low-Countries ſollicited his preſence, continued on his march, having ſome hope to obtain *Chaſteau-Thierry* by a Treaty, which he held with Viſcount *Pinart* Governor of that Town. 1590.

But the King, who was departed from *Compeigne*, accompanied by the Baron *de Byron* and the Duke of *Longueville*, with a ſelect number of men, followed the track of the Spaniſh Army, to hinder it from getting thoſe places that held of his party, and to watch ſome opportunity of doing it ſome miſchief: and having had ſome ſuſpition of the Treaty, he cauſed the Sieur *de la Noue*, with three hundred Horſes, and ſix hundred Foot, to enter into *Chaſteau-Thierry*; by which means, the Duke of *Parma*, deprived of that hope, bending on the left hand, took the ſtraight way to return into *Flanders*. The King followed, and marching ſpeedily, was ſometimes before him, ſometimes quartered beſides him, ſometimes preſſed him in the Rere; and by giving frequent Alarms, and bold skirmiſhes, did both day and night moleſt and ſurround the Army. The Duke of *Parma* proceeded with no leſs order and circumſpection; and keeping all parts of his Army under the ſame diſcipline, was quick and ready to turn which way ſoever the enemy ſhould preſs or ſhew himſelf. But having marched on this manner from the thirteenth to the five and twentieth of *November*, the King, deſirous to ſee the effect of ſo much diligence, and of ſo many labours, having drawn the Cavalry into five Bodies, advanced upon the ſame way by which the Army of the League was to paſs, making ſhew that he would charge them as they marched. The Carabines, who were ready for all aſſaults, received the skirmiſh very fiercely; and coming forth of the Barricadoes of their Carriages, wheeling, giving fire, and falling in again, did no ſmall harm to the King's Cavalry: wherefore the Baron *de Biron*, thinking to rout them, and eaſe himſelf of that trouble, charged up more boldly then conſiderately, with Fourſcore Cuiraſſiers, hoping to chaſe them back and diſorder them: but the Carabines giving way, according to their cuſtom, to retire behind the Squadrons of the Army, the Baron advanced ſo far in purſuit of them, and was ſo deeply engaged between two Squadrons of Lances of the Vanguard, that his Horſe being killed under him, he was in manifeſt danger to be taken priſoner; which being perceived by Count *de Tillieres*, who was on the right hand with a body of Cuiraſſiers, and by the Sieur *d' Humieres*, who was on the left hand with Ninety Horſe, they advanced no leſs couragiouſly than he, to diſingage him: but being charged by the whole Cavalry of the Vanguard, and the other Battalions coming one after another, who knowing, by the ratling of the ſhot, that the skirmiſh was begun, had haſtened their match, they were fain (leaving the field) to retire, fleeing full ſpeed, with evident hazard of being all cut off, if the King himſelf, and the Duke of *Longueville*, with the other two Squadrons, had not advanced to make the retreat; wherein having diſengaged *Biron*, and with much ado ſet him again on horſeback, who at the foot of a Bank, with two companions, had defended himſelf a great while againſt the Enemy: they were followed by them as far as a Village called *Longueval*, where night coming on, put an end to the fight, and gave the King convenient opportunity to retire. He quartered with all his Forces at *Pont-Arſy*, where they ſtood all night in Arms; nor did the enemy reſt more quietly: for the Kings celerity and courage kept all their Quarters in great jealouſie; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the rout of the two ſquadrons had been with more terror and danger than loſs, there being not above five men ſlain, and only twenty wounded. The next day the D. of *Nevers* joyned with the King with the Forces of *Champagne*, and likewiſe the Sieurs *de Giury* and *Parabiere*; who having taken *Corbeil*, and put a Garriſon into it, were come with all diligence to find him again; by which means being increaſed in ſtrength, he began with more boldneſs than before to moleſt the Duke's Army; who, intent upon his journey, not ſtirring, for any cauſe whatſoever, out of his ranks, nor out of the ſhelter of his Carriages, marched on commodiouſly before.

The Spaniſh Army marching towards *Flanders*, and the Kings Army following, they skirmiſh many dayes; but upon the 25 of November, the King, making ſhew that he would fight, the Baron *de Biron* engageth himſelf ſo far, that being relieved by his Friends, he had much ado to eſcape with help of night.

But upon the nine and twentieth day, the Army coming towards *Guiſe*, and the King being reſolved to attempt ſomething, with all his Cavalry fell upon their Rereguard, which having made a halt, and put their Army in a readineſs to fight, the Carabines failed not with their wonted courage to begin the Skirmiſh; but the King's Cavalry, which being for that purpoſe divided into little ſquadrons, and had order to charge home, and not give them time to do hurt with their ſhot, incloſed them in ſuch manner, that they all had been cut off in the place, if *Georgio Baſti*, with one thouſand

and

1590. and two hundred Lances, had not diſingaged them. The ſquadron of *Baſti* ruſh'd upon the ſmall Troops of the French Cavalry, ſo ordered to repreſs the Carabines; but not being able to receive the ſhock of ſo many Lances, the Baron of *Biron* was fain to retire half in diſorder. But being ſuſtain'd by the King himſelf, who with the reſt of his Horſe, and a Thouſand Foot of *Parabiere*'s old Regiment mounted behind them, advanced to re-enforce the Battel; *Baſti* not having order to fight, retired under the ſhelter of his Squadrons in very good order; yet could he not do it with ſo great circumſpection, but that the French remained maſters of ſome carriages, which by chance were ſeparated from the reſt. But the King being come near the Rere-guard, where *Pietro Gaetano* was making himſelf ready to oppoſe him, with the Foot drawn up in order, encompaſſed with his Carriages; and the Duke of *Parma*, who had faced about, and changed the order of his march, coming up with the ſecond Battalion, he reſolved to retire without attempting any further, by reaſon the Enemy was in ſo Soldierlike order, and that their Forces were ſo exceedingly unequal. This was the laſt day that the King moleſted the Spaniſh Army in its march. The Duke of *Parma* being arrived at the Frontiers, took leave of the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſtriving, with apt expreſſions, to confirm his courage, and to perſwade him that within a little while he ſhould receive powerful aſſiſtance of men and money; and that he might not leave him ſo weak, that he ſhould be forced to make an agreement with the Enemy, he commanded the Italian *Tertia* of *Pietro Gaetano*, and the Spaniſh one of *Alfonſo Idiaques* to ſtay in *France*, and abſolutely to obey the Duke, with whom he alſo left Four hundred Horſe, and One hundred Walloon Carabines; which Supplies added to the German *Tertia* of *Collalto* paid by the King, and to the other French forces, he thought a ſufficient Body to uphold the affairs of the League, eſpecially in a time when the King having divided his Army for want of Money, and becauſe of the paſt misfortunes, was manifeſtly declining.

The King aſſaults the Spaniſh Army again; and his Horſe having encompaſſed the enemies Rereguard, would have cut it in pieces, if *Georgio Baſti*, a famous Captain of thoſe times, had not diſengaged them with his Lanciers.

The Duke of *Parma* takes leave of the Duke of Mayenne, leaving him a *Tertia* of Italians, and another of Spaniards, and 500 Horſe.

*The End of the Eleventh* BOOK.

THE

1590.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The TWELFTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*THe Twelfth Book relates the various Turbulencies, in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom; the progreſs of the Duke of* Mercœur *in* Bretagne, *and of the Duke of* Savoy *in* Provence *and* Dauphine. *The King takes* Corby; *he is troubled in mind by reaſon of the contrary importunities of the Catholicks and Hugonots of his own party. He ſends the Viſcount* de Turenne *into* England *and* Germany, *who raiſes a great Army to bring it into* France *the Spring following. The Duke of* Mayenne *alſo is no leſs troubled than the King. The Pariſians attempt to ſurpriſe* St. Denis, *but effect it not, and the Chevalier* d' Aumale *is killed there. The King on the other ſide attempts to ſurprize* Paris, *and that deſign likewiſe proves vain. Pope* Sixtus Quintus *being dead,* Gregory *the Fourteenth ſucceeds, who declares himſelf favourable to the affairs of the League, and diſpatches his Nephew the Duke of* Montemarciano *into* France *with ſtrong Supplies. The King in the mean time beſieges and takes the City of* Chartres. *The Duke of* Mayenne *not having ſtrength to relieve that place, marches towards* Champagne, *takes* Chaſteau-Thierry, *and goes to* Rheins *to confer with the Duke of* Lorain. Marſilio Landriano *the Popes Nuncio arrives there, he publiſhes a* Monitory *againſt thoſe that follow the King, from whence divers alterations do ariſe. The young Cardinal of* Bourbon *tries to form a third party of Catholicks to bring himſelf to the Crown; the King advertiſed of it, applies divers remedies to that important accident. The Duke of* Mayenne *makes an attempt upon* Mante, *which takes not effect. The King beſieges* Noyon, *and after many encounters, it not being relieved, he takes it. The Popiſh and Spaniſh Forces paſs the Mountains, they aſſiſt the Duke of* Savoy; *and there happen ſeveral encounters. The Duke of* Guiſe *eſcapes from his impriſonment at* Tours. *The King and the Duke of* Mayenne *advance; the King to receive, the Duke to oppoſe the Viſcount* de Turenne *and the Germans in* Lorain. *The Armies draw near to one another at* Verdun: *The King having*

1590. *received the Viſcount with the Supplies, retires. The Council of* Sixteen *make an Inſurrection in the City of* Paris, *and cauſe the firſt Preſident of the Parliament, and other Counſellors, to be executed: The Duke of* Mayenne *haſtes thither, brings the City into obedience, and puniſhes the Delinquents. The King marches into* Normandy, *lays ſiege to the City of* Rouen, *defended by Monſieur* de Villars, *and a great number of choice Souldiers and Commanders; the various accidents of that ſiege are related. The Duke of* Parma *with the Spaniſh Army marches to relieve that place: The King with part of his Army goes to meet him; they encounter one another, and fight at* Aumale; *the King is wounded, his men routed, and he has much ado to ſave himſelf. Villars ſallying out of* Rouen, *enters the Trenches, and gains the Artillery. The Duke of* Parma *advances; but finding the City ſecured by that ſally, reſolves to retire and watch his opportunity. The King returns to* Rouen, *and renews the ſiege: The Duke of* Parma *alſo returns to bring relief; and the King (his Forces being waſted) riſes from the ſiege, and marches to the Banks of the River* Seine.

MEns minds were no leſs inflamed, nor the revolutions of the War leſs bloody in the other parts of the Kingdom, than they were in thoſe places where the chief Armies lay; for the affections of Religion, mingled in their hearts with particular intereſts, and with the already inveterate animoſities of the Factions, every one forward of himſelf, as in his own cauſe, and as in a controverſie that concerned him, did with all his power apply thoughts to the exerciſe of Arms. Wherefore the War was made both by the Heads and Governours of the two parties, and by private perſons of their own voluntary accord, with the ſame contention thorow every Province, but with various ſucceſſes and different fortune on both ſides.

The principal and moſt dangerous commotions were in *Bretagne*, a great and rich Province, well peopled, full of Gentry, conſiderable for the greatneſs of its Cities, and convenient for the benefit of the Ocean Sea, along the coaſts whereof it extends it ſelf towards the North. *Henry* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Dombes*, Son to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, a youth of exceeding high courage, was for the King, and had the name of Governour for him; but there were ſo few Towns under his obedience, that if it had not been for the help of lower *Normandy*, (which, confining with that Province, held of the Kings party, and was governed by the Duke his Father) he would either have been driven out of the Province, or eaſily ſuppreſſed by the greater forces of the League. On the other ſide, *Emanuel* of *Lorain*, Duke of *Mercœur* governed the party of the *Union*, who had not only from the beginning been (as Governour of the Province) in poſſeſſion of the beſt Cities and ſtrongeſt holds, but alſo pretending, that the Dutchy of *Bretagne* it ſelf, belonged to his Wife *Mary* of *Luxembourg*, Counteſs of *Ponthieure*, he had a wonderful great dependence of all thoſe, who rather deſired a Prince of their own, than the union with the Crown of *France*; which was not very pleaſing to them; and longing above meaſure to eſtabliſh himſelf in that poſſeſſion with the opportunity of preſent affairs, he had negotiated ſecretly in *Spain* by the means of *Loreno Tarnabuoni*, a Gentleman of his, who was ſent by Sea unto that Court, and had obtained that the Catholick King ſhould ſend and pay Four thouſand Foot for his aſſiſtance, upon condition that *Blavet* ſhould be conſigned to him for his ſecurity; a place as then not conſiderable, but which with the benefit of a very large Port fortified and improved by the Spaniards, came by little and little to be of exceeding great conſequence, not only to the affairs of that Province, but alſo of the whole Kingdom: Which as ſoon as it was known to the Prince of *Dombes*, (though his Forces were but weak, ſo that till then he had only exerciſed himſelf in actions of ſmall importance, to keep the Kings name alive in that Province; yet now, helping with art in ſo great need) he turned himſelf to oppoſe the entrance of ſtrangers: And having routed Three hundred of the Duke of *Mercœurs* Light-horſe, which were going to join themſelves with his Army, he aſſaulted *Annebont* ſuddenly, a place near *Blavet*; and having eaſily taken it, began with infinite celerity to build a Fort by the Sea ſide, which

The Duke of *Mercœurs* pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Bretagne*.

which might command and hinder the entry of Ships that ſhould come unto that Port, and beſtirred himſelf in ſuch manner, that he would have brought to perfection the ſervice he had in deſign, if (the Duke of *Mercœurs* Army ſtill increaſing, which was advanced to *Vannes*, ſeven leagues from *Blavet*) he had not been conſtrained (though the Fort were not yet quite finiſhed) to retreat into the places of his own party. Nevertheleſs having left a ſtrong Guard in the Fort, with ſix pieces of Cannon; and having put Eight hundred Foot into *Annebont*, he hoped that thoſe places might be able to hinder the entring and ſetling of the Enemy. The Spaniſh Fleet arrived at *Blavet* with Six and thirty ſail of Ships, and four Gallions, and with ſo proſperous a gale, that notwithſtanding the ſhot from Fort *Dombes*, redoubled with infinite fury by the defendents, it entered the Port without receiving much harm, and landed Four thouſand and five hundred Foot commanded by Don *Juan de l' Aquila*, who, to free the Port from all impediments, ſet himſelf without delay to take in Fort *Dombet*: Which not being brought to perfection, and having no hopes of relief from any place, yielded it ſelf the fifth day of the ſiege, and was preſently demoliſhed by the Spaniards: After which enterpriſe, being joined with the Duke *de Mercœur*, they recovered *Annebont*, and the other neighbouring places, with the ſame facility, and at laſt, under favour of the Fleet, began to fortifie *Blavet*, ſecuring it no leſs with two Forts Royal, built at the entry of the Haven for conveniency of bringing in relief by Sea; then they ſtrengthned it with Moats, Baſtions, and all other kinds of Military Fortifications on the Land-ſide. But the King, and the Prince of *Dombes*, knowing that they could not reſiſt the power of the Duke and the Spaniards, with the Forces they had in that Province, ſought for aſſiſtance from *England*; which lying over againſt it, hath conveniency of giving relief to that coaſt, no leſs than *Spain*: And having obtained Six thouſand Foot from the Queen, they expected their Landing at St. *Lo*, the fartheſt Port of Lower *Normandy*. 1590.

The Prince of *Dombes*, Governor for the King in *Bretagne*, oppoſes the Duke of *Mercœurs* deſigns, and cauſes Fort *Dombes* to be built, which is demoliſhed by the Spaniards.

With the like variety, and as great danger, did the War rage on the other ſide of the Kingdom: For *Dauphine* and *Provence* (Provinces bordering upon the Duke of *Savoy*, and ſpred in length to the very foot of the *Alps*) wavered with various fortune in the management of Arms. The Duke of *Savoy*, from the very beginning of the War, had applied the greatneſs of his mind to divers, and thoſe not ill-grounded hopes: For the affairs of *Piedmont* being ſecured, by his ſeizing upon the Marqueſate, and lying conveniently for the affairs of *Dauphine* by the near adjoining of *Savoy*, he hoped by fomenting the League, in ſome ſort to enlarge his confines: On the other ſide, being intereſſed in *Provence* by the Towns he holds there, he had an eye ſet upon getting the whole, whereof already he poſſeſſed a part: So that he held intelligence in both Provinces, and with Money and Arms endeavoured to advantage the courſe of his deſigns. Nor did his hopes ſtay there, but ſeeing the Kingdom in ſo great diſtraction, and ready to break the Salique Law, and to cut off the Legitimate Succeſſion of the Royal Family in the King of *Navarre*, there aroſe a certain conceit in him, that the States might perhaps incline to make choice of him, as being born of a Daughter of *France*; which he thought would prove ſo much the more eaſie to him, by how much more his name was famous in Arms, and by how much greater merit he ſhould acquire with the Catholick party, and in the opinion of the Pope, the principal mover (in reſpect of Religion) in the determination of the affairs of *France*. Nor did he forget (whatſoever event theſe deſigns ſhould have) that the opportunity of preſent affairs, gave him an occaſion of ſubduing the inhabitants of *Geneva*, now that the King of *France*, being buſied by himſelf, could not afford them any preſent relief. With this height of hopes, which increaſed his courage, having ſent his Agents to treat with the Duke of *Mayenne*; and having contracted a reciprocal intelligence with him, he had raiſed a great Body of Horſe and Foot, and had ſent forth Count *Franceſco Martinengo*, General of his Army, into *Provence*, and his Brother Don *Amadeo* of *Savoy* againſt *Geneva*; and by means of the Governours of his Gariſons, he gave help and aſſiſtance to the Forces of the League in *Dauphine*. Nor was the beginning unlike the greatneſs of his deſign: For the Sieur *de Vins*, and the Counteſs *de Seaux*, (a Lady of more than manly ſpirit) who both held for the League in *Provence*, finding themſelves inferiour in ſtrength to Monſieur *de la Valette*, the Kings Lieutenant, not only willingly received ſupplies and aſſiſtance from the Duke, but began alſo to treat of giving him the Dominion of that Province, and to put themſelves under his protection and ſupetiority: Which being treated and concluded by the Duke, he went in perſon to his

The Sieur *de Vins* and the Counteſs *de Seaux* conclude to give the ſuperiority of *Provence* to the Duke of *Savoy*; he goes to *Aix*, and is by the Parliament declared Head of the Politick and Military Government.

1590. Army, carrying with him ſome addition of Horſe and Foot, which by Commiſſion from *Spain* he had obtained from the Governour of *Milan*. At his arrival, the Kings party, inferiour in ſtrength, going down the wind, (though *Les Diguieres* being come out of *Dauphine* into that Province, did labour marvellouſly with his wonted valour and celerity, which were ſingular) the affairs of the League grew up to ſuch a height, that his Arms already gave the Law to the whole Country. Wherefore the Duke being come into the City of *Aix*, where the Parliament of *Provence* doth reſide, and being received with thoſe pomps and ſolemnities which are wont to be given to Sovereign Princes, (though he, imitating the Duke of *Mayenne*, refuſed to uſe the Cloth of State) he was in the Parliament declared Head of the War, and of the Civil Government in that Province, to preſerve it in the Union of the Catholicks, and under the obedience and Royal State of the Crown of *France*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* writes reſentingly to the Parliament of *Aix*, and to the Sieur *de Vins*, who, repenting himſelf, begins to diſfavour the Duke of *Savoys* deſigns.

This buſineſs diſpleaſed the Duke of *Mayenne* no leſs than it did the King; thinking not only that the Duke of *Savoy* ſought after and uſurped that Authority which the general conſent had conferred upon him, but alſo that he had an aim to diſmember *Provence*, and with the help of *Nizza* and his other Towns, by little and little to make himſelf Maſter of it; where he wrote ſharp reſenting Letters, not only to the Parliament, but alſo to the Sieur *de Vins*, and to the Counteſs, ſhewing them the fault they committed in ſeparating themſelves from the reſt of the Union, and in putting themſelves in danger to alienate ſo great, and ſo important a portion of the Crown. Theſe Letters wrought a very great effect in the Sieur *de Vins*, an old dependent upon the Houſe of *Lorain*; and he began to ſhew himſelf more backward in complying with the deſigns, and forwarding the progreſs of the Duke of *Savoy*: By whoſe example the City of *Marſeilles*, which (following the footſteps of the Parliament) had with a readineſs in the people called the Duke before, began now to repent themſelves, and to mutiny.

On the other ſide, the King (grieved to ſee Foreign Forces brought into that Province) had given order to *Les Diguieres*, that leaving the City of *Grenoble*, in *Dauphine*, beſieged; as well as he might, he ſhould march with the greateſt number of men he poſſibly could, to meet Monſieur *de la Valette* in *Provence*: Whereupon, *Les Diguieres*, accuſtomed from his youth to fight with the difficulties and ambiguities of Fortune, having left the poſts about *Grenoble* well guarded, to continue the ſiege already begun many months before, went with Four hundred Horſe, and Two thouſand Foot in relief of the Provincials, and kept the Duke of *Savoy* in trouble and diſquiet, who half forſaken by the Catholicks of the Provence, and but ſlenderly ſupplied by the Spaniards, who were not too well pleaſed with his proceedings, went ſpinning out the time in petty encounters, having diſpatched Monſieur *de Ligny* into *Spain*, to ſet his affairs in order with the Catholick King; and the Sieur *de la Croix* to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to excuſe what was paſt, and to confer about the manner of carrying himſelf for the time to come.

His affairs were much more proſperous in the Territories of *Geneva*, where having to do with the Forces of thoſe Citizens, which were not very powerful, and with Commanders of ſmall fame and experience, Don *Amadeo* had often routed the Enemies in the field, beaten up their Quarters, taken many Caſtles, overrun and ſacked the Country, and finally ſtraightned the City on all ſides; which with frequent and effectual importunities ſollicited for relief, ſometimes from the King of *France*, ſometimes from the Canton of *Bearne*.

*Grenoble* in *Dauphine* after a long ſiege, returns to the Kings obedience.

On the contrary, the War in *Dauphine* went on proſperouſly for the King; for though the Duke of *Savoy*'s Counſellors and Commanders, united with thoſe of the League which were in that Province, made great reſiſtance; yet were they not ſo ſtrong as Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, and Monſieur *Les Diguieres*, who after he had ſtopt the precipice of affairs in *Provence*, being returned to the ſiege of *Grenoble*, ſtreightned that City in ſuch manner, that after having ſuffered many months, the beſieged about the end of the year, agreed to ſurrender, upon condition not to be moleſted in their Conſciences, Goods, or Liberties; that the City ſhould be preſerved in the Catholick Religion, and in the State it then was; and on the other ſide, that they ſhould acknowledge King *Henry* the Fourth for their lawful Prince, by whoſe appointment they ſhould receive a Gariſon, and a Governour.

At this time the King freed from the Spaniſh Army, and from the late fear of the Duke of *Parma*, was come (in his return) to St. *Quentin*, where watching with his wonted

wonted diligence for all opportunities, he took a reſolution ſuddenly to aſſault *Corby*, a Town ſeated upon the River *Somme*, and convenient to bridle the City of *Amiens*, the Head of that Province, which held of the party of the League. With this deſign he removed his Camp from the Walls of St. *Quentin* in the dusk of the evening; but in his march finding all the Country up, and that the Villages furiouſly rung their Toque-ſaints, he could not get to the Walls of *Corby*, till within an hour before day. There the hope of effecting his intent appeared no leſs uncertain; for they found the whole Town in arms, and the defendents with Torches and Fires, ready to ſuſtain the aſſault, whereof they had been advertiſed by the cries and tumult of the Country people: And yet Monſieur *d' Humiers* coming up with the Regiments of St. *Denis* and *Parabiere* about break of day, cauſed a Petard to be faſtned to the Iron Gate of a Channel that came out of the Town on the lower ſide, which falling ſuddenly by the violence of the fire, the Foot advanced, ſome to the Channel which was frozen, ſome with Scaling-Ladders to the Wall adjoining, to give the aſſault; which though it were conſtantly received by the defendents, who ran together boldly to hinder their entry at their Iron Gate, and to make good the Walls; yet the Sieur *de Belle-Fourtiere*, Governour of the Town, being ſlain in the firſt encounter, and many of the ſtouteſt Souldiers falling, after a moſt bloody fight of three hours, the Town remained in the Kings power, who after his late misfortunes, thought he had concluded the year very proſperouſly. 1591.

The King aſſaults *Corby*, and takes it.

From *Corby* he marched to *Senlis*, ſeated juſt upon the way which leads from *Picardy* towards *Paris*; and there in the beginning of the year, he began to diſpoſe his counſels, to ſet his affairs in order, and find means to diſſolve and ſubdue the League. But he was no leſs troubled which way to keep his Catholicks, than he was to draw together ſufficient Forces to overcome the Enemy; for having promiſed from the Autumn of the year Eighty-nine, that in *March* following he would call an Aſſembly, to the end, he might be inſtructed in the Catholick Faith with that honour that befitted his perſon, and not having been able to perform his promiſe, becauſe the chief actions of the War hapned in that time, the battel of *Ivry*, and after that the ſiege of *Paris*, and the coming of the Spaniſh Army (to his loſs) now, That by their departure, and by the diminution of the Enemy, he ſeemed to be in a quiet condition, he was called upon by the tacite conſent of diſcreet perſons, to obſerve his promiſe; and thoſe that had not ſo much reſpect, or that were affectionate to Religion, murmured publickly, and complained as if they were deluded and deceived. But more openly the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, which with much ado had been drawn to the Kings obedience by the Mareſchal *de Matignon*'s diligent care, and arts of governing, now ſeeing his Converſion was deferred, began to reſent it, and at this time had ſent their firſt Preſident and two Counſellors to beſeech his Majeſty to take a final reſolution; the Catholicks not being able to quiet their Conſciences, unleſs they ſaw him reduced to the true Religion, held for ſo many Ages by all the moſt Chriſtian Kings his glorious Predeceſſors. Which Commiſſion having been fully and effectually performed by the Deputies, though the King ſeemed to take their Petition in good part, and anſwered it favourably, yet inwardly being troubled, and ſtung to the quick, he ſaw not what courſe he might take as a middle way which might give ſatisfaction to both parties. He ſaw the foundation of his affairs was ſetled in great part upon the Hugonots; for his command was no where more full, than in the places under their obedience; and the Catholick Provinces divided between themſelves, were ſhared between the two Factions, ſo that neither declared abſolutely for him: He argued within himſelf from the example of things paſt, how much miſchief for the moſt part comes by forſaking old friendſhips and confederacies, to give ones ſelf up wholly to the will and diſcretion of new ones: He conſidered, that not having changed his Religion at that time when being more ſtrong and victorious he might have done it with his reputation; now that he was declined in ſtrength, it might ſeem he did it timerouſly by force; the need he had at that very preſent of the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and of the Queen of *England*, repreſented it ſelf unto him, ſo that he was neceſſitated to think of not making them diſtruſtful of them. But on the other ſide, he knew moreover that if he loſt the Catholicks, he ſhould no longer have ſtrength to reſiſt; and that, except the Name of *King of France*, he ſhould return unto the ſame condition wherein he found himſelf ſo ſtraightned, before he went from *Rochell*. In this uncertainty of mind he knew but two remedies; one, to give full ſatisfaction to the Great Ones 1591.

The Catholicks make great complaints for the Kings perſevering in Calviniſm.

of

1591. Remedies used by the King to conserve the affections of those of his party, and keep them in obedience.

of his Army, to the end that they not stirring, all the rest might stay likewise; the other, to keep his men in perpetual exercise, that idleness and rest might not suggest those thoughts unto them. For this cause, knowing how great authority the Duke of *Nevers* had in the Catholick party, and how conspicuous his actions were, as a Prince that had always given testimony of Conscience and Religion, he conferred upon him the Government of *Champagne*, a great and principal Province, and which he had long before desired: And to the Baron *de Byron*, for the eminent reputation of his Father, and for his own merit and valour, besides the Office of Field-Mareschal, he promised the dignity of High-Admiral; and using terms of infinite kindness to all the rest, shewed himself gracious and liberal, always disposing places and honours to those Catholick Lords, who for birth, desert, or ancient devotion towards the Church, were proper to keep those loyal who were like to fall away because of the delay of his promises. And that he might not give way to idleness, and to those thoughts that take birth from thence, he recalled the Duke of *Espernon* to his Army, not only with a desire to reconcile him unto himself, but also to make use of him, and likewise of the Duke of *Nevers*, (who at that time besieged *Provins*) the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *de* St. *Paul* his Brother, and many other Catholick Lords; intending when he had drawn them together, to set himself upon some enterprise, which with the advancement of his own affairs, might keep every one of them honourably imployed.

The King recalls the Duke of *Espernon* to the Army, and other Catholick Lords, to reconcile them unto him.

After this resolution, succeeded that of gathering Forces, that he might be able not only to oppose the progress of the Spaniards in *Bretagne*, and the attempts of the Duke of *Savoy* in *Provence*; but also so to re-inforce his Army, that if the Duke of *Parma* should return and join with the Duke of *Lorain*, he might be equal to resist them in the Field. Nor being to address himself for supplies of money, and to obtain a numerous leavy of men to any others, than the Queen of *England*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*; since he saw both she and they were slack and cold alike, he determined to send a person of eminent vertue, quality, and authority unto them, who conferring with every Prince in particular, and afterwards casting up the whole, and treating with all in general, might be able to procure that fruit which the urgent necessity of his affairs required. First he thought upon the Mareschal *de Byron*, a man of renowned fame and prudence, equal to so great an exigent; but then judging him much more necessary for the conduct of his Army, because the Order, Discipline, and Foundation of all enterprises rested chiefly upon him, he resolved to send *Henry de la Tour*, Viscount *de Turenne*, a man not only by ancient Conversation, and by having run the same fortune with him, long known to be most faithful; but also for his wisdom and singular eloquence sufficient to manage a business of so great importance, and moreover for Valour and Military Discipline fit to lead and conduct those Supplies that should be granted; and so much the rather, because he being a Hugonot, would be so much the more acceptable, and proper to negotiate with Princes of the same Religion; since Monsieur *de Beauvis*, who till the death of the late King had been Ambassador to Queen *Elizabeth*, being a Catholick, was not very well received; and the Count *de Schombergh*, who had already been a long time in *Germany*, was likewise in respect of his Religion grown suspected to the Duke of *Saxony*, and to Prince *Casimir*, the Guardian of his young Nephew the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; but much more to the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who was jealous that he, under colour of negotiating the Kings affairs, endeavoured to discover their intents, and found their designs, to make them known unto the party of the League.

The Viscount went presently into *England*, where things were not so well disposed in favour of the King, but that the Queen thought to make her advantage of his present exigency, and upon occasion of the necessity he was in, to induce him to restore *Calais* unto her, or else to give some other Fortress of no less importance into her hands; a thing not only desired by all the Kings that had possessed that Crown, but impatiently longed for by all the people of *England*. But because the business was to be cunningly treated of, nor did the Queen want prudence or dexterity to manage it, she first made known that the Merchants of her Kingdom demanded to have a secure Port upon the Coasts of *France*, where their ships might put in and secure their persons and goods when they had occasion. Then she urged the reasons she had to desire it from a King that was her Friend and Confederate, and whom she always called by the name of Brother, since she had made the same demands to King *Charles*, and to King *Henry*, his last

Predecessors,

Predeceſſors, by reaſon of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s unjuſt Uſurpation of the Town of *Calais*, due unto her Crown by the poſſeſſion of ſo many Ages. But becauſe the Viſcount with no leſs induſtry, did not openly deny to ſatisfie her, but avoided and deferred it with ſeveral excuſes, ſometimes alledging the hatred that would thereby reſult unto the King, not yet eſtabliſhed, if he ſhould think to alienate any place: That the revolt of the Catholicks, (who were already more than moderately offended and diſguſted) would follow upon it: ſometimes telling the Queen her ſelf, that ſhe ought not to make that demand at that preſent, leſt ſhe ſhould ſhew a deſire to put the King upon a neceſſity of conſenting unto it, and in the urgency of his occaſions put (as they ſay) the nooſe about his neck, ſhe ſeemed to deſiſt, and reſerving the preſſing of that point till the time that the promiſes were to be fulfilled, which would be a more proper and a more urging conjuncture. In the mean time, the Viſcount obtained that ſhe ſhould lend the King One hundred thouſand Crowns for the Levies that were to be made: That ſhe ſhould ſend the Six thouſand Foot we ſpoke of, into *Bretagne*, for relief of the Prince of *Dombes*: That along with * him, ſhe ſhould ſend *Horatio Pallavicino* (a *Genoüiſe*, who for Religion was fled into that Iſland) to perſwade the States of *Holland*, and the Princes of *Germany* to aſſiſt the King with men and money on their part: and ſhe promiſed likewiſe, that if the Duke of *Parma* moved again to return into *France*, ſhe would powerfully aſſiſt *Grave Maurice* of *Naſſau*, and the Hollanders, to make a ſtrong diverſion, by entring into *Brabant* and *Flanders*. 1591.

* *The Viſcount.* The Viſcount of *Turenne* obtains aſſiſtance from Queen *Elizabeth*, the Hollanders, and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*.

With this Agreement the Viſcount being gone out of *England*, and come to the *Hague*, obtained from the States of *Holland*, not that which he pretended, which was Thirty thouſand Crowns ready money, but Three thouſand Foot paid, which were to unite themſelves with thoſe Forces that were to be raiſed in *Germany*; though afterwards, by reaſon of the urgency of their affairs, that promiſe alſo remained without effect. With the Princes of *Germany* there was much more to do, becauſe there were many of them, and their intereſts different: but the Viſcount carried himſelf with ſo much dexterity, being opportunely aſſiſted by *Pallavicino*, that in the end, of ſome he obtained men, of ſome money, and took order for the levying of Four thouſand Horſe and Eight thouſand Foot, which with a convenient Train of Artillery and Ammunition, ſhould be ready at the beginning of the Summer to march with him under the command of *Chriſtian* Prince of *Anhalt*, for the aſſiſtance of the King of *France*.

The thoughts that troubled the Duke of *Mayenne*, were not very different from thoſe that perplexed the King: for there being many Princes of his Family who pretended no leſs than he, he could not find means to ſatisfie them all; and to the other Lords and Commanders of that party, who continually demanded money to maintain the Souldiery, it was impoſſible to give a full ſatisfaction: whereupon many being diſpleaſed, and many falling off, he feared a diviſion, and that ſome would reſolve to go over to the Kings party; which was much to be doubted: for on the one ſide, the people thought themſelves extraordinarily burthened, and were no longer able to bear the loſſes and incommodities of the War: on the other ſide, the Souldiers were not contented with any kind of licentiouſneſs; nor did they ever ceaſe crying out for liberty, pay, rewards and ſatisfactions: but amongſt them all, the Pariſians, as they were chief of the party, ſo were they chief in their complaints, not only becauſe they ſaw not that progreſs which from the beginning they had fancied to themſelves; but becauſe the contributions and charges increaſed without end, they accuſed the Duke of want of conduct, or of too greedy a deſire to engroſs all to himſelf, or of extream profuſeneſs and prodigality of other mens moneys: nor did they conſider what a huge gulf a Civil War is, and how many intereſſed particulars were to be provided for in all parts of the Kingdom. To this were added the practices of the Spaniſh Miniſters, who, not to ſuffer the authority of the Duke of *Mayenne* (whom they thought little inclined to follow their deſigns) to grow too exceſſive, and to put the Catholick King in greater reputation and favour with the people, magnifying the expences, ſupplies and proviſions which had been afforded them, cried out againſt the ill management of the Duke, who for want of well employing them, had reaped ſo little advantage.

The party of the League take a diſguſt againſt the D. of *Mayenne*, which is fomented by the Spaniards.

There were ſome diſcontents between him and the Duke of *Lorain*: for he having taken *Villa Franca*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, becauſe it was a place belonging to the Crown, pretended to nominate the Governour, and to place the Gariſon: and the Duke of *Lorain* having taken it at his own charge, and with the induſtry and blood of his men, contended that he ought to be the diſpoſer and maſter of it; and being incenſed

The Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain* begin to be diſpleaſed, and to grow jealous of one another

that

1591. that he had not obtained his desire, he arose from the siege of *Montealto*, which he had begun, alledging that he would not have the fruits of his pains and dangers converted to the use of others: but these were but sprouts that grew from a deeper root: for the Duke of *Lorain*, who pretended to the pre-eminence as Head of the Family, knew that the Duke of *Mayenne* did not only possess the top, and count himself superiour now, as Lieutenant-General of the State of *France*, but had also a design to advance himself to the Crown; to the pretensions whereof, he thought the right of a Son born of a Daughter of *France* to be more valid, and conceived it reasonable that all the rest of the House should give place to the Head of the Family. But these secret thoughts, which were yet internally hid, did not let things break out to a manifest discord.

Greater were the disgusts with the Duke of *Nemours*, who (of a bold generous courage, but of a proud disdainful nature, having constantly and valiantly defended and made good the City of *Paris*, beyond all mens belief) pretended to no lesser place than to be his Brothers Lieutenant-General, and to have supreme Authority in the affairs of Paris, as their Preserver and Governour: which being a thing of great jealousie to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who would not that any other should meddle in the Government, and that the affairs of *Paris* (the foundation of the League) should not only be managed by him, but that they should not be so much as touched by anothers hand; they disagreed in such manner about the election of the *Prevost des Merchands*, and the other Magistrates, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, without making him or any body else acquainted with it, chose them to his own liking and satisfaction, without demurring upon those that were proposed and favoured by others; judging it to be so tender and so important a matter, that the respects which moved him to it, ought not to be imparted to any body: but the election being divulged, the Duke of *Nemours* (making open clamour, that those were refused who had done best service in the siege; and on the contrary, men were chosen either of little trust, or no valour) told the Duke of *Mayenne*, that with such like Magistrates as those, he had not heart enough to defend and maintain *Paris* as he had formerly done, and that therefore he did surrender up his Government to him: which falling out luckily according to the Dukes intention, he made no difficulty to take the surrender, and presently invested in the Government his eldest Son *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Esguillon*, giving him for his Lieutenant (during his minority) the Marquis *de Belin*, a man wholly at his devotion: at which, though the Duke of *Nemours* shewed himself highly incensed, and no less than he, the Parisians, who, by reason of his late defence of them, bore a wonderful great affection to him, yet matters were composed on this manner; That the Marquis of St. *Sorlin*, *Nemours* his Brother, should have the Government of *Dauphine*; and that he himself should have Forces and Money assigned him, to make War in his Government of *Lyons*; to which he went without delay: being neither well satisfied with his Brother, nor openly disgusted.

The Duke of *Nemours*, for some discontents received from his brother the Duke of *Mayenne* refuses the Government of the City of *Paris*, which the Duke of *Mayenne* confers upon his eldest Son the Duke of *Esguillon*, appointing the Marquis of *Belin* his Lieutenant

The Complaints of the Widow Dutchess of *Guise*.

But more grievous were the complaints of Madam *de Guise*, who with tears and womanish lamentations made her moan every hour, that among so many enterprises, there was no attempt thought of to free her son; and that Colonel *Alfonso Corso* (one of the Complotters of the death of the late Duke of *Guise* her Husband) having been taken in some encounter, was not torn in pieces in revenge, but set at liberty for a ransom of thirty thousand Crowns; and finally, that the Widow Dutchess of *Longueville* having been kept prisoner, in stead of treating to exchange her for her Son, they treated of exchanging her for the Duke *d' Elbeuf*. To which, though answer was made, that the Duke her Son was in a place environed with the Kings Forces, which they could not come at without a great Army, and without being Masters of the field; and nevertheless that divers Treaties had been held to that effect: That Colonel *Alfonso* being a prisoner of War, it was not lawful to do him any outrage, nor take away his life; and that the thirty thousand Crowns had proved of great advantage to the publick affairs: That there never had been a Treaty of giving the Dutchess of *Longueville* in exchange for the Duke *d' Elbeuf*, till after the King had declared he would not free the Duke of *Guise* upon any exchange; yet she nevertheless, being a querulous woman, and full of disdain, ceased not to disturb all businesses, and fill all ears with her lamentation. Nor could the Duke of *Mayenne* agree with the Duke of *Mercœur*; for, having setled a firm resolution in his mind, that no part of the Crown should be dismembred under his Government, he was very much grieved that *Mercœur* should

attempt

attempt to appropriate *Bretagne* to himſelf, and ſhould hold ſecret intelligences and practices with the Spaniards. 1590.

To the thought of home-bred diſcords was added the trouble of foreign ſupplies, which he ſaw not to anſwer his expectation; for he found the Duke of *Savoy* had deſigns and pretenſions of too much intereſt, whereby in ſtead of ſuccouring and aſſiſting, he ſeem'd rather to divide and diſmember the party of the League, and knew that the Duke of *Parma* and the other Spaniſh Miniſters had but little inclination to aſſiſt him ſo powerfully, that under their favour he might be able to make an end of the War; but he perceived they ſpun out the time in length, looking for ſome opportunity to promote their own deſigns. The change of the Pope did much more afflict him; for though *Sixtus Quintus* in the later months of his life, (grown ſuſpitious of the dealings of the Spaniards, and diſpleaſed at the ſharp proceedings of the *Conde de Olivares*) ſhewed himſelf alienated from the League, and little ſatisfied with the carriage of buſineſſes, and perhaps diſpoſed toward a reconciliation with the King, if he had given occaſion for it by his converſion; yet the new election of Cardinal *Sfondrato* with the name of *Gregory* the Fourteenth did not ſatisfie him at the firſt, judging him to depend ſo much upon, and to be ſo cloſely united unto *Spain*, that he would not move, but in the Catholick Kings ſteps; and beſides that, of ſo ſlack a nature, (as Fame with a general conſent reported him) that there was little life or quickneſs to be hoped for in his reſolutions. Amidſt this confuſion of thoughts, thinking principal aim ought to be to increaſe his ſtrength ſo much, as to be Maſter of the field, becauſe by that means the ſtreightning of the City being hindered, the Pariſians would be appeaſed, and the reputation of Victory would keep all humours in awe; he ſet himſelf with his uttermoſt endeavours to augment his Forces in the Kingdom, and diſpatched Preſident *Jeannin* (a man of ſingular prudence, and incomparable dexterity in matters of Government) to the King of *Spain*; and to the Pope he ſent his Secretary *Baudoin Sieur des Portes*, who for his long experience in the affairs of the Court, where he had been bred in the times of the late Kings, and for the vivacity of his underſtanding was thought fit to quicken the ſlowneſs, and forward the determinations of the Pope; and to theſe his Agents he not only gave in charge to make great haſte in their journeys; but alſo, as their principal end, to procure from both theſe Princes a firm, ſetled, ſpeedy, and powerful ſupply of men and money.

The Duke of *Mayenne* is troubled at the attempts of thoſe of his Family, at the deſigns of the Duke of *Savoy*, and at the delays of the Spaniards.

The Duke of *Mayenne* is not ſatisfied with the new Pope *Gregory* the 14. doubting his too great dependency upon *Spain*, and the unactiveneſs of his nature.

The Duke of *Mayenne* diſpatches Preſident *Jeannin* to the King of *Spain*; and the Sieur *des Portes* to the Pope to ſollicite aid

With theſe deſigns and preparations came in the year 1591, at the very beginning whereof the Pariſians attempted the enterpriſe of St. *Denis*. The City thirſted much after the recovery of that place; for ſtanding but two leagues from thence, and upon the paſs that leads into the moſt fertil Plains of the *Iſle* of *France*, it did much hinder the bringing in of Victual; and the Gariſon that was there over-running the whole Country, did exceedingly moleſt and obſtruct the ways. That which gave them hope of an happy iſſue, was, that the place was almoſt empty of inhabitants, and only kept by three hundred Foot, and one hundred and fifty Horſe, which though they rov'd very boldly about the fields, yet were they not ſufficient to maintain the compaſs of the walls, which of themſelves were very weak, and in ſome places broken and faln down; and that which ordinarily ſerves to ſtrengthen and defend a place, (to be ſeated in the midſt of Fenns that encompaſs it, and to have a Moat always full of Water) did in this ſeaſon ſerve for the conveniency of thoſe that would aſſault it, all the Waters being with the infinite cold frozen round about, ſo that they made a firm Bridge, and did facilitate the paſſage and way to come to the aſſault. 1591.

The Governour of the place was the Sieur *de Viq*, (lately come in the room of *Lavardin*) who though he uſed all poſſible endeavours to keep good guards in it, yet the weakneſs of the Gariſon, and the continual ſending parties abroad to ſtop the ways, tired out his men, and made them in that extream cold weather, not very careful to make good the Wall: Many there were that thought the enterpriſe not feiſable, by reaſon of the ſmall number of men that could be ſent from *Paris*: But the Chevalier *d' Aumale*, a Friend to bold reſolutions, and well informed of the ſtate of the Town, undertook the managing of it, and with One thouſand Foot, and Two hundred Horſe, marched out by night at the Gate which (becauſe it ſtands that way) is called by the ſame name; and having taken a little compaſs, drew near to the Town on that ſide, which joining to the Abby, he knew (as moſt remote) was kept with the leaſt

1591. diligence; where having found the Ice in every place very firm, and particularly in the Moat, he cauſed four Ladders to be ſet up againſt the Wall with ſo great ſilence, that they were not diſcovered by the Guards, in that part very thinly ſet. There went up two Captains with four and twenty Souldiers fully armed, and having found no obſtacle, made themſelves Maſters of the Gate adjoining, which being broken open, the Chevalier *d' Aumale* himſelf entred on foot before them all, with his Sword drawn, and after him the reſt of his men marching up in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the place. The Governour having heard the noiſe, and being informed that the Enemy had already taken the Gate, and were gotten upon the Wall; grown deſperate to ſee that by the negligence of his Souldiers, he ſhould loſe all the honour he had gotten in ſo many years of his life ſpent fortunately in War, getting on horſeback with only thirty of his men that followed him, and being reſolved to die, and not to ſurvive his own ruine, he cauſed two Trumpets he had with him to ſound furiouſly, to make the Enemy believe the number of thoſe that charged was greater, and, with his Beaver down, ruſhed boldly upon the Front of the Squadron, that was marching in order up the high ſtreet toward the Market-place. The fury of the horſes in the uncertainty of a very dark night, (the Commanders not having been willing to fire the houſes, leſt they ſhould totally deſtroy the Town) put the foot in diſorder; in which tumult, while the Chevalier *d' Aumale* turning about, and reproving his men, endeavoured to make them ſtand, and to ſet them again in order, being wounded with a thruſt in the throat, fell ſuddenly dead upon the ground; and his men having no longer either ſtrength, courage, order or reſolution, flying, fell foul upon the other Squadrons, and, diſordering themſelves from one to another, they got out at the ſame Gate, and without being purſued by any body, ran with all their might till they came to *Paris*, there remaining above a hundred of them, either ſlain by the defendents, or trampled under foot in the flight. The Sieur *de Viq* having recovered the Town, and redeemed his fortune by his own valour, gave the King an account of the ſucceſs, and did not only win great commendations, but alſo obtained of him a rich Abby, which had been poſſeſſed by the Chevalier *d' Aumale* with the title of the *Croſs of Jeruſalem*. Thoſe that were curious obſerved, that the Chevalier fell dead before the door of an Inn whoſe ſign was the *Eſpée Royale*; and they eſteemed it a much greater prodigy, that being laid upon the Bier in the Church of the Friers of St. *Denis*, his Carcaſs the night following was all gnawed and mangled by the Moles.

The Chevalier *d' Aumale* goes to ſurpriſe St. *Denis*, and without reſiſtance enters with all his men; but the Governor with only thirty Horſe charges, and routs the enemy; the Chevalier *d' Aumale* being run thorow the throat and left dead.

It was obſerved, that the Chevalier *d' Aumale* fell dead before an Inn whoſe ſign was a Sword embroidered with Golden Flower-de-luces, and that his body being ſet in the Church, was gnawn by Moles; *The French ſays*, Rats.

The example of this miſchance did not with-hold the King from attempting (though upon a better foundation) to ſurpriſe the City of *Paris* in the ſame manner. The firſt Preſident *Briſſon*, who ſo voluntarily (not to ſay precipitately) had made himſelf the head and Author in the Parliament of adhering to the League, perceiving now (as his Friends ſaid) that the ends of the Great Ones were not ſo ſincere toward the publick good, as he at firſt was perſwaded they were; or (as his ill-willers ſaid) corrupted by the great promiſes which were made him from the King, by certain perſons who were priſoners in the City; or (as the general opinion was) drawn by the inſtability of his own nature, had ſecretly begun to favour the Politicks, (for ſo they called thoſe that were affected to the King) who taking courage from his protection, did already make a conſiderable Body, and began to conſult which way to make the City revolt, and ſubmit it to the obedience of the King. The attempts and practices of theſe men were aſſiſted by the careleſs nature of the *Prevoſt des Merchands*, who either did not believe, or did not heed the relations that were made to him; nor did he uſe any care or induſtry to interrupt thoſe new deſigns, the report whereof was very common: But that which more favoured the Kings party, was the ill ſatisfaction of the people, not only tired with ſcarcity of Victual, and the hard duty they underwent continually in guarding the Walls, but alſo ſtomaching that the Marquiſs *de Belin*, a man of ordinary condition, and of an unactive nature, ſhould be put upon them for a Governour, whereas they were wont to have formerly the firſt Princes of the Blood, and the moſt eminent Officers of the Crown. The Duke of *Mayenne* was abſent, the Duke of *Nemours* far off and diſcontented, and the Chevalier *d' Aumale* lately dead, whoſe fierceneſs was wont to keep life in that party. All theſe things concurring, invited the King to make ſome attempt upon that City: And what perſwaded him much rather, was a deſire not to keep his Army idle, but to employ it in ſome enterpriſe, which for the greatneſs thereof, might keep it in ſome action full of expectation. Wherefore the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Eſpernon*, who were ſent for before, being now arrived,

Preſident *Briſſon*, one of the principal adherents to the League, having changed his mind, plots inſurrections in favor of the King.

and

and moreover thinking ſome practices now ripe which he held with his dependents in the City, he meant to help ſtrength with cunning on this manner: That Fourſcore Commanders and Reformadoes, diſguiſed in the habit of Country-fellows, with as many horſes laden with meal, ſhould go to the *Porte St. Honoré* to be let in after midnight, (becauſe, in reſpect of the frequent parties that ſcoured the ways, proviſions were commonly brought and received by night) and that theſe ſecretly armed, ſhould at their entrance ſtrive to poſſeſs themſelves of the Gate, being aſſiſted by an hundred men armed *Cap-a-pe* that followed them, in which tumult he had privately given order that thoſe of his party ſhould make ſome commotion within, but on the oppoſite ſide to the Gate that was aſſaulted, and ſhould endeavour to ſeize upon St. *Jaques*, or St. *Merceau*; and that at the ſame time the Army on the ſide of St. *Honoré*, *Montmartre*, and St. *Denis*, ſhould come up cloſe to ſcale the Walls: with which aſſaults, which were all to happen at one inſtant, he firmly hoped either to enter by force, or to be willingly received into the City; his adherents not ceaſing to uſe many practices to raiſe the people in ſeveral places. Theſe things were reſolved on for the twentieth day of *January*; the night whereof, though it had not been rainy, muſt nevertheleſs needs have been dark, the Moon ſetting towards midnight. But the Duke of *Eſpernon*'s paſſing by *Beaumont*, and his being joined with the Kings Army, and the Duke of *Nevers* having done the ſame, leaving the ſiege he had laid to *Provins* without any apparent reaſon; the Baron *de Guiry*'s having paſſed the River at *Lagny*, to unite himſelf with the reſt, and the ſeeing the King lie ſtill in a place ſo near them, had put a jealouſie into the Princeſſes who reſided in *Paris*: whereupon they did effectually exhort the Marquiſs *de Belin* to take care of the City, ſome ſign being already diſcovered of the firſt Preſidents inclinations, and of the machinations of many others, who went about ſtirring up the common people. The Marquiſs, excited by the earneſt perſwaſion of thoſe Ladies, began to apply his mind to the things that were told him; and falling into the ſame ſuſpition, upon the eighteenth day he publiſhed a moſt ſevere Proclamation, That any commotions or tumult happening in the City, every one, at the ringing of the Palace-Bell, and the others of every Pariſh, ſhould take Arms, and come forth of their houſes into the ſtreet, but that no man ſhould ſtir out of that Quarter wherein he ordinarily dwelt, upon pain of death without mercy: and he gave order to the Maſters of the ſeveral * Quarters ſtrictly to obſerve the motion of every one; from whence it came to paſs that the *Politicks*, being fewer, were kept and watcht by the much greater number, and that being diſperſed in their ſeveral Quarters, they could not meet together in a Body to moleſt or to make themſelves Maſters of any part of the City, all which alſo by this command were equally guarded. But the ſigns and ſuſpitions ſtill increaſing, by the diſcovery of certain Souldiers belonging to St. *Denis*, who were taken by the Sieur *de Tremont* as they were ſcowring the Country, from whom they underſtood that there were Scaling-ladders and other inſtruments proper to aſſault places withal, providing in that Town. The Princeſſes anxious and ſollicitous, ſent for the Governour unto them in the houſe of Madam *de Montpenſier*, and deſired him to make the *Porte St. Honoré* preſently to be ſhut up and lined with earth, as being weaker, and more expoſed to danger than the reſt; which was diligently performed upon the nineteenth day; and the Sieur *de Tremblecourt* was put there to guard it, with his Regiment of Lorainers. The Marquiſs *de Menelay*'s Regiment went to keep the Ports of St. *Denis* and *Montmartre*; and *Collalto*'s Germans ſtayed to guard the *Fauxbourgs* beyond the River.

1591. Eight Captains and other Reformadoes diſguiſed, with as many horſes load of Corn and Meal, receive order to go up to the Port St *Honore* about midnight, and to attempt to ſurpriſe *Paris*.

The Marquiſs *de Belin*, Lieutenant Governour of *Paris*, advertiſed of the Kings deſign, and of ſome tokens of Preſident *Briſſons* practices; makes a ſevere Proclamation, and orders and diſpoſes the Militia and the Citizens for the defence of the the City.

* Or, *Wards*.

Upon the twentieth day in the afternoon, the King [not being advertiſed of the orders given in the City, becauſe extraordinary care had been taken, that none ſhould ſtir out of the Gates] took his way towards *Paris*. Monſieur *de Viq* Governour of St. *Denis*, led the fourſcore that were diſguiſed in the habit of Country-men; and the other hundred were commanded by the Sieur *de Lavardin*. After theſe, followed the Baron *de Byron* with one thouſand and two hundred Fire-locks, which were to march up to poſſeſs themſelves of the gate; and behind them were four Squadrons of four hundred men apiece, who, armed breſt and head, were to advance to the Wall on the ſide toward *Montmartre* and St. *Denis*, there to ſet the Scaling-ladders; and theſe were led by the Sieurs *de Guiry*, *de Dunes*, *d' Humiers*, and *de la Noue*: after theſe marched the Swiſſes, with three ſmall pieces of Artillery, two Petards, to be made uſe of if occaſion were, and all other inſtruments ſerviceable for this aſſault. The King himſelf was in the Rereguard, with the Dukes of *Eſpernon* and *Longueville*, and eight hundred Gentlemen;

1591. The order observed by the Kings Souldiers for the surprising of *Paris*.

who, being alighted from their Horſes, and very well armed, had their Swords and Piſtols, with which they were to fall on where need ſhould require: and laſt of all, the Duke of *Nevers*, with the reſt of the Cavalry, ſtood in Arms to maintain the field. Aſſoon as the firſt were arrived with their loads of Corn and Meal, demanding to be let in, they ſpoke with *Tremblecourt*, who, being made wary by ſuſpition, talked a long while with them; and aſſoon as he knew them, he [to hold them in hand] gave order they ſhould go down to the entry of the River, and that there they ſhould be received by the boats that waited for that purpoſe; and preſently, by ringing of a Bell, he gave the Alarm to the City, and the Souldiers in Arms went readily up to the Works. The fourſcore retired a little back; and making ſhew that they would obey, and go down toward the River, gave the King intelligence of the noiſe that was in the City, [whereof he was already advertiſed by the ſound of the Bells] and deſired to know what was to be done. *D' Humiers* and the Baron *de Byron* were of opinion that the Scaling-ladders ſhould be ſet up, and a Petard faſtened to the Gate: but all the other Commanders thought it was not a thing to be attempted, and that (the Plot not having ſucceeded) to uſe force was too full of danger, and altogether hopeleſs: wherefore, after they had made a ſtand for a while, to ſee if their party within did make any Commotion, and this thought not ſucceeding neither, they faced about; and leaving the Cavalry to make good their Retreat, returned in the ſame order to their former Quarters.

The fourſcore diſguiſed Reformadoes are diſcovered by the Sieur *de Tremblecourt*.

This attempt wrought an effect very different from the Kings intention: for the Pariſians unſatisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, for that upon all occaſions he left them with a weak Gariſon, expoſed to theſe dangers, and ſeeing the King continually bent to do them miſchief, they were contented [being perſwaded by the Catholick Kings Miniſters] to receive into the City the Spaniſh *Tertia* of *Idiaques*, and another of Neapolitans, which was *Pietro Gaetano's*, commanded by Don *Aleſſandro de Monti*; which did not only confirm and ſtrengthen the Kings Enemies, and ſuppreſs his Friends and Adherents, but did alſo put the City in danger of remaining at laſt at the devotion of the Spaniards. Yet did there preſently follow another conſequent to the advantage of his affairs: for the Duke of *Mayenne* (who had conſented to the reſolution of the Pariſians, not to loſe them utterly, though it diſpleaſed him much, that, as not confiding in him, they ſhould fall off to the protection of foreigners) being confirmed in his ſuſpition that the Spaniards had particular deſigns of their own, and that they ſought to diſturb his authority, and to make their profit of the inſtability of the Pariſians, quickened the Treaty of Agreement, which, by the means of Monſieur *de Villeroy*, had never been intermitted with the High Chancellor and the Mareſchal *de Byron*; and not having been able upon any terms to obtain a Truce and free Commerce between the two parties, he was contented the King ſhould give ſo many Safe-conducts, that the Deputies might meet together from all the Provinces, to conſult in common of the means to conclude a Peace, with the ſafety of Religion, and the acknowledgment of the King; which paſſed ſo far, that for many days the Peace was held to be abſolutely concluded. But as the opinions of men are unſetled, and the moſt important determinations are altered by petty accidents, the Duke of *Mayenne* in the mean time while the ſafe-conducts were diſpatching, (in the grant whereof the King was for ſome days backward) having found the firmneſs of the Parliament in favour of him, and the weakneſs of the Gariſon that was received into *Paris*, not being in all both Spaniards and Neopolitans above One thouſand and three hundred Foot; a number fitter to ſatisfie the people in appearance, than to bridle the City: Nor being yet able to wean himſelf from his conceived hopes, as ſoon as he had received the ſafe-conducts, he diſpatched them with Letters added to all the Provinces, that they ſhould meet together in the City of *Rheims* in *Champagne*, not to apply themſelves to Peace (as had been agreed) but to make election of a new King; which as ſoon as it was known and divulged abroad, the King finding himſelf deceived, ſince now the talk was of aſſembling the Deputies to his prejudice, which he had permitted to meet together to treat of a re-union and peace between the two parties; having made grievous complaints thereof to *Villeroy*, he recalled his ſafe-conducts, and gave command, that all the Deputies that ſhould fall into the hands of any of his party, ſhould without delay be put to death; which nevertheleſs would not have hindred the Duke of *Mayenne* from calling the Aſſembly: But things not being yet ripe, nor diſpoſed fully in the manner he deſired; under pretence of that fear, the Convocation of the States was ſuffered to vaniſh inſenſibly of it ſelf.

The Pariſians, that they might not be left unprovided, receive a *Tertia* of Spaniards, and another of Neopolitans into the City.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, jealous of the Spaniſh deſigns, procures a Treaty ſo far, that for many days the Peace was certainly thought to be concluded.

The

The Dukes hopes were augmented by the Declaration of *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who (as the resolutions of Popes, are almost ever hot and earnest at their first coming in) despising that flegmatick humour which *Sixtus* (not to foment with the colour of Religion the interests of those who were in greatest power) had in the latter end of his life expressed in the affairs of *France*; shewed himself wholly inclined to favour, and promote the progress of the League, accounting it necessary so to do, for the safety of Religion, and the reputation and greatness of the Apostolick See; and desirous that *Hercole Sfondrato* his Nephew, newly by him invested in the Title of Duke of *Montemarciano*, should with military actions and eminent command increase in reputation and riches, he decreed to send him with numerous Forces in assistance of the League; and had therefore given order that Horse and Foot should with all speed be raised in the Territories of the Church; for the payment of which (though he found great contradiction in the Consistory of Cardinals) he resolved to take those moneys, which, having with extream diligence been gathered together by *Sixtus*, were kept in the Castle of St. *Angelo*; and to spend what should be requisite, as in the greatest and most urgent occasion the Church could have: And at the same time he appointed Legat to the Kingdom of *France*, *Monsignor Marsilio Landriano*, a Prelat of *Milan*, his Confident, and a man that was wont (as they say) stoutly to assert the liberty of the Church. Which things, after they were resolved on, and set in order, he sent several Messengers with speed to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to the Bishop of *Piacenza*, (whom he had in the mean time confirmed Vice-Legat in *France*) promising to them both plentiful supplies of men and money, that they might be able, not only rooting out heresie, to secure the Kingdom from imminent danger, but chusing a Catholick, peaceable King, and one obedient to the Church, to compose discords in peace, and restore tranquillity and repose to the people, already wearied out, and ruined with the calamities of War; and because the City of *Paris* had with infinite merit shewed it self by proof to be the true Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the constant Bulwark of Religion, he professed, That he would imploy his utmost endeavouas to ease it of its grievances, and settle it again in its first splendor of riches and greatness.

1591. Pope *Gregory* the XIV. resolves to send men and money to assist the League.

*Marsilio Landriano*, a Milanese, is chosen Legat to the Kingdom of *France* by *Gregory* the XIV.

These Letters did not only rejoyce the Vice-Legat, and confirm the courage of the Duke of *Mayenne*, (and so much the more, because with them the Pope sent an assignment of Fifteen thousand Crowns a month to be paid by the Merchants of *Paris* and *Lions*) but being published in Print to the whole party, did also fill every one with infinite expectation, seeing that the new Pope stood not like *Sixtus*, doubtful and unresolved what he should determine to do, but declaring himself resolutely, shewed he was an open Enemy to the King, and an effectual Protector of the Union, adding also deeds to words, while he was scarcely sought unto. That which increased the hopes of the Duke of *Mayenne*, no less than the Popes forwardness, was the cunning of the Duke of *Parma*; who (persisting in his design of drawing out the French Wars in length, to make advantage at last of their weariness and weakness, and therefore not willing that the Duke of *Mayenne*, remaining inferiour in strength, should lose courage, and resolve to make an Agreement with the King) seemed not to like well of those things which *Mendozza* and Don *Diego d Ivarra*, who were in *Paris*, managed particularly without the Duke; and with frequent Messages assured him, that he was setling the affairs of *Flanders*, that he might be able with all speed to march with his Army into *France*; promising him, that he would dispose of things in such manner as they with a joint consent should resolve, without taking notice of the opinions of others, the Commissions being such which he had from the Catholick King: For confirmation of which things, to those men the Duke of *Mayenne* sent to him, he shewed preparations for the gathering of an Army, and the lists of Forty thousand fighting men to enter into *Picardy*; for the payment of which, and to supply the League plentifully with money, according to the desires of the French, he affirmed, a course was taken in the Court of *Spain*, and that he expected the assignment for it every hour. By which, the Duke of *Mayenne* being encouraged, and returned to his wonted hopes, had dispatched his Secretary *Baudoin* Sieur *des Portes*, to *Rome* the second time, with order to sollicite the Pope to hasten away the Duke of *Montemarciano*, who was to pass thorow the States of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the County of *Bourgongne* streight into *Lorain*, to oppose the Forces which were preparing for the King in *Germany* by the Viscount *de Turenne*, and the Prince of *Anhalt*; and to the same effect he dispatched an expres Messenger into *Spain* to President *Jeannin*, who was already gone to

*Gregory* the 14. assigns 15000 Crowns by the month for the service of the League.

1591. to that Court, to the end that he might obtain from the Catholick King, that the Forces which that year were to paſs from *Milan* into *Flanders*, ſhould join in *Lorain* with thoſe of the Pope for the ſame purpoſe, hoping aſſuredly, that the Germans finding a briſk oppoſition at the Confines, ſo that they might not be able to advance and unite themſelves with the King, and the Duke of *Parma* with the Forces of *Flanders* entering into *Picardy*, the League would quickly and very eaſily remain victorious. In the mean time he had invited the Duke of *Lorain*, and the other Lords of his Family, to meet at *Rheims*, to the end, that with their general liking and conſent, things might be diſpoſed to their due ends, and that the difficulties might be removed which hindered the intereſts of their Houſe from being brought to perfection.

Theſe things were contrived at that time by the Duke, and negotiated with great diligence in all places by men of prudence and experience: But the King, whilſt opportunity and the weakneſs of his Enemies invited him, not to loſe time without advantage, firm in his deſign to ſtreighten ſtill the City of *Paris*, in the fall of which he thought the principal ſtrength of his adverſaries muſt fall too, reſolved to lay ſiege to *Chartres*, from the Territories whereof *Paris* is wont to receive the greateſt part of its ordinary proviſions; and becauſe the City being great, populous, and very well fortified, repreſented at firſt view the difficulty of the enterpriſe, he determined to prevent thoſe Supplies which for the well-furniſhing of a place of ſo great importance might be ſent by the Pariſians and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who with thoſe Forces he had left, lay ſtill at *Soiſſons*, to be ready to turn which way ſoever need ſhould require. Wherefore having ſent the Mareſchal *de Byron* toward *Diepe*, to receive and conduct the Ammunition and other neceſſaries come out of *England*, he taking a contrary way, went with the Duke of *Nevers* once more to beſiege *Provins*, a place of ſmall moment, and for the defence whereof, they of the League were reſolved not to run any hazard; but after that the Mareſchal *de Byron*, having received the proviſions which were at *Diepe*, began to return back, the King gave him order, that making as if he would aſſault the City of *Dreux*, he ſhould on the ſudden clap aſide before *Chartres*, and ſurround it in ſuch manner, that the relief which ſhould be diſpatched thither, might have no opportunity of entrance. *Byron* having paſſed the *Seine* at *Vernon* with his men and his Artillery, pointing ſometime this way, and ſometimes that way, did at once give his Souldiers conveniency to refreſh themſelves, and hold the Enemy in doubt to what place he would bend at laſt; making ſhew ſometimes that he alſo would go to join with the reſt of the Army at *Provins*; ſometimes, as if he would put himſelf in order to beſiege *Dreux*; now he placed himſelf upon the great high Road to *Paris*, and then at laſt having marched twelve leagues without reſting, he came upon the ſixteenth of *February* under the Walls of *Chartres*.

The deſcription of the ſituation of *Chartres*, before which the Mareſchal *de Byron* lays ſiege

The City of *Chartres* is ſeated in an uneven place, varied with fertil riſing hills, ſo that the Eaſt-ſide ſtands upon the top of an hill, and the Weſt ſpreads it ſelf in the bottom of the Plain, thorow the midſt whereof runs the River *Eure*, which, aſſoon as it comes to the Walls of the City on the South-ſide, divides it ſelf into three branches; one of which entring into the Town, drives a great many Mills; the ſecond paſſing under the Walls, falls into the Moat, and runs along thorow it; and the third taking a compaſs about a hundred paces from the Wall, invirons the circuit of the Suburbs, till being all come to the limits of the City turning towards the North, they meet again, and run together toward *Normandy*. The Eaſt-ſide, which ſtands upon the hills, (by reaſon of the difficulty of bringing Cannon thither, and becauſe it looked toward thoſe places from whence there was no expectation of any relief) was not beſieged by the Army: but the other ſide, which diſtends it ſelf along the Plain, and looks towards *Paris*, was all blocked up at the ſame inſtant: for the Sieur *de Vivans*, with his Harquebuſiers on Horſeback, quartered on the North-ſide in the Bourg *des Eſpars*; Monſieur *de Sourdis*, with the French Infantry, lay over againſt the *Porte de Dreux*; and the Mareſchal *de Byron*, with the remainder of the Cavalry and the Swiſſes, encamped himſelf on the South-ſide, over againſt the Gate and Baſtion of St. *Michel*.

The Governour of the City was Monſieur *de la Bourdaiſiere*, a careful diligent Cavalier. The Foot of the Gariſon was commanded by Captain *Peſſeray*, a very famous Souldier; but the reſt of the proviſions were not correſpondent to the valour of the Commander: for there were but few Foot in the Town, and much fewer Horſe; and the ſupplies that were lately come into it, were ſo weak, that they had made but a

ſmall

ſmall addition: for the Sieur *de la Croix*, who departing from *Orleans*, was ſuddenly come with ſixty Cuiraſſiers, and two hundred Harquebuſiers on horſeback to enter into the City, inconſiderately fell for haſte into the Army, which was drawing near the Walls, and being routed and put to flight, hardly got in with eighty of his men: on the other ſide Monſieur *de Grammont*, who was upon his march to go into *Normandy*, returned ſpeedily that way, but brought not with him above forty Gentlemen, and an hundred Souldiers: and Monſieur *de Vitry*, who doubting the Enemy would go to *Dreux*, had ſhut himſelf up in that Town, had not had means nor time to get thither; ſo that the number of the Gariſon was much inferiour to what need required. To this defect was added the want of Ammunition: for though when at firſt the Governour viſited thoſe ſtores, there were found three hundred Barrels of Powder, yet the cozenage of the Officers had ſo diminiſhed it, (at a time when it was exceeding dear in all places) that the firſt day of the ſiege (to *la Bourdaiſiere*'s great grief of heart) there were not left above eighty; and there likewiſe appeared a great want of thoſe other things that are neceſſary for defence. Theſe important wants were in part ſupplied by the forwardneſs of the Citizens, who with a free courage expoſed themſelves to all ſervices; and the ſame did a great many Country-people, who were got into the City, and laboured with the ſpade to make up the Works. For the firſt days, the Mareſchal thought it ſufficient to ſhut up the *Avenües* to the City, to exclude all relief, till the King ſhould come to the Camp with the reſt of the Army; and therefore he advanced at the firſt daſh, to quarter in the Suburbs. The Governour endeavoured to deprive him of that convenience, (very neceſſary in reſpect of the ſeaſon) and ſet fire on the houſes to burn them down; but the remedy was ſo late, by reaſon of the Enemies ſudden coming, that they had means to quench the fire before it could deſtroy many of the buildings; and ſo the Aſſailants had free poſſeſſion of the Suburbs, in which, after that the Mareſchal *de Byron* was commodiouſly quartered, the King arrived upon the nineteenth day: yet did they not preſently begin to raiſe Batteries, as well becauſe the Commanders were not well agreed among themſelves on which ſide they ſhould aſſault it, as alſo becauſe the want of Ammunition was perchance no leſs in the Army, than that of the Defendents within the Town; the proviſions that came from *England* being far ſhort of the Kings demands, and of the promiſes made to the Viſcount *de Turenne*: But the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, Governour of the Province, who was exceeding rich, and had very great authority in the Country, having at his own expence ſent for many neceſſary things from the Towns and Caſtles thereabouts, it was reſolved to batter on the ſide toward the *Fauxbourg des Eſpars*, as a place leſs fortified than the reſt, there being no other defence but great Towers of the old faſhion, and a Wall not very ſtrong, nor formerly fully lined with earth; but the Defendents having foreſeen where they were like to be aſſaulted by the beſiegers, though they had no Engineers skilful in Fortifications, yet they did draw a Line, as well as they could, on the inſide behind the Wall, flanking it with Ravelins, and raiſing it exceeding high with earth, in ſuch ſort, that the Artillery having battered down a good part of the Wall, their Works behind it appeared ſo ſtrong, that the King, not willing to expoſe his men to manifeſt danger, but knowing the ſmall number of the beſieged, and meaning to tire them out with hard duty and working, reſolved to remove his Battery to another place, thereby to render their paſt labours vain and uſeleſs: ſo in the beginning of *March* two Batteries were raiſed over againſt the *Porte de Dreux*, and they began to play on that ſide with eleven Pieces of Cannon. The Defendents preſently turned to make Works there, and with ſo much the greater heart, becauſe that part was already flanked with two convenient Ravelines, which had been made ever ſince the year 1569, when the Prince of *Conde* beſieged that place; and adding new Fortifications to the firſt, they reduced it to ſuch a paſs, that redoubled aſſaults were given in vain, and with the loſs of many men. All the month of *March* they laboured in that place, without being able to do any good, battering without, working within, and skirmiſhing almoſt every day at the points of the Ravelines, and at the entry of the Courtine: but upon the fifth of *April*, the King, with the ſame intention of fruſtrating the pains of the Defendents, removing his Battery yet again from thence, with eleven Redoubts, went ſomething lower towards the *Porte St. Michel*. The buſineſs was undertaken on that ſide by the Sieur *de Chaſtillon*; who doubting leſt the darkneſs of the night might make him miſtake the place where he had reſolved to open his trench, found this way, which was, to make a Truce for two hours

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The Sieur *de Chaſtillon*'s ſtratagem to caſt up his Trench by night without errour.

1591. hours with those of the Town, under pretence of fetching off the dead; and that being concluded, he himself was busie in making the bodies be pulled out of the Moat, and for quicker dispatch, to be brought along the Line, to the place where the Battery was prepared; which not only gave him a wonderful great convenience to discover and measure the situation, but also he feigned that one of the dead bodies could not be fetched off time enough, and caused it to be left for a mark upon the edge of the Moat, in that very place where he had designed by night to entrench himself. So the effect followed proportionably without errour: for the Battery being raised, and his Trench cast up in the appointed place, he began to batter with twelve Pieces of Cannon, and at the same time took care for the building of a Gallery covered with timber, that he might securely pass the Moat, and come to the foot of the Wall. The endeavours used on that side were thought to be very hopeful: for the Defendents, already tired, had not had time to cast up many Works there: But the Batteries went on slowly, and with intermission; for there wanted Ammunition in the Camp; so great a defect, and so hard to be remedied, that the King was oftentimes minded to give over the enterprise, if the Duke of *Nevers*, and much more the High Chancellor, had not stayed him with earnest intreaties and perswasions, and if some that ran over to him from the City, had not reported the want of Powder to be much greater within than it was without; which was so true, that it being all spent, there was hardly the quantity of two Barrels left, and that brought in by particular men, to be delivered to the Souldiers. The besiegers had already finished their Gallery, which was a thing built like a bridge, covered with boards o'erspread with earth and turfs, and then on the top of all, other boards and pieces of wood were fastened to make it stand the more firmly: the sides were made of thick beams joined so near together, that they defended those that were in the hollow of the Bridge; and the bottom was raised so high with planks, as might bear up the Assailants level with the breach. But the besieged having yet some Fire-works, and having also got together all the pitch which could be found in the several Shops, set fire on the Gallery, at the time when being ready to give the assault, many were already advanced into it; in such manner, that the Engineer himself (who was called *la Garde*) and some others with him having lost their lives, Colonel *Parabere* was forced with his men to come out of the Gallery, and to go a good way without any shelter, to get before the appointed time unto the assault, which caused the death of many of his most valiant Souldiers; and yet the fight being stoutly maintained on both sides, lasted four hours together, with much blood, there being slain two Colonels, eight Captains, and above two hundred Souldiers: and *Parabere* himself, and the Sieur *de Montet*, a valiant Gentleman of *Languedoc*, *Chastillon*'s Adjutant, were very dangerously wounded. But the want of Powder was already become irreparable to those within; wherefore Monsieur *de Vitry* first, and then the Viscount *de Tavennes* having attempted to put Men and Ammunition into the City, and not having been able to effect it by reason of the diligence of the Cavalry, which with continual care scoured all the ways; and after it was known that the Duke of *Mayenne* being come to the *Bois de Vincennes*, not having strength enough to make opposition in the field, had set himself upon the enterprise of *Chasteau-Thierry*, in a Country far remote, the besieged (being reduced to defend themselves with their Swords and Pikes, because they had not wherewithal to charge their Muskets and Cannon, and being decreased with toil, hard duty, and the loss of men slain in the late assaults) in the end, upon the Twelfth of *April* they agreed to surrender, if within three days they were not relieved with the number of, at least, Four hundred men, and some limited quantity of Ammunition; which days being being expired without received any assistance, at last upon the Nineteenth day, Monsieur *de la Bourdaisiere*, and the Sieur *de Grammont* (for Captain *Pesseray* was already slain in an assault) marching out in order with their Baggage, and Colours flying, gave up the place into the hands of the Baron *de Byron*, who entred into it with 800 Foot, and 200 Horse; and the King put Monsieur *de Sourdis* in the Government, to gratifie the High Chancellor, upon whom he, or (as his Detractors said) his Wife depended.

For want of Ammunition, the Battery goes on so slowly at *Chartres*, that the King thinks to raise the siege.

The Defendents of *Chartres* not being relieved, surrender the Town.

At the same time, while the King was busied at the siege of *Chartres*, the Duke of *Mayenne* being departed from *Soissons* with all his Forces, and come to the *Bois de Vincennes*, stood doubtful a good while, whether he should venture the Army he had to relieve that place; but those Forces that were sent for from many places not arriving time enough, and knowing himself so much weaker, that his advancing would have endangered

endangered the Army, without hope of giving any relief to the beſieged, turned toward the way of *Champagne*, where he had appointed the meeting of the Princes of *Lorain*; and to keep up his reputation, ſate down before *Chaſteau-Thierry*, a great place, well peopled, and pleaſantly ſeated; but whereof no long defence was to be hoped for, either in regard of the Walls of the Town, or of the ſtrength of the Caſtle. The Governor was the Viſcount *de Combleſy*, Son to Secretary *Pinart*, who, beſides his Wife and Children, had alſo his Father and Mother, and a great many Women ſhut up with him in the Caſtle, who being all affrighted, made a great ſtir and confuſion, though the defendants were ſufficient to make it good for ſome dayes. To this was added, that the Father and the Son had brought into the Caſtle all their Plate, Money, and Houſhold-ſtuff, which amounted to a great value, and were above meaſure ſollicitous, for fear if the place ſhould be ſacked, they might fall into the Enemies hands. On the other ſide, the Dukes Army had a deſire, not only to pillage the Town, which was full of inhabitants, but much more to plunder the Caſtle, wherein, the report was, that there were ineſtimable riches; by which hopes the Soldiers being encouraged, and eſpecially the ſtrangers, at their firſt arrival they bravely poſſeſſed themſelves of the Suburbs, frighting and confounding the heartleſs defendants with their reſolution. As ſoon as the Suburbs were taken, the Cannons were planted without delay, which having beaten down a good piece of the Wall, the aſſault was given; and though it was happily ſuſtained till the evening, yet it left the beſieged without hopes of being longer able to defend the Town; wherefore preſently quitting it, they retired the ſame night into the Caſtle. At that the tumult increaſed, and louder grew the cries of the Women, who with their Prayers and importunities, were the cauſe that *Pinart* ſent a Trumpet for his old Colleague the Sieur *de Villeroy*, who was in the Duke of *Mayennes* Camp, to treat with him about ſome compoſition; and yet having conferred together for two long hours, they came not to any concluſion: Wherefore, no ſooner was *Villeroy* gone out of the Caſtle, but inſtantly the Cannon began to play; the noiſe of which troubling not only the Ladies, but even *Pinart* himſelf, and alſo many others not accuſtomed to the trade of Arms, the Sieur *de Villeroy* was ſent for again the next morning, who was met by Madam *de Pinart*, with the other Ladies that were of her company, kneeling upon the ground, and beſeeching him with tears, to free them by a compoſition from falling into the power of the Soldiers, and eſpecially of ſtrangers. This ſight moved even *Villeroy* himſelf, who returning to the Duke of *Mayenne*, laboured to perſwade him, that it was much better to receive the Caſtle upon a Capitulation, and to get a good ſum of money from it for the maintenance of the War, than to entich ſtrangers, and ſhed French blood to ſatisfie their greedineſs: To which, the Duke of *Mayenne* (averſe from cruelty and plunder) eaſily conſenting, though the Army grumbled very much at it, yet the agreement was concluded, the Caſtle compounding for Twenty thouſand Crowns, great ſtore of Victual which the Town was to provide, the place, with the Artillery and Ammunition remaining freely at the Dukes diſpoſing. But *Pinart* thinking himſelf free from the calamities of the ſiege, fell preſently into other troubles: For, being accuſed of treachery, and that not out of cowardiſe, but perfidiouſneſs, he had delivered up that place without any neceſſity, he was therefore cenſured guilty by the Parliament of *Chalons*, and being abſent, condemned as a Rebel; and afterward bought out the Kings pardon, and the confiſcation of his Eſtate with Thirty thouſand Ducats. The taking of *Chaſteau-Thierry*, though not equal to that of *Chartres*, either for the quality of the place, or for the conſequences that it drew along with it, did yet give ſome reputation to the Arms of the League; whereupon the Duke of *Mayenne*, augmented in hopes and courage, went to the meeting at *Rheims*, where a common conſultation was to be held, of the way that ſhould be taken to advance the common intereſts, and to oppoſe the progreſs of the King; who, after the taking of *Chartres*, had, by policy and force gotten *Louviers* alſo, a place in *Normandy* near *Rouen*, which, for its ſituation and fortification, was eſteemed of very great importance.

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The Duke of *Mayenne* beſieges *Chaſteau-Thierry*, a place more pleaſant than ſtrong, the Governor whereof was the Secretary *Pinart*.

Secretary *Pinart* having brought all his goods into the Caſtle, for fear of loſing them, treats a Compoſition with the Sieur *de Villeroy*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* receiveth the place and Caſtle, with the compoſition of Twenty thouſand Crowns.

But though the War proceeded fortunately for the King, other things were not ſo proſperous, but new troubleſome accidents aroſe within his own party; for the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen (ſeeing that the time of his converſion was deferred without end, and that all the promiſes, and all the appointments of aſſembling the States, and calling the Prelates together, to give him thoſe inſtructions propounded by himſelf, and talked of every hour, proved vain, and without any effect at all) began alrea-

1591. dy to ſtagger in their reſolutions, to think of retiring, to murmur among themſelves, and to ſhew their diſcontent, which was increaſed beyond meaſure by a Declaration of the Kings; who, after the taking of *Chartres*, being come to *Mante*, had called his Council, with many of the moſt conſpicuous perſons that followed him, and had given them to underſtand, how the Queen of *England* and the Princes of *Germany* his Confederates (of whoſe Arms and aſſiſtance he had ſuch urgent need, that without them he had no hope of being able to ſuſtain his Crown) did preſs him daily, that (giving peace to mens Conſciences) he would permit Liberty of Religion, and a peaceable indifferent way of living to his Subjects, to unite them with perfect charity in the ſame body; and that the German Army being now upon the point of coming, he thought it good to prevent thoſe requeſts, which would then be made unto him with arms in their hands, in a time of extream neceſſity, and to grant ſomething now to thoſe of the Reformed Religion, that he might not be forced then to yield much more unto them: That he did not intend to grant them more than what King *Henry*, his glorious and moſt Catholick Predeceſſor had done, but ſimply to renew the laſt Edict of Pacification which had after been broken and revoked, not by the Kings will, but by the violences of the League; and that he thought fit to tell his Reaſons there in Council, to the end, that none might make a ſiniſter interpretation of that reſolution, but ſhould know, that all was done for the advantage of the Catholick Religion, not to ſuffer himſelf to be reduced to a neceſſity of giving them greater liberty, than what had been granted and eſtabliſhed in the times of his Predeceſſors: That every one ſhould weigh the ſtate of preſent Affairs, the Forces which the Pope and the Catholick King ſent againſt him, neceſſitating him to make uſe of the Supplies of the Proteſtants, to whom he could not, with reaſon, deny ſome juſt ſatisfaction, if he would be upheld by their blood, by their moneys, by their endeavors, and by their aſſiſtance; That this ſhould not retard his Promiſes, nor in the leaſt manner prejudice the Catholick Religion, which he would conſtantly favour, protect, and maintain. The major part of voices aſſented to the Kings propoſal, ſome others were ſcandalized at it, and particularly *Charles*, Cardinal of *Vendoſme*, (who, his Uncle being dead, made himſelf be called Cardinal of *Bourbon*) who (ſaying that he could not with a ſafe conſcience be preſent at that determination) made ſhew as if he would have gone away; but being not followed by the other Prelates, and ſharply recalled by the King, he came back (though not much to his reputation) and ſate down again. The Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, and the Biſhop of *Nantes*, Preſident *de Thou*, the High-Chancellor, and many other Catholicks, demanded that the Edict for liberty of Conſcience might not be abſolute, but that a clauſe might be added to it, to ſhew, it was intended to be in force until ſuch time as Peace being obtained, the differences of Religion might be accommodated, to reunite all the Subjects in one and the ſame belief: which being willingly conſented to by the King, the Edict was made, and ſome dayes after publiſhed, and Regiſtred in the Parliaments of his Party. Thoſe of the Council did not much reſiſt this Declaration, as well becauſe they ſaw the urgent need the King had to make uſe of the Proteſtants, as becauſe they perceived the oppoſing of it would have produced no good; beſides, the Hugonots already enjoyed that indeed, which was now granted to them in writing: But, thoſe Soldiers that were affected to the Catholick Religion, and that had not heard the reaſons of it, took marvellous great offence at it, and began almoſt openly to be diſguſted; and ſo much the more, becauſe the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and other great ones, fomented that diſcontent, and with words, not onely in private, but publickly oftentimes ſtirred up mens minds to a reſentment.

The King in Council with the moſt conſpicuous men of his party, declares the neceſſity of giving ſome ſatisfaction to the Hugonots. He propoſes the confirmation of the Edict of Pacification made laſt by *Henry* the Third, which grants them Liberty of Conſcience, with ſome circumſtances and limitations; and it is conſented to.

The Cardinal of *Vendoſme* begins to raiſe a third party of Catholicks, to make himſelf Head of them, and thereby to bring himſelf to the Crown.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* had already long before entertained a thought of framing a Party of Catholicks, different both from the League, and from thoſe that followed the King. This thought was ſprung up in him, from the conſideration that the Kings obſtinacy, in not turning his Religion, did not onely make his own poſſeſſion of the Crown more difficult, but alſo deprived the whole Royal Family of the juſt pretenſions it had to the inheritance of the Crown, ſince that all of them, as followers of an Heretick, were excluded from it together; and they of the League began already to diſcourſe of breaking the Salique Law, and of calling other Princes to the Crown, who had nothing to do with the Royal Conſanguinity: and this thought perplext and troubled him much more than the reſt, becauſe his Couſen the Prince of *Conde*, being then, as it were yet in ſwadling-clothes, and of the Hugonot Religion; and his elder brother the Prince of *Conty*, both by reaſon of a great imperfection in his ſpeech, being

being not very fit to govern, and because he had been cut for the Stone in his childhood, accounted unable to get children, he thought the neareſt hopes of the Crown belonged to himſelf, becauſe the Count *de Soiſſons*, the third brother, was younger than he; and the Duke of *Montpenſier* was much farther from the Succeſſion than they. From this meditation, and the diſdain it wrought in him, he began by little and little to nouriſh a deſire of withſtanding that prejudice, and to make himſelf a Faction that might bring him to the election of the Kingdom, ſince neither the Pope could oppoſe the perſon of a Cardinal, nor the Catholick King refuſe him as an Heretick; nor could they of the League in the end deny him due obedience. He had imparted this thought to *Jehan Touchard* Abbot of *Bellozanne*, who from his Infancy had been his Tutour, a man not at all of Pedantique breeding, nor of a mean dull underſtanding, but full of lively, active ſpirits, and well verſed in the diſcipline of the Court. This man looking after the advancement of his own greatneſs in being his Maſters inſtrument, fomented the Cardinal's deſigns, and regulated his pretenſions with good inſtructions, counſelled him to proceed ſecretly and very dexterouſly till he had gotten followers and adherents, and teaching him to make uſe of the conjunctures of times, which would offer him fit and profitable opportunities. And that he might have aſſiſtance in the raiſing of ſo eminent a deſign, having diſcovered the buſineſs to *Jaques Davy* Sieur *du Perron* (a young man, of mean birth, but of moſt profound learning; and therefore from the firſt received, and well looked upon in the Cardinals Family) and *Scipio Balbani* a *Luccheſe* (one who having ſpent many years unfortunately in Traffique, was, of a Merchant, become a manager of affairs in Court) they applied themſelves, with all their utmoſt endeavours to the framing of that third party. To this end *Perron*, under ſhew of complement, went to the Duke of *Longueville* and the Count *de St Paul*, brothers; who being deſcended from the Royal Family, but by Progenitors that were not legitimate, calling themſelves of the Houſe of *Orleans*, were zealous Catholicks, and kept themſelves united with the Princes of the blood for the maintenance of the Crown; and having repreſented unto them the conſiderations of that prejudice, which from the obſtinacy of the preſent King did fall upon their common intereſts, drew them cunningly to the ſame opinion, and to hold ſecret intelligence and correſpondence with the Cardinal. On the other ſide, *Balbani*, under colour of his own private affairs, went to *Rome*, to make excuſes to the Pope for the Cardinals abode in thoſe places that were of the King's party, which was to no other end, but onely to exhort and perſwade him to his converſion; which being now protracted contrary to the common expectations, and to ſo many promiſes he had made, the Cardinal, not willing to offend his own Conſcience, ſent him to excuſe it to his Holineſs, and to pray him to protect the Royal Family, which ought not to forfeit its rights for the obſtinacy of one man; and that when the Cardinal ſhould once be made certain of his hope, that the Apoſtolick See would ſuffer no other to be King but a Catholick of the legitimate ſtock of St. *Lewis*, he would declare himſelf with the Catholick Nobility and Commons, and deprive the King of the greateſt ſtrength of thoſe who followed him at that preſent, to uphold the Rights of the Royal Family. Now whilſt *Perron* and *Balbani*, the one within, the other without the Kingdom, did labour to plant the root of this third party, the Cardinal ſtaying at *Tours*, as Head and Preſident of the King's Council that reſided there, did, by himſelf, and by the means of *Touchard*, try to work upon the minds of many, and particularly of *Gilles de Souvray* Governor of that City, a man of exceeding great Piety, and no leſs Prudence, and who in the Court had alwayes been wonderfully famed for goodneſs and knowledge. But theſe deſigns, which, being communicated to many, could not be kept ſecret, were come to the ear of *Philip* Cardinal of *Lenon-court*, an old dependant upon the Houſe of *Navar*, who likewiſe following the Kings party, reſided in *Tours*, and was one of the Council: and there being no very good correſpondence between him and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he was the firſt that gave the King notice of it, repreſenting confuſedly unto him what he had been able to find out concerning thoſe deſigns that were contriving. The King knowing the emulation that was between the Cardinals, did not abſolutely credit *Lenon-court*'s relation; and yet he remained a little perplexed in mind, and began to ſtand at watch, that he might come to more certainty of the buſineſs, which Fortune brought him, as it were, of her ſelf, in ſuch a way, as a mans own imagination could not have thought: for *Balbani*, who was already come into *Italy*, having in his journey met with *Des Portes*, the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Secretary, who was likewiſe going to

1591.

*Scipio Balbani* is ſent to *Rome* by the Cardinal of *Vendoſme*, to treat with the Pope, and to communicate his deſign unto him.

The Cardinal of *Lenon-court* gives the King notice of the deſigns of the Cardinal of *Vendoſme*.

1591. *Rome* about the preſent affairs, made friendſhip with him, as they uſe to do that are intereſſed in the ſame Nation: after which, either inconſiderately, or that he might begin to ſcatter ſome ſeeds of it in the League, he imparted the buſineſs to him, for which the Cardinal ſent him to the Pope, and ſhewed him the Commiſſions, which for his information he had given him, diſtinctly compriſed in writing. *Des Portes*, a ſubtil man, and a wary manager of things, knew how to behave himſelf, and to flatter *Balbani* in ſuch manner, that he not onely ſounded the depth of the buſineſs, and what adherents the Cardinal had, but withal got a copy of his Inſtructions out of his hands; whereof he ſending ſeveral duplicates in his Letters to the D. of *Mayenne*, it ſo fell out, that one of them was intercepted by the Garriſon of *Auxerre*, and came to the Kings hands, with full information of the whole Plot. For the clearing and confirmation of this intelligence gotten by the Letters of *Des Portes*, it happened that *Jaques du Queſnay*, a Norman Gentleman, who was bred Page to the Duke of *Longueville*, as he was one night on the far ſide of his Lord's bed, where he was unſeen by reaſon of the Curtains, (the cuſtom of *France* being to entertain great perſons while they are undreſſing) by chance heard a long diſcourſe of *du Perron* to the ſame purpoſe, which he, thinking nothing, related to *Jehan d' Eſpinay*, his Kinſman; but, he being a Hugonot, and of a diſcreet underſtanding, delayed not long to diſcover all to Monſieur *de Chaſeron*, under whom he ſerved in the War, by whom afterwards the King was diſtinctly informed in every particular.

The Sieur *des Portes* Secretary to the Duke of *Mayenne*, informs him of the practices of the ſaid Cardinal: but a Letter being intercepted, falls into the Kings hands.

When the King knew what was plotting againſt him, he was extremely afflicted and troubled in mind; and having told the buſineſs to the High-Chancellor, and Monſieur *de la Noue*, deſired to have their advice in it. The High-Chancellor intent upon the King's Converſion, or becauſe he ſo thought it beſt, ſaid, it was in the Kings own power to remove thoſe obſtacles, and diſpel thoſe Clouds: for, by turning Catholick, he might at once take away the foundation of all thoſe contrivers, and open a moſt ſecure way to Peace and Union: That to think of any other remedy, was not onely vain, but deſtructive: for by alienating the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and other Princes of the Blood who ſided with him, he ſhould cut off one of his own Arms, and weaken his party in ſuch manner, that he would no longer be in a condition to reſiſt his Enemies: and on the other ſide, by diſſembling the knowledge of their machinations, they would have conveniency to perfect the deſign, drawing with them a great part of the Catholicks, diſcontented at the ſo long delay of his converſion: Whereupon, to ſhun thoſe two inevitable dangers, it was neceſſary at laſt to give ſatisfaction to all his ſervants, while the ſtate of Affairs permitted him to do it with his honor; for when the Catholick party ſhould fall from him, it would be no longer time to convert, nor to give them ſatisfaction, thinking to lure them again, as they do Hawks, when they are looſe from the fiſt; that therefore he ſhould rouze up his courage, and with a Royal reſolution, cut off the Roots of thoſe evils that were creeping about ſo dangerouſly. Monſieur *de la Noue* ſaid, That he would ſpeak the more freely, becauſe his Majeſty and all the World knew, he had ſaid from the very beginning, That if the King did not turn Catholick, he ſhould never be King of *France*; but that now it was neither time nor conjuncture, to make that determination; That the King knew how great a power of his Enemies was like ſhortly to come upon him, the Pope and the Catholick King having made wonderful great preparations to aſſiſt the League; that to oppoſe thoſe Forces, he had no other prop but the Supplies of the Queen of *England*, and of the Princes of *Germany*, who were drawing a great Army together under the Viſcount of *Turenne*, to uphold them in ſo great need; which Proviſions and Supplies would all vaniſh in a moment, if he at that preſent ſhould change his Religion; for not onely they being offended, would forſake him, but all the Hugonots of the Kingdom that followed him would fall away, whereby at the arrival of the Enemies Forces he would be found alone, unprovided, abandoned, without any means to reſiſt, and left to the diſcretion of his Enemies: That the exigency of Affairs would not give way to the counſel of preventing the future, with a preſent ruine: That the Forces of *Italy* were already ſet forward, the Duke of *Parma* already was gathering an Army; nor did the ſtraitneſs of time permit the thought of things that were far off, but perſwade the uſe of preſent remedies: That the Cardinal of *Bourbons* deſign had no very firm foundation, and though it ſhould ſucceed, yet it required a great length of time: That at the preſent, not very reſolute and powerful remedies were to be applied, but ſuch as might mitigate and defer the diſeaſe, till means might be had to purge

The High Chancellor being told by the King, of the Cardinal of *Vendoſmes* deſignes, perſwades him to turn Catholick.

Monſieur *de la Noues* Anſwer to the High-Chancellor.

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it away: That it was needful to ſeparate thoſe Lords into ſeveral places, to have an eye upon their actions, to ſeek to pacifie them, and keep them in till the event were ſeen of the coming of the forreign Forces of each party: That afterwards time and occaſions would of themſelves miniſter remedies proportionable to the diſeaſe, and the means of getting one day out of thoſe Labyrinths. The King beſt liked this advice, which was alſo confirmed by the Mareſchal *de Biron*, to whoſe opinion all ſerious matters were at laſt referred. Whereupon he preſently diſpatched Letters to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the other Lords of the Council, that they ſhould come to him to the Camp, he having need of their help and aſſiſtance; and removing the Count *de Soiſſons* from the Government of thoſe parts, he ſent to Govern *Poitou* and *Tourain* the Prince of *Conty*; a man not engaged in the plot, and already excluded by his own Brothers: For the Count *de Soiſſons* alſo (angry, becauſe the King having often promiſed him his own Siſter, the Lady *Catherine*, to Wife, did now refuſe to give her him) aſſented to the Cardinals deſigns, with hopes alſo, that though he were the younger Brother, yet being a Lay-man, the Election which the Catholick Princes of the Blood ſhould make, might fall upon him: Whereupon, the Cardinal being come to the Camp before *Chartres*, and continuing to come to the Council, hapned to be preſent at the Edict which was made in favour of the Hugonots, which he oppoſed both by his geſtures and words, and after it was paſſed, ceaſed not to talk ſiniſterly of it, to perſwade the Catholicks to comply with him. Nor could the King ſo eaſily have diſ-entangled himſelf from that tumult, if an engine framed by the League to do him hurt, had not proved of admirable advantage to him. 1591.

The Count *de Soiſſons*, brother to the Cardinal *Vendoſme*, is removed from the Government of *Poitou* upon ſuſpicion.

*Landriano* the Nuncio was come to *Rhems*, being ſent by the Pope, with Monitory Letters directed to the Prelates that followed the Kings party, and to the Nobility, Cities, and people of the ſame party; wherein, after the wonted Prefaces, and having copiouſly exaggerated and deteſted the Error which the Catholicks, eſpecially the Clergy, committed in following and fomenting a King that was a relapſed and excommunicated Heretick, and in voluntarily putting upon their own necks, the miſerable yoak of the ſervitude of Hereſie, he did at laſt with pregnant words ordain, and expreſly command the Clergy (under pain of Excommunication, of being deprived of their Dignities and Benefices, and of being uſed as Sectaries and Hereticks) that within a certain time, they ſhould withdraw themſelves from thoſe places that yielded obedience to *Henry* of *Bourbon*, and from the union and fellowſhip of his Faction; and admoniſhed and exhorted, but in the end, alſo commanded the Nobility and People, that forſaking all, and leaving thoſe places that acknowledged the Hereticks, they ſhould retire among the Catholicks, and ſuch as obeyed the Apoſtolick See in the true unity of the Faith. The whole *Monitory* was full of grave and exquiſit words, high and threatning expreſſions, ſharp and rigorous commands, and in ſum, ſuch as ſeemed not to ſute much with the preſent time, wherein the Kings Forces went on proſperouſly, and the affairs of the League were diminiſhed both in ſtrength and reputation: wherefore being taken into conſideration by the D. of *Mayenne* and the principal heads of his party, many were of opinion, and particularly Monſieur *de Villeroy*, that it was good to defer the publication thereof till another time, when (the Arms of the Confederates being in greater credit and reputation) they might hope to reap ſome fruit by it: But the *Nuncio* (little verſed in the affairs of *France*, and accuſtomed to meaſure things by the opinions of the Court of *Rome*) the Biſh. of *Piacenza* alſo (though he was better experienced in the preſent buſineſſes, yet wholly intent to pleaſe the Pope, and win his favor) and the Spaniſh Miniſters (being perſwaded by hatred, and inticed with a deſire to ſee things every day more diſturbed) were reſolved, that the *Monitory* ſhould be publiſhed. The French Lords conſidered, that it was not only a thing very difficult, but alſo not by any means to be hoped for; that the Prelates and the Nobility, who had their wealth, dignities, and Prelacies in the Kings hands, ſhould reſolve to forſake them to ſatisfie the Pope, their number being but ſmall now adayes, who for their ſouls ſake are content to forgo their eſtates; that moreover they had already from the beginning expected theſe commands and menaces from the Pope, and had prepared their minds to bear them: That the more they were forc'd, the more obdurate they would be, and loſing all hope of ever being received into the Popes favor, would become more obſtinate in following their party, and labouring to get the Victory: That it was needful to allure them, and draw them cunningly, not to terrifie them and drive them into utter deſpair: That ſuch-like threats would be proper after a Victory,

*Landriano* the Popes Nuncio arrives at *Rheims* with Monitory Letters to the Prelates and Catholicks of the Kings party.

1591. Victory, to give them colour and occaſion upon that pretence to fall from the King when his affairs were languiſhing, but not now, when being powerful and flouriſhing, it was not to be believed that any body would forſake him: That prudent reſolutions were not to be grounded upon probabilities, but truths; nor ought things to be regulated according to the opinion of thoſe that judged afar off, but by the judgment of men, who, beſides their long experience in affairs, were preſent upon the place it ſelf. The Popiſh and Spaniſh Miniſters thought theſe things were ſpoken out of a common charity to the Nation, not becauſe they were true: and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had ſet all his hopes upon the coming of the Forces out of *Italy* and *Flanders*, and would not diſtaſte thoſe Princes, referred himſelf to them; and therefore, without delaying, the Monitory was preſently publiſhed, which produced the ſame effect the French Lords had foretold; for the King having called his Council (wherein he would have all the Prelates that were in *Mante*, and the moſt conſpicuous perſons of his Army to be preſent) complained grievouſly of the courſe which the Pope took with him at that preſent, praiſed and commended the moderation of *Sixtus*, who being made ſenſible, that the diſcords grew from the ambition and covetouſneſs of dividing the Kingdom, and not from zeal and affection towards Religion, had forborn to give aſſiſtance to the League, and tacitely granted him time to think of turning opportunely to the Catholick Faith; cheriſhing, and graciouſly hearkning to thoſe who followed him for a good end, and for the ſervice of God, of Juſtice, and of their Country, as the Duke of *Luxembourg* could give full teſtimony. He declared his intention to obſerve what he had ſincerely promiſed to the Catholick Nobility in the beginning of his Reign; he excuſed himſelf, that he had been hindered by the heat of War, from uſing thoſe means which he thought fitting, both for the importance of the buſineſs, and the quality of his Perſon; and at laſt exhorted all the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons to uſe all their uttermoſt endeavors to conſerve the immunities and priviledges of the Gallique Church, not to ſuffer that Kingdom to be divided and diſmembred, which they had received ſo flouriſhing from their Anceſtors; and not to permit the people to remain without their Prelates and Paſtors to the danger of errour, ſchiſm, and damnation; things which though they were neither ſeen nor conſidered at *Rome*, were yet nevertheleſs too obvious to the eye of whoſoever ſhould look upon them with Chriſtian piety. Hereupon he cauſed a very grave Decree to be made, declaring, That he would inviolably obſerve his promiſe, and exhorting the Parliaments to take care for the dignity of the Crown, and the Prelates to look to the people under their Charge, and to preſerve the liberty of the *Gallique* Church.

After long oppoſition by the French Lords, the Monitory is publiſhed to the ſatisfaction of the Spaniſh and Popiſh party.

The Decree being made with a moſt free conſent (becauſe every one was offended at the ſevereneſs of the *Monitory*, and at the coming of the Nuncio *Landriano*) he diſpatched Preſident *de Thou* to *Tours*, and Preſident *Favre* to *Chalons*, in which Parliaments the perſon of *Landriano* was with very great liberty ſpoken and decreed againſt, and there it was determined, That the Monitory ſhould be publickly burnt, and at the ſame time moſt ſevere Decrees were made againſt thoſe that ſhould forſake the party, and follow the intimation of *Landriano*, depriving the Clergy of their Dignities and Benefices, and confiſcating the Eſtates and Goods of whatſoever Lords, Gentlemen, or others ſhould do ſo, and making them all ſubject to the pain of High-Treaſon and Rebellion; which, added to that diſdain the French liberty had conceived at the ſevereneſs of the Monitory, did ſo bridle mens mindes, that there was not now any one that ſtirred: but on the contrary, thoſe that were turned after the new deſigns attempted by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, did now alienate their mindes from all other thoughts, ſave the Conſervation and maintaining of the King, whoſe Arms they ſaw in a fair way to Victory; the Clergy ſaying publickly, that the Canons did not command them to abandon their Flocks in ſuch diſtracted dangerous times, nor did duty enjoyn them to forſake their Countries, their own houſes and eſtates given by the liberality of former Kings, as a reward for their labours, to go like miſerable vagabonds to beg a hundred Crowns in penſion from the charity of the Popes Nephews: That in the end, the King, remaining victorious, would compoſe matters with the Pope; and then, whoſoever had been obſtinate and rebellious againſt him, would be utterly undone: and that they could not in conſcience forſake a Prince, who implored their aid and inſtruction to come to the obedience of the Church. Thus alwayes thoſe engines that were framed to oppugn the King, did wonderfully ſucceed to his advantage; and poiſons were converted into medicines. To theſe Decrees of the Parliament of *Tours*

The Parliaments of *Chalons* and *Tours* decree, That the Pope's Monitory ſhould be publickly burnt.

and

and *Chalons*, the Parliament of *Paris* oppoſed contrary Decrees, receiving the Monitory, and admitting the Nuncio's Commiſſions, exhorting and commanding that all ſhould be accepted, publiſhed, and obeyed; impoſing moſt ſevere puniſhments upon thoſe that ſhould tranſgreſs. But neither for this did the Prelates or Nobility that followed the King's Party ſtir one jot from their firſt propoſal: and all thoſe diſcourſes and complaints which before were made for the liberty granted to the Hugonots in the exerciſe of their Religion, were now turned againſt the Pope's ſevere, and (as they called it) precipitate reſolution. 1591.

The Parliament of *Paris* makes Decrees contrary to thoſe of the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons*.

In the mean time, the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*, the Nuncio *Laudriano*, the Spaniſh and Savoyard Ambaſſadors, and Cardinal *Pelleve* Archbiſhop of *Rheims* (an old protector and favourer of the League) were all come into that City to the appointed Meeting; and there their common intereſts were with long diſcourſes exactly treated of: wherein, though every one did, under various colours and pretences palliate the intereſts of his own deſigns, yet was it very clearly ſeen they could not all agree in the ſame end. The Spaniards truſted upon their power, and the neceſſity that others had of their aſſiſtance; the Nuncio, upon the Majeſty of the Apoſtolick See, and upon the foundation of Religion; aſſerting, that the authority of diſpoſing thoſe matters was proper and peculiar to the Pope: The Duke of *Lorain* grounded himſelf upon fitneſs and decency, as Head of the Family, and pretended, that the reſt ought in reverence to yield to his pretenſions; the Duke of *Savoy* aſpired to the acquiſition of *Provence*; the Duke of *Mercœur* to that of *Bretagne*; the Duke of *Nemours* deſigned to Canton himſelf in his Governments; and finally, the Duke of *Mayenne*, General of the Armies, and leader of his party, truſted upon the union of the People, and the concurrence of the Nobility that bore an affection to his name. But things were not yet ripe; and every one proceeding with great warineſs and ſecrecy, concealed his own thoughts, and made ſhew to be moved onely by the conſideration of the general good; which being obſerved by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and being confident that with time, opportunity, and his prudent managery, he ſhould bring the reſt to conſent to his opinion, having onely concluded, with their common Forces to oppoſe the coming of the Kings forraign Supplies, all other things were remitted till a more ſeaſonable time; the Duke having demonſtrated, that it was more neceſſary to employ the preſent in action, and not in conſultation; the King's Germans being already upon their March, and he himſelf continuing proſperous in the progreſs of the War.

Wherefore the Meeting at *Rheims* broke up without any other determination, and onely the Duke of *Mayenne* loſt a little of that confidence he had conceived of the Pope's adherence, having found the Nuncio in all things inſeparable from the intereſts of Spain; whereupon, deſigning to make uſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Forces, onely to hinder the entry of forraigners, in other matters he was reſolved not to truſt to any but his French-men. To this end he preſently diſpatched a Gentleman in all haſte to Preſident *Jeannin*, who already was arrived in *Spain*, to give him directions, not ſo much to labour for ſupplies of Spaniſh or Italian Forces, as to procure Pay for a ſet number of French Foot and Horſe, under pretence that the Officers of thoſe two Nations were unwilling to obey his commands, and that with French Forces, which ſcorned not to acknowledge him, and were acquainted with their own Country, he might ſooner, more eaſily, and with fewer rubs, effect their common intereſts. To the ſame purpoſe, he, by redoubled Meſſengers, gave commiſſion to *Des Portes* to ſollicit the Pope for an expreſs order, that his Army under the D. of *Monte-Marciano* ſhould ſtay in *Lorain*, and there, united with that Dukes Forces and the ſupplies from *Flanders*, ſhould oppoſe the coming of the Viſcount *de Turenne*, alledging, that that was the principal means to hinder the King from aſſiſtance, and very eaſily to become Conquerors in the War: which having already agreed upon with the Nuncio, whom he had eaſily made believe, that the Sum of affairs conſiſted in that, he with his own Forces took his way towards *Paris* and *Normandy*, to withſtand the King's daily progreſs.

The Meeting at *Rheims* diſſolves without any determination.

The Pope ſends 1200 horſe and 6000 foot into *France*, under the command of the Duke of *Monte-Marciano*.

The D. of *Monte-Marciano's* Forces were conſiderable; which being drawn together at *Lodi*, choſen by the Catholick King's permiſſion for a place of Rendezvous, they amounted to the number of One thouſand and two hundred Horſe, and Two thouſand Foot, all under noble and experienced Commanders: to theſe, Four thouſand Swiſſes were to joyn, being raiſed in the Catholick Cantons by the Popes money taken out of the Caſtle. The Catholick Kings Forces deſtin'd for *Flanders*, conſiſting of two *Tertia's* of Foot, and Four hundred Horſe, commanded by *Marco Pio*, and

1591. and the Governor of *Alexandria*, marched with the Pope's Army, making the ſame Voyage. To this Body, which (paſſing from the Confines of *Savoy* thorough the Country of *Bourgongne*) was to come into *Lorain*, the Army of that Duke intended to joyn it ſelf, being already Four thouſand effective Foot, and Eight hundred Horſe; ſo that the confederate Princes made account, that the King's Germans (though he with all his Forces ſhould advance to receive them) would not be able to reſiſt; and at their entry into the Kingdom, muſt either diſſolve of themſelves, or be defeated.

The people of *Rouen* diſliking the Viſcount *de Tavannes* their Governor, make an Inſurrection.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* being departed from the Aſſembly, had poſted with infinite ſpeed to *Rouen*, in which City, the people, ill ſatisfied with the Government of Monſieur *de Tavannes*, were furiouſly riſen up in Arms to drive him out; and *Andre Brancace* Sieur *de Villars*, Governor of *Havre de Grace*, being come thither with ſome number of men, for fear the City ſhould revolt, and put it ſelf into the Kings power, there was afterwards ſuch emulation and enmity ſprung up between thoſe two Heads, that they were in danger to aſſault each other, which could not come to paſs without much blood, nor without exceeding great hazard of the Cities falling into the enemies hands. The Duke arrived ſo opportunely, that if he had ſtayed but one day longer, matters could not have been compoſed without a great deal of miſchief: but his coming bridled both thoſe Heads; and being unwilling that diſcord ſhould endanger a place of ſo great moment, he ſatisfied the deſires of the people and Parliament, by chuſing his ſon *Henry de Lorain* Governor of the City; and becauſe he was very young, he made the ſame Sieur *de Villars* his Lieutenant, who was a man of exceeding high ſpirit, and ſingular valour, and ſent the Viſcount *de Tavannes*, his old ſervant, to command as Camp-Maſter-General, under the Government of the Duke of *Aumale* in the Province of *Picardy*.

About that very time, *la Fere*, a place of wonderful importance upon the confines of *Picardy*, was like to have revolted: for the Marquiſs *de Menelay*, who had that Government (though from the beginning he had been moſt obſtinately for the League, yet at this time) having changed his mind, whatſoever the reaſon was, he had ſecretly agreed to deliver up the place, and to go over to the King's party. For this purpoſe, the King himſelf lingred with his Army in thoſe parts: But the Duke having had notice of the buſineſs, or (as ſome ſaid) onely ſuſpecting it, diſpatched the Vice-Seneſchal *de Montelimar* (of whom, for his ſagacity, he was wont to make uſe in the moſt urgent occurrences) and the Sieur *de Magny*, Lieutenant of his Guards, unto *la Fere*, with order, that if they could not get the Marquiſs out of the place by other means, they ſhould endeavour to take away his life as ſpeedily as poſſibly they could; nor did they fail to effect what was given them in charge: For being come into the Town, and having delivered Letters from the Duke, to the Captains of the Garriſon; while the Governor was at Maſs, without ſtaying till he ſhould reſolve upon any thing, they ſet upon him ſuddenly as he came out of the Church; and having found him unprovided, and half aſtoniſhed, killed him with two Stoccadoes; and without any oppoſition, made themſelves Maſters of the place. This action, more proper for an abſolute Prince, than for the Head of a Confederacy, diſpleaſed many, though the Duke laboured to ſhew, that extream neceſſity had produced it againſt his will; and much more did it diſpleaſe, that the Government was given to *Montelimar*, one of the Murtherers: Whereupon it was publickly ſaid, That the Arms of the League were alwayes blunt, but when they were uſed againſt their Friends.

The Marquiſs *de Menelay* is killed by order from the Duke of *Mayenne*, becauſe he would have delivered up *la Fere* to the King, and have gone over to his party.

Great was the commotion of mens minds, by reaſon of the Marquiſſes blood and dependencies; and becauſe it diſpleaſed all, that the Duke ſhould arrogate ſo abſolute a power unto himſelf: Whereupon he, who knew he had loſt much of his credit, and that it was neceſſary to revive it again by ſome notable enterpriſe (for ordinarily later actions do in great part cancell, and take away, the memory of former ones) reſolved to give a *ſcalado* to *Mante*, where the Kings Council was, and many Lords, Prelates, and moſt of the Officers of the Crown that adhered to him; but without that guard which the quality of their perſons and the weakneſs of the place required; and thinking this attempt ſo great, if he could bring it to perfection, that it muſt needs increaſe the glory of his name, and exceedingly weaken the Kings party, and the proſperity of his affairs: He commanded out the men that were in *Paris*, and the Gariſons of *Meaux*, *Dreux*, and *Pontoiſe*, and having choſen a very dark rainy night, he drew near on two ſides with Scaling-Ladders to the Walls of the Town (the ſituation

The Duke of *Mayenne* gives a ſcalado to *Mante*, where the Prelates, Lords, and Officers of the Kings party were weakly guarded; but being diſcovered, is beaten off.

whereof

whereof, was by long practice perfectly known to him) with assured hopes, by reason of the small number of Soldiers that were within, to enter it without much trouble; but it so pleased fortune, that in both places he found the Sentinels watchful, at whose cries, the Guards betaking themselves to their Arms, ran up to make good the Wall; and yet this would have been but a weak supply, and not able long to have resisted the assailants, if the Lords of the Council themselves (not failing in what concerned their own safety) armed with more courage than could be expected from Gown-men, had not run with their servants to re-inforce the Guards; so that the Dukes soldiers, wet, tired, and by rain in great part deprived of the use of their Muskets, not being able to get up to the top of the Walls, which they thought they should have found slenderly guarded; but on the contrary, many of their Ladders falling, and being broken, they were beaten off by the Defendants, and retired without fruit, the assault proving in the end much fuller of noise than blood. Yet did not the Duke lose courage for this; but knowing, that part of the Kings Swisses were quartered at *Hudan*, he hasted with the same celerity the day after to fall upon them, but without effect; for having found them excellently fortified and entrenched, he was forced likewise to march from thence without having obtained any thing; much praise being due, either unto the vigilancy or good fortune of the Kings soldiers, that had frustrated the Dukes prudence and celerity. 1591.

*He goes to assault the Swisses at Hudan, and having found them well fortified, is fain to return.*

But the danger of *Mante* had been so great in the opinion of discreet men, that *Giovanni Mocenigo*, the Venetian Ambassador, shewed, it was a great temerity to stay for another of the Dukes attempts, in that weak place so poorly manned; and perswaded the Council, and the other Lords that were there, to retire to *Chartres*, where, besides the greatness and commodiousness of the City, they might stay with more decency, and also be much more secure, in regard of the strength of the place, and quality of the Garrison that kept it. The King approved of this determination, which (as all things are not remembred by all men) he had not thought of before; and being come to *Compeigne*, began to make ready his Army, that he might advance to receive his foreign Forces: But because he had not yet had intelligence of their setting forward, he resolved in the mean time (that he might not spend it unprofitably) to lay siege to *Noyon*, a Town upon the Confines of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, which, because it was much better provided of Horse than Foot, molested all the wayes round about, and did incommodate those places that held for him in those parts. The reason that perswaded him to ease himself of it, did also render it less difficult to be taken, being full of Horse, whereby the siege became more easie, and ill-provided of Foot, and those other things that were requisit for the defence of it, and particularly of Ammunition: Wherefore having drawn all his Army together, upon the Five and twentieth of *July* he caused the Mareschal *de Biron* to take up his quarter within a mile of the Fauxbourgs of the Town; and the same day the Sieur *de Rieux* perceiving the Kings intention, departed from *Pierrefont* with Threescore Horse, and as many Foot mounted behind them, each having a bag of Powder at his Saddle-bow, and passing secretly thorough the Woods, got into the City, and gave great relief to the Defendants.

*By the Council of Mocenigo the Venetian Ambassador, the King removes his Officers and Prelates from Mante to Chartres.*

*Noyon* is seated between a Mountain and a Fenn, having on the South-side, the Fen caused by the overflows of the River *Oyse* in that place; and on the North the Mountain, steep, and not very accessible; behind it thick spacious Woods distend themselves for many miles; and no other way lies open save onely before, thorow a little Plain that comes to the Gate of *St. Eloy*, and to the rich Abby, situate near the Fauxbourg. The Town was encompassed with old Walls, and great Towers from place to place; but both the Towers and the Curtine were well lined with Earth. The Mareschal *de Biron* having viewed the situation, encamped before the City at a little distance from the River, with a thought to assault the Fauxbourg and Abby that were in the Plain, and out of the Fen, and by that means to make himself a way to the Moat, which of a great breadth encompasseth the Town on that side. Monsieur *de Ville*, Governor of the Town, on the other side, knowing the weakness of the Garison, and the want of many things, had not ceased some few dayes before the siege, nor did yet cease, after the Army appeared, to sollicite relief, redoubling Letters and Messages both to the Viscount *de Tavannes*, and the Duke of *Aumale*, Governor of the Province, who no less sollicitous than he, dispatched first the Sieur *de Griboval* with an hundred Foot, and about twenty Horse, and then the Sieur *de Tremblecourt* with his Regiment, though reduced

*The ſituation of Noyon, beſieged by the King.*

1591. to a ſmall number of men, to try if through the Woods they could get by ſtealth into the Town; but both of themcharged by the Garriſons of *Chauny*, *Corby*, and *Catelet*, were defeated by the way; ſo that *Griboval* ſcarce entred with ſixteen of his Foot, and *Tremblecourt* could not come, no not within many miles of *Noyon*. The loſs of theſe neceſſitated the Viſcount *de Tavannes* to put himſelf in hazard by attempting to get in; and therefore being departed from *Roye*, upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, in the evening, with Five hundred Firelocks, and Three hundred Horſe to convoy them, under favor of the night, he drew near the Guards of the Army an hour before day, with great hope to paſs between Guard and Guard, before the Camp ſhould have put themſelves in order to oppoſe them; but the Sieur *d' Arges*, who by order from *Biron* had been out the ſame night with a party of Sixty Light-horſe ſcouring the wayes, chanced ſuddenly to meet him, and not loſing courage, though he had ſo few men with him, but valiantly making ready their arms, and beginning the skirmiſh with hot vollies of ſhot, was the cauſe that all the other parties which were abroad made haſte to the ſame place: Wherefore they of the League ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, and not knowing well in the dark by what number of enemies they were ſo bravely charged (as the errors of the night are commonly pernicious without blood) they both routed themſelves without oppoſition, and in a very great fear took flight ſeveral ways; only the Viſcount *de Tavannes*, whilſt with his Sword in his hand he endeavoured to ſtop his Soldiers, being wounded in the Arm, and in the thigh, was at laſt taken priſoner by the Sieur *d' Arges* himſelf.

The Viſcount *de Tavannes* going to put relief into *Noyon*, is defeated and taken priſoner.

The Duke of *Aumale*, upon whoſe Government the affairs of that Province did depend, was much troubled at the ill fortune of his Officers, and reſolved to attempt the relief himſelf, being moſt certain, that if Foot and Ammunition were not put into the Town, it muſt of neceſſity be loſt within a few dayes: wherefore, marching from *Han* upon the ſeventh of *Auguſt* in the evening, with Six hundred Horſe and Nine hundred Foot, to the end that his men might be ready, and not loſe courage in the dark, as the others had done, he determined to beat up one of the King's Quarters by break a day, and (whilſt they ſounded the Alarm there, and were fighting) endeavour to put in relief openly by day, rather than put himſelf in danger of being diſordered by night. With this intention, coming up to the Plain along the great high-way which leads directly to the gate, he ſuddenly fell upon one of the quarters of the King's Light-horſe that lay without the Trenches, under cover of ſome ſcattered houſes upon the ſame way. The aſſault was fierce, and the defence no leſs, with which the ſame Sieur *d' Arges* (a young Gentleman of high courage) and his other companions ſuſtained it: But the Duke of *Aumale* ſtill redoubling his fury with freſh Horſe, and Colonel *Berangliſe* being come up with the Foot that followed, the Light-horſe, though they fought valiantly, would have loſt their quarter, and left the way free to the relief, if *Biron* had not come in to help them with Three hundred Cuiraſſiers, and Two hundred Reiters; at whoſe arrival the Duke being furiouſly charged in the flank, and even the Light-horſe recovering vigour, who before gave back, the enemies advance was ſtopped, until ſuch time as new ſupplies coming up one after another, and the Infantry of the Camp already all in Arms, being fallen into their ranks to defend their poſts, the Duke of *Aumale* was conſtrained (though ſtill fighting) to retire; in which Retreat, with the loſs of ſixty of his men, and the death of Sieur *de Longchamp*, a Soldier of great experience, and of *Franciſco Guevarra*, a Captain of Spaniſh Light-horſe, he was followed to the very Walls of *Han*, not having been able to give any relief at all to the beſieged.

The Duke of *Aumale* going to relieve *Noyon*, after a ſharp fight retires.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* being advertiſed of the ſiege of *Noyon*, had diligently ſent for the Sieur *de Roſne* with the Forces that were in *Champagne*, and for the Prince of *Aſcoli*, ſent by the Duke of *Parma*, with Eight hundred Horſe and Three thouſand Foot; and being joyned with them at *la Fere*, came up to *Han* upon the tenth of *Auguſt*; and having quartered his Army upon the way towards *Noyon*, but with the River between, he thought his preſence would give ſufficient courage to the defendents. But the King having ſetled his quarters in the moſt convenient places, and having made his approaches ſo far, had begun already to batter the Abbey that ſtood without the *Fauxbourg*; which was obſtinately defended by the beſieged, to keep the Enemy as far as poſſible they could from the wall. The King having cauſed five Pieces of Cannon to be planted againſt this Abby, had ſo beaten it down, that being aſſaulted by the Foot, upon the eighth day they took it, killing thirty of the Defendents, and taking above fifty

The Duke of *Mayenne* having heard of the ſiege of *Noyon*, marches with his Army to *Han*, to give courage to the beſieged.

fifty others of them; which did ſo much the more weaken the Garriſon, that of it ſelf was too weak to defend the circuit of the Town. But it was neceſſary to ſuſpend the progreſs of the ſiege, by reaſon of the Duke of *Mayennes* coming: for his ſtrength being 10000 Foot and 2000 Horſe, it was thought, that not being able to relieve the place any other way, rather than loſe it, he would joyn battel with the King. 1591.

Yet the opinions in his Camp were very different: for the Prince of *Aſcoli* thought not the loſs of that place of ſo great concernment, that, to divert it, it was fit to incurr the uncertainty of a Battel, with the hazard of thoſe onely Forces that were in being to reſiſt the Enemy; and conſidered, that the Popes and Catholick King's ſupplies, which had already paſſed the Mountains, being expected, it would be a very ſtrange raſhneſs to put that now in the power of Fortune, which within a few dayes might be made more certain, and more ſecure. The Duke of *Aumale* on the other ſide, thoroughly vext at his late misfortune, and longing to piece it up again, argued, that the loſs of that place was of great moment to the affairs of the Province, for that in thoſe quarters there remained no other important Town of their party; but that their reputation was of much greater importance, which would be much diminiſhed, if being come up to the very face of the Enemy with Forces in number not inferior to theirs, they ſhould let that place be taken from them without ſtirring, or diſputing it with the Sword. The Duke of *Mayenne* aſſented to the more ſecure advice, partly becauſe he was of a nature not much inclined to dangerous reſolutions, partly becauſe with the Prince of *Aſcoli* and the Spaniards he did more by intreaty than command; and he ſaw them very reſolute in not conſenting by any means to the hazard of a Battel.

The Duke of *Mayenne* reſolves not to hazard a Battel with the King.

But the King, deſirous to find out what the enemy intended, having no quicker way to make himſelf certain of it, cauſed the Mareſchal *de Biron* to paſs the River with the greater part of his Horſe, to ſee if the Duke would move to fight, or keep faſt in his quarters. But aſſoon as the Mareſchal was advanced within ſight of *Han*, and of the Army of the League, which was encamped in the midſt of the great high way, he found the Country clear and free; nor did any ſtir out of their quarters to ſkirmiſh in the plain field: which having come to paſs not one day alone, but three together ſucceſſively, the King apprehending, that the Duke thought to defend *Noyon* with nothing but the reputation of his being near it, took heart, and cauſed the Courtine of *St Eloy* to be battered upon the fifteenth day; and having beaten down the Works on each ſide, on the ſixteenth day in the morning, being reſolved to give the aſſault, he made his Cavalry paſs over the River, as he was wont to do, that they might be in readineſs if the enemy ſhould ſtir; and having drawn his Foot into their diviſions, gave the Baron *de Biron* order to advance and aſſault the Town. Monſieur *de Ville* having, as long as poſſibly he could, expected relief in vain, and ſeeing himſelf now in ſuch a condition, that he was not able to reſiſt that fierce aſſault which was preparing againſt him, cauſed a ſign to be given that he would parley, and in a few hours concluded to ſurrender, if within two dayes the Duke of *Mayenne* did not either fight, or put at leaſt Five hundred men into the Town: which being agreed upon, and Hoſtages given on both ſides, he diſpatched a Gentleman to the D. of *Mayenne*, to let him know the Agreement; who having conſulted again with his Commanders, and concluded as they before had determined, drew off to the Walls of *Han* the ſame evening; and the Sieur *de Ville* ſincerely performing the Agreement, delivered up *Noyon* upon the Eighteenth day into the hands of Monſieur *d'Eſtree* for the King.

The Sieur *de Ville* Governor of *Noyon* ſeeing the King's Forces ready to give the aſſault, parleys, and concludes to ſurrender the place, if it were not relieved within two dayes; which is performed.

After the taking of *Noyon*, mens minds on both ſides were taken up with the expectation of the Forraign Forces, which with equal fortune delayed to appear: for the Germans, who, to the number of 8000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, had been raiſed by the Viſcount *de Turenne*, by the help of the Proteſtant Princes, moved with great difficulty for want of money, and expected that for the drawing together and maintenance of them, a great ſum ſhould be furniſhed from *England*; which the Queen being to raiſe upon her people, who had promiſed to pay it upon certain conditions, matters were not ſo ſoon ordered, nor did the conditions prove of mutual ſatisfaction: for the Engliſh, continuing deſirous to recover footing in *France*, and particularly in *Normandy*, a Province in former times long poſſeſſed by them, had promiſed the Queen Three hundred thouſand Ducats to be ſpent in the affairs of *France*, provided ſhe got ſome convenient Sea-port to be given her, not onely for ſecurity of their Money, but alſo for a landing-place of Commerce, and that they might have more commodiouſly traffick

1591. traffick in the Kingdom of *France*: which being at first demanded, and now again, under pretence of the earnest importunity of her Subjects, effectually urged by the Queen, no less than liberty of Conscience for the Hugonots, kept the King in a great deal of trouble, not being willing to deprive himself of *Diepe*, the place where he had tried and sustained the first encounters of his fortune; much less of *Calais*, upon which the English had too strong pretensions; and the other places were in possession of the League: wherefore he at last propounded, and (by sending the Sieur *de Salettes* a Hugonot Gentleman) gave firm promise to the Queen, that he would lay siege to the City of *Rouen*; towards the taking whereof, if the English would help with Men and Money, he would give them some reasonable jurisdiction in it, to the end that they might freely and securely traffick; and then if he could take *Caudebec* and *Harfleur*, Towns near that City, he would consigne unto them one of those Ports, which might serve for a free open retreat for their shipping. To which Conditions, while the English unwillingly consented, and while they were treated of on both sides with usual caution, the coming of the Germans was protracted; nor could they ever be got to move, till the first One hundred thousand Ducats were paid down, and assignments given for the other Two hundred thousand.

The Duke of *Savoy* obtains, that the Pope, Forces marching towards *France*, should stay some time in his State, to strengthen his designs against the Sieur *Les Diguieres*.

On the other side, the Duke of *Monte-Marciano*, and the Forces which from *Milan* marched towards *Flanders*, at the Duke of *Savoy*'s urgent importunities had received orders to stay for some dayes within his State, to the end that with their countenance and assistance he might recover some places which had been taken from him, and repress the Forces of Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who fiercely bestirred himself, sometimes in *Dauphine*, sometimes in *Provence*. The Duke was troubled that the Kings party had taken some places, though of no great importance; but he was much more troubled at a Fort which *Les Diguieres* had begun to raise over against *Montmeillan*: Wherefore having obtained that the Italian Army, and likewise Four thousand Swisses raised by the Pope, should stay some time with him, he spurred up *Don Amadeo* for the recovery of that Fort, called *Morestello*, from the place where it was built, and he with other Forces entred into *Dauphine* another way, while Count *Francesco Martinengo* with the greatest strength of his Army, besieged and streightned the Town of *Barre* in *Provence*. Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who was forced sometimes to assist in the affairs of *Dauphine*, sometimes to help Monsieur *de la Valette* in *Provence*, was now set forward to raise the siege of *Barre*, while *la Valette* besieged and battered *Gravion*; but being arrived so late, that the Defendants had already articled to surrender it, after some slight encounters, he was returned with exceeding great celerity to relieve Fort *Morestello*, and with Four hundred Horse and Three thousand Foot, was advanced as far as *Ponte Chiarra*, a place near and proper for his intetention; which being known to the Savoyards, who were strengthned with part of the Popes Forces, they rose silently from the siege, which they had continued already many days, and leaving the Fort behind them, encamped themselves upon the same way, by which they saw the French Army would advance. But *Les Diguieres* having himself viewed and discovered the Camp, and number of the Enemy, and making no great account of the raw men that were in that Army, in comparison of his old Soldiers, resolved to fight, thinking with a fierce boldness easily to strike a terrror in them. Wherefore, both the Armies being between the Mountain and the River *Isare*, in a narrow place, which favoured the small number of his Forces, he parted his Infantry into two Bodies, one of which he sent up by the steep of the Hill, and the other along the bank of the River; and he, keeping the Plain with his Cavalry, divided into four Squadrons, with some Muskettiers mixed and placed among the Horse, advanced resolutely to attack the Enemy. The Savoyards having drawn up the Army in very good order, advanced likewise, and received the encounter in the Front very couragiously; but while they fought, and in fighting, had their eyes and mindes wholly taken up with the Enemy that was before them, they were suddenly charged in the Flank, by the Foot that were come about by the way of the Hill, which they had not taken care to make good: Wherefore being staggered at that unexpected accident, they broke their ranks, and without making much resistance easily took flight. But being come into the Plain that was behind them, recovering courage, they fell to rally again, and once more to face about; and so much the rather, because their being stronger in Horse, and having a very spacious open field, gave them very great advantage in renewing the Battel; yet nevertheless, the Conquerors following up with wonderful

The Duke of *Savoy* besieged the Fort of *Morestello*.

speed

ſpeed and fury, they were terrified in ſuch manner, that being diſperſed, they were purſued to the very Walls of *Monmeillan*, with the loſs of Fifteen hundred men, two Cornets, Eighteen Foot-colours, and great ſtore of ſpoil and baggage. But this unhappy accident, which cut off all hopes of making any further progreſs at that time, and the importunities of the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorain*, to have the Popiſh and Spaniſh Forces to march to hinder the paſſage of the Germans, were the cauſes that *Savoy* being left, they advanced through the Country of *Bourgongne* directly towards *Lorain*. 1591.

The *Savoyards* are routed and defeated by the French.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, ſince the taking of *Noyon*, to put in order and increaſe his Army, had ſtaid ſtill at *Han* (whileſt the King, victoriouſly advancing, over-ran the whole Country) in which place Preſident *Jeannin*, being returned from the Court of *Spain*, found him, but brought back no pleaſing anſwer to any of thoſe things he had negotiated with the Catholick King. The Duke of *Mayenne* had been of opinion, that the artificial reſerved proceedings of the Spaniards had ſprung from the nature and will of the Miniſters ill-affected to his perſon, or deſirous to do more than what was given them in charge by the Royal Council; he thought that the D. of *Parma*, a very wary prudent Soldier, would unwillingly hazard his reputation againſt the King, followed by almoſt an invincible Nobility, and in his actions prompt, fearleſs and reſolute; he believed that *Diego d' Ivarr*, and *Mendozza* (who, for many particular accidents were ill-diſpoſed towards him) either to make him loſe his credit, or out of covetouſneſs, did convert thoſe Moneys that were ſent to other uſes, and often diſpoſed of them without his privacy at their own pleaſures, and did aſſuredly think, that as ſoon as the Catholick King was once fully informed of the affairs of *France*, of the intereſts of every one, and of his pains, endeavors, and authority, he would ſoon reſolve in favor of him, give him ſufficient aſſiſtance to make an end of the War, and permit him to negotiate the getting of the Crown for himſelf: For this cauſe he had deprived himſelf of the help and counſel of Preſident *Jeannin*, ſending him to the Court, as one privy to all his moſt ſecret thoughts, well informed of all particulars, full of wary prudence, and for experience and eloquence, able to undergo the weight of ſo difficult a buſineſs. But both he and the Preſident found themſelves much deceived in their opinion; for (whether that had been the aim of the Spaniards from the beginning, or that the Counſel given and imprinted by the Miniſters that reſided in *France* had cauſed that reſolution) they in *Spain* deſired the War ſhould be drawn out in length with a ſlow progreſs; that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould not riſe ſo high in credit and authority with his party, as to be able to diſpoſe of things by himſelf, and that by degrees the way might be facilitated, either to the union of the Crowns, or to the election of the *Infanta Iſabella*, which could not without long time, and much patience, be obtained; and at leaſt (if nothing elſe could be done) they would make themſelves ſure, that ſo many expences and troubles ſhould redound to the profit and augmentation of their Monarchy: Wherefore, when *Jeannin* was come thither, he, in his firſt audience found, that King *Philip* was fully informed in all things, and very far from that inclination, which the Duke of *Mayenne*, at ſo great a diſtance, had fancied to himſelf; yet did he, with all poſſible arts, labour in his following audiences to take away thoſe impreſſions, which he thought contrary to the Dukes intereſts, and to perſwade the King to concurr with him in his own ends; but all was in vain, nor could he ſee, that he advanced or profited any thing; for, treating about Money, he not only found the King indiſpoſed to allow a greater ſum than he was wont; but even thoſe very Moneys which were before given to the D. of *Mayenne*, he had now determined ſhould paſs through the hands of his Miniſters (though with the Dukes participation) alledging, that he had ſeen but very ſmall fruits of ſo many expences, that he would not have his ſupplies to be ſecret, but that every one ſhould ſee and know from whence they came, and ſhould be obliged for them to the principal Author. Then concerning the Armies, he ſaid, his will was they ſhould advance into *France* to help againſt the danger of Religion, and to eſtabliſh a Catholick King that might be generally liked of; but that the Duke of *Parma* could not ſo ſoon leave *Flanders*, the States of *Holland* having taken *Zutphen* in *Frieſland*, and other places in *Brabant*, and that it was needful not to proceed longer by chance, without knowing what was to be done; and that therefore it was neceſſary to aſſemble the States to reſolve upon the election of a King, to the end, that they might go on with order and deliberation to a certain determinate end. Finally, as for the paying of the Duke of *Mayennes* French Forces, raiſed and commanded by him, he ſaid he was ready to do it, when the principal reſolution was once taken; wherefore he concluded

Preſident *Jeannin* returns from *Spain*; but brings no reſolution to the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The King of *Spains* anſwers to Preſident *Jeannin*.

1591. concluded, that he would send a new Ambassador into *France* to declare his intention to the States, and to cause that to be determined of which was necessary for the perfecting of the enterprise; and that in the mean time, he would give order to the Duke of *Parma* to return into *France* as soon as the affairs of *Flanders* would permit; but that time was not to be lost, and that the Assembly of States ought to be appointed and called; till the end of which, he was not disposed to make any more powerful expedition of men or moneys. This was the last conclusion; nor could *Jeannin*, by urging the state of Affairs, the diffidences of the French, the interests of that party, the merits of the house of *Lorain*, the pains and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*, obtain any thing more: And with this resolution he was returned to give the Duke an account thereof, who more perplexed than ever he had been, and having lost the confidence that his arts should overcome those of the Spaniards, was also overtaken with new trouble, at the liberty of his Nephew *Charles*, Duke of *Guise*.

That Prince, since the death of his Father, had alwayes been kept prisoner; nor, though his freedom had been much treated of, had any attempt ever succeeded, and the King had always stiffly denied to change him for any body, alledging, That he was not a prisoner of War, but of Justice: Nor (though his Mother made great complaints and exclamations) had the D. of *Mayenne* ever cared much to get his liberty; foreseeing that his freedom would endanger the division of his party, by reason of the dependence that many would have upon him, in respect of the memory of his Father, and of benefits received from him; and that the common people would willingly concurr to exalt him: so that if he would not acknowledge his superiority, but should attempt to put himself in the place long held by his Father and Grandfather, the League was without doubt like to be divided and disunited: wherefore he designed not to apply himself in good earnest to procure his freedom, till things were reduced to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to disturb them if he were at liberty. But now, whether the King (as some believed) foreseeing the same, had underhand given way to his enlargement, or that the Sieur *de la Chastre*, an old servant and dependent of his father's, who had the near Government of *Berry*, had prosperously procured it; certain it is, that having plotted, and agreed that a Lackey and a *Valet de Chambre* with a very swift Horse, sent by *la Chastre*, should stay for him in the fields under the Castle of *Tours*, in which he was kept prisoner, he upon the fifteenth day of *August*, being risen from Table about noon, and having afterward shut himself up in his Chamber to take his rest, while the Guards that kept him, and his other servants, entertained themselves merrily eating and drinking, he having locked them all dexterously into the room where they were at dinner, went up to the top of a Tower that stood toward the field, and with a ladder of silk, which had been secretly sent him in a Pie, let himself down the wall, with exceeding great danger; and being come safe to the ground, ran along the River side of the *Loire* towards the fields, where he found the horse and those that expected him, and with infinite speed galloped to find the Baron *de la Maison*, son to the Sieur *de la Chastre*, who stayed for him some few miles off beyond the River *Cher*, with Three hundred Horse; wherewith being conveyed into *Berry*, he was received with infinite signs of joy in the City of *Bourges*. Monsieur *de Souvray* Governour of *Tours*, and Monsieur *de Grillon* (who, since the wound received in his left Arm in those *Fauxbourgs*, had ever stayed in that Town) having heard news, that *la Chastre*'s Horse were roving about those parts, and doubting some intelligence in the City, had, for some dayes, kept the Gates shut, and looked more strictly to their Guards than they were wont: but being suddenly advertised by Captain *Souvray* Governor of the Castle of the Duke's flight, they entered, or feigned to enter into a much greater suspition, and caused the Gates to be opened with so much caution (because they would first draw all the Soldiers into Arms, and make a diligent discovery without) that the Duke having had the advantage of above an hour and half, could not afterward be overtaken by those that followed him; which confirmed the jealousie some had, that the King had secretly commanded he should be permitted to escape, since that all those dayes, Letters and Messages were without restraint suffered to come to him, and Presents to be sent, among which was the Pie with the Silk Ladder in it, without which his escape could not have been effected.

*Charles* Duke of *Guise* having been long kept prisoner at *Tours*, escapes at noonday, and flees to *Bourges*.

This news being brought to the Heads of the two parties, as it did not displease the King, who hoped some good would grow out of that evil; so did it pierce the Duke of

1591.

of *Mayenne* to the quick, especially in that present conjuncture of time, wherein he was diffident of the Spaniards, and of many French of the party, who were ill-satisfied with him: yet dissembling this affliction, and not losing courage, having expressed fitting joy for the freedom of his Nephew, he exhorting him as soon as he could to come unto him, thinking, that not being well informed of matters, nor known to many, as soon as he should be with him, he would yield to his age, prudence, and the possession wherein he was of governing all things: and having recourse to art, to bridle the arts of the other Confederates, he presently by the means of Monsieur *de Villeroy*, caused a Treaty of Intelligence to be begun with the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the other Princes of the blood, whom he knew (by the relation of the Sieur *des Portes*) to be discontented with the King, and to try to set on foot a third and different party; judging, that he should by that means beget a jealousie in the Spaniards, and necessitate them to consent, if not to all, at least to many of his demands. Nor was *Villeroy* (being alwayes desirous that the War should end in an Accommodation) slack, by the means of his brother the Abbot *de Chesy*, to promote that Treaty, which, with hopes, and imaginary Conditions, was artificially kept alive.

The Duke of *Mayenne* inwardly afflicted for the D. of *Guises* escape, strives to shew signs of joy, and treats underhand with the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the other Lords that endeavour to set a third party on foot.

But the King (who had got an inkling of the business) standing between the machinations of these, which did necessitate him to his conversion, and the earnest desires of the English, and of the Princes of *Germany* (who urged him to give them places in his Kingdom, and securities for the liberty of Religion, wherein they pretended that he must still persevere, if he would have their assistance) was no less afflicted than the Duke of *Mayenne*: which affliction increased much, after he was arrived at *Sedan*: for the Moneys of *England* were not yet disbursed, and the Germans had therefore delayed their coming so long, that it was thought the Popish and Spanish Forces would get into *Lorain* before them: and to his other troubles was added, that *Charlotte de la Mark*, Heiress of that Dutchy, being kept in that City, of an age ripe and marriageable, he was forced to take a revolution of matching her, lest the Duke of *Lorain* preventing him (as he had a most earnest desire) should give her to Wife to one of his sons. As the importance of that Dutchy, and particularly of the City of *Sedan*, did necessitate the King to provide, that it might not fall to the Duke of *Lorain*; so did it keep him in great doubt, to whom he should give that Lady in Marriage, who carried with her the possession of a State of so great consequence. *Carlo Gonzaga* son to the D. of *Nevers*, aspired to this Match, confining with her Lands by the Dutchy of *Retelois*, whereof he bore the title; but her being of the Hugonot Religion, as likewise the People and Gentry of those places, was the cause the King would not resolve to satisfie him, lest he should alienate that party from him, and discontent those whom he laboured to keep with so much pains and industry. On the other side, he doubted lest the D. of *Nevers* (of a nature apt to take disgusts) should be offended, if he should propose any other Match of inferiour quality to his son: Which contrary considerations, after they had held him some dayes in suspence, it being necessary to resolve, at last he concluded to marry her to the Viscount *de Turenne*, as well because of the confidence he had in him, as because he was of the same Religion; and much more to reward him for his excellent service done in raising and bringing in the forreign Army: but it presently produced that effect which the King had before apprehended: for the D. of *Nevers* was incensed to such a height, that he began to encline to those that pressed his conversion, and to hold secret intelligence with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the D. of *Longueville* his son in Law, and with the rest of the new party, who made shew to move principally for Religion, which they said was trampled under foot, and themselves deceived, while notwithstanding all promises, those were advanced in strength and power, who openly professed to live and die Hugonots. Nor was there any other remedy for this mischief, save to be incessantly in action, and not to suffer idleness to give nourishment to those thoughts, but to let victorious enterprises put to silence and quiet those spirits which were yet kept hidden in the breasts of men: for which cause, he laboured so much in solliciting the march of the German Army, and in sending them those sums by little and little, which with infinite diligence he had been able to get together from several parts, that in the end he joyned with them, before the Popish and Spanish Armies were come up to cross that union, as the D. of *Mayenne* had ever striven and endeavoured to do: so great an errour, that it rendered vain all those so vast expences made, and so many labours undergone, for the gathering together and bringing in of those Forces: for they having inconsiderately spent their time in *Savoy*, to

*Charlotte de la Mark* Heir to the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, is given in Marriage to *Henry de la Tour*, Viscount *de Turenne*; at which the D. of *Nevers* is disgusted.

1591. to attend buſineſſes that did no ways advance the ſum of the War, arrived not ſoon enough to hinder the King's joyning with the Germans, upon which depended the principal point of the War of this year.

The King being joyned with the German Army, takes *Attigny*, whither all the wealth of the neighbouring people had been brought in, and grants the pillage of it to the Germans.

Now the King united, without oppoſition, with the Viſcount *de Turenne*, and having taken many Caſtles about *Metz* and *Sedan*, at laſt aſſaulted *Attigny* a great Town, into which all the riches, goods and Cattel of the neighbouring places were reduced; and having very proſperouſly taken it, he gave all the pillage (which was very great) unto the Germans, who being ill provided of Money, were refreſhed and quieted for ſome time: after which booty, the King (alwayes ready to embrace valiant counſels) thought good to try whether the Commanders of the League had a heart to come to a Battel: wherefore, having known that the Forces of the Pope, the Duke of *Lorain*, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, were alſo at laſt joyned together at *Verdun*, he would needs draw up to them, and provoke them by his preſence, and all other poſſible means to put it to a day, judging the Italian Forces to be yet raw, and the Duke of *Lorain*'s not well aſſured, and therefore no way be compared to his.

Wherefore being departed from *Attigny* upon the firſt of *October*, he quartered that night with his Van-guard at *Grandpre*, upon which day Monſieur *d' Ambliſe*, who commanded part of the *Lorain* Forces, having marched from *Montfaulcon*, joyned with the Army of the League. The next day about noon the King arrived with his Army within ſight of *Verdun*, ſpreading his Squadrons largely imbattelled along the Plain. On the other ſide, they of the League who were encamped without the City, drew themſelves up in Battalia under the Walls; the Italians having the right Wing, the Duke of *Lorain* the Battel, and the Duke of *Mayenne*'s French the left; yet the Duke himſelf commanding and ordering the whole Camp as he pleaſed. At the firſt arrival, there began ſo great and ſo hot a skirmiſh between the two Armies, that many of the Commanders themſelves thought it would be a Battel; for the Sieurs *de Praſlin*, *de la Curee*, *d' Arges*, and the Baron *d' Giury* with the Kings Light-horſe, in four Diviſions, advanced to the very face of the Enemy to skirmiſh, being ſeconded on the right hand, and on the left, by the Count *de Brienne*, and the Sieur *de Marivaut*, with Two hundred Cuiraſſiers; and on the other ſide, *Cavalier Avolio*, *Ottavio Ceſis*, and *Aſcanio della Cornia* were likewiſe advanced with the Popes Light-horſe, and the Sieur *d' Ambliſe* ſeconded them with a Body of *Lorain* Lances. But though the skirmiſh was very fierce in the beginning, the Sieur *de Praſlins* Horſe being killed under him, and the Sieur *de la Curee* thrown to the ground with the ſhock of a Lance, the Italians behaving themſelves very gallantly every where; yet were the Dukes of *Lorain* and *Mayenne* reſolved not to fight, becauſe the Catholick Kings Forces that were come out of *Italy* (following their wonted Counſels) had denied to follow them, and were marched ſtreight to joyn with the Duke of *Parma*, and the Popes Swiſſes were not above Three thouſand: Wherefore, not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to deal with the Kings Army in ſo open a place, as is the Plain that lies before *Verdun*, the skirmiſh, by their order, cooled by little and little, and they drawing back their men under the Walls (yet without ſhew of fear) the King took up his Quarters, and entrenched himſelf within ſight of the Town, and of their Army.

The King reinforced by the German ſupplies brought by the Viſcount *de Turenne*, offers battel to the Duke of *Mayenne* in the Plain of *Verdun*.

All ſorts of proviſions came in plentifully to the Camp of the League, and the City furniſhed them with many conveniences, not onely for victual, but for lodging under cover; whereas the King, in the midſt of an enemies Country, and the weather being very rainy, ſuffered both for want of victual, and conveniency, nor could his Soldiers (accuſtomed to another kind of Diſcipline) endure the hardſhip and incommodities of lying in the field in ſo contrary a ſeaſon. To other things was added a moſt cruel ſtorm that night, with thunders, whirlwinds, and infinite rain, which ſpoiling all the Soldiers Huts, and overflowing all the Plain, put the whole Army in wonderful confuſion: Wherefore next day, the King, after he had ſtood firm in Battalia for many hours, and none of the enemies appearing in the field, faced about with his Army, and marched back to quarter again at *Grandpre*. There the Germans were like to have mutinied, not being paid the money that had been promiſed them: Wherefore the King, who could now do no leſs than perform his promiſes to the Queen of *England*, that he might receive the other Two hundred thouſand Ducats, having made proviſion at *Sedan* (with the Jewels and credit of the Princeſs *Charlotte*) of a certain ſum of money to quiet his Germans, took, without delay, the way towards *Normandy*, to beſiege at laſt the City of *Rouen*.

The

The Duke of *Mayenne*, contrary to whose expectation the Popes forces had so long delaid their coming, and who had also seen the King of *Spain*'s march streight towards *Lorain*, without making any stay, presently dispatched the Count *de Brissac* to the Duke of *Parma*, to protest unto him, that if he entred not into the Kingdom, or sent not such Supplies as should be sufficient to oppose the King, the affairs of the League, and the state of Religion would be very much endangered, and that he should not be able to hinder many from making their peace, as (seeing the slowness and ill counsels of the Confederates) they daily threatned. The Duke made this protestation more at large to *Diego d' Ivarra*, who was there present, shewing him the wonderful ill effect which the delays and secret practices of the Spaniards did produce; for if all the Catholick Kings expences and forces which he had granted severally, to this man, and to that, in *Bretagne*, *Provence*, *Savoy* and *Languedoc*, ha' been put into one Body, and all imployed to the root of the business, and to the Spring-head of affairs, the victory over the King would thence have ensued, and also the suppression of their Enemies in all places; but whilst the division of the League was endeavoured, whilst his counsels were not believed, and whilst the Duke of *Parma* would not advance, the King had found opportunity to receive his Foreign Forces; and now being grown powerful, he over-ran all *France* at his pleasure, to the admiration and grief of all good men. But these Protestations and Reasons not availing with *Diego d' Ivarra*, who had received another impression, and was otherwise inclined; and the cause from whence this hardness proceeded, being clearly seen by the relation of President *Jeannin*, the Dukes of *Lorain* and *Mayenne* not being able any other way to hinder it, agreed together (though secretly) in this general, to keep close and united together, and not to suffer that any should be admitted to the Crown, not only who was a stranger, but who was not of their own Family; and, that if they were constrained to yield to any other persons, a Prince of the Blood of the Catholick Religion should be chosen, and never to consent, either to the alienation or division of the Kingdom. With this firm resolution, confirmed also by a Writing which they signed, the Duke of *Mayenne* set himself in order to prosecute the War, and being departed from *Verdun*, with the Popes Army and his own, and with the Supplies he had obtained from the Duke of *Lorain*, (who gave way that the Count *de Vaudemont*, the Count *de Chaligny*, and the Sieur *de Bassompierre* should follow him) he took the way toward *Champagne*, that he might not go too far from the Confines, till he heard the determinations of *Flanders*. 1591.

The Dukes of *Lorain* and *Mayenne* agree secretly not to condescend to the election of any to be King of *France*, not only that was a stranger, but also that was not of their Family, or at least a Prince of the Blood of the Catholick Religion.

When the Duke was arrived at *Retel* in *Champagne*, the Duke of *Guise* came up to him, accompanied with Six hundred Horse, all Gentlemen, who upon the fame of his being at liberty, were come in to him; and though at his arrival, their greetings and outward actions shewed kindness and confidence in one another; yet did not their secret discourses correspond, either to that kindness or confidence: For just as the Duke of *Mayenne* had suspected, all those that were unsatisfied with him, turned their eyes upon this young Prince, full of high spirits, of an handsom presence, courteous and affable in his behaviour, and which imported more than all, heir to his Fathers Name, and to that love which all the people of *France* had profusely born him. The Parisians, and particularly the Council of Sixteen, who could not endure to be kept under by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that he should dispose of the Offices of the City as he pleased, without confiding in any of their number, did openly call upon the name, and desire the exaltation of this Prince; and even the Spaniards applying themselves to do him all possible honours, set him as a counterpoise against the Duke of *Mayenne*, with whom they had no good intelligence, because they saw him little inclined to favour their designs. The Sieur *de la Chastre*, the Sieur *de Vins*, and Colonel St. *Paul* followed him particularly, as in the general all those that had been obliged by, or had depended upon his Father; and he, though new come into play, and little informed of affairs, was not in any way failing unto himself: Wherefore being by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Sieur *de Bassompierre*, made acquainted what they had agreed upon with the Duke of *Lorain*, *viz.* Not to suffer any to rise to the Crown that was not of their Family; and in case they were forced otherwise, to name a Prince of the Blood; he at first excused himself, that he had not yet any information of businesses, and afterwards demanded time to confer with the Dutchess his Mother; and finally concluded, that he would not alienate himself from the Spaniards, but would first hear the Duke of *Parma*'s opinions, and after dispatch men expressly to that

The Duke of *Mayenne* being at *Retel*, the Duke of *Guise* comes to him well accompanied, and is received with outward shews of love, but in their secret conferences, their confidence is not correspondent.

1591. Court, to treat of his affairs with the Catholick King: Nevertheleſs, the Duke of *Mayenne*, full of moderation, and accuſtomed to overcome all encounters with patience, commending his Nephews reſolution, and making ſhew that he would favour his advancement, laboured to keep him near himſelf, not to give him means or conveniency to think or treat of new deſigns.

At the news of the death of Pope *Gregory* the XIV, the Duke of *Montemarciano* interpoſes delays, and declares that he will depend upon the will of the Duke of *Parma*.

Whilſt they paſſed the time here in theſe buſineſſes, expecting the Count of *Briſſac*'s return, and the anſwer from *Flanders*, the news of the Popes death arrived, which bred new difficulties in all things; for the Duke of *Montemarciano*, not knowing what the Cardinals would determine, during the vacancy, nor what the Pope that ſhould be choſen would do, began to interpoſe delays, and to ſay he would not ſtir from what the Duke of *Parma* ſhould reſolve: and *Monſignore Mattenucci*, Archbiſhop of *Ragnſa*, Commiſſary of the Camp, having but little money, propoſed the diſmiſſing of the Swiſſes, till new orders (which were to be expected from *Rome*) ſhould come; which things, while they detain the Duke of *Mayenne* in the ſame place, a new troubleſom accident had like to have turned all the affairs of the League upſide down.

The Pariſian Council of *Sixteen*, moſt nearly united with the Preachers, and with the Colledge of *Sorbonne*, having from the very beginning been the *Baſis* and Foundation of the League, had always pretended to rule matters their own way; wherein carrying themſelves with thoſe paſſions and affections that are proper to factious perſons, without any regard to the conſervation of the members of the Crown, or to the decency and reputation of the French Nation, they only laboured for thoſe things that might ſuppreſs the King, (whom they perfectly hated) extinguiſh the name and party of the Hugonots, and put the reins of Government into the hands of perſons that might rule according to their deſire and appetite. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, though he owed to theſe the beginning of his exaltation, the maintenance of the League, the ſupport of the War, and the late defence of *Paris*, was not yet inclined to follow their ways, but rather (wholly intent upon keeping the Kingdom entire) ſtrove to bridle and moderate their turbulent ſpirit; wherefore he had from the beginning inſtituted the Council of State, contradiſtinct from this, wherein were many prudent moderate men, who did counterbalance and reſtrain the courſe of things: among theſe, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, the Sieur *de Villeroy*, Preſident *Jeannin*, the Biſhop of *Meaux*, and the Sieur *de Videville*, who were all averſe from the Spaniſh attempts, and from the inconſiderate Zeal of the Preachers. The Duke had alſo ever endeavoured to maintain the authority of the Parliament in credit and vigour, referring many important buſineſſes unto it, and bearing great reſpect to the Decrees which in divers matters were made by thoſe Counſellors: and though the fidelity of the firſt Preſident *Briſſon*, and many others had been ſuſpected, as if they would have laboured to make the City revolt unto the Kings party; yet he diſſembling the matter, was not ſorry that one Council ſhould counterpoiſe the other, and was always diſpleaſed when the *Sixteen* accuſed him and many others of the Council, of treachery: for though he ſaw that ſome of them were inclined to the King, and managed buſineſſes, in favour of him, he did not believe they could do much hurt, but rather help exceedingly to reſtrain the impetuous determinations of the *Sixteen*, by which he feared to be turned about, if the Parliament ſhould ſink in credit and authority. This ſecret emulation between the Parliament, and the Council of State on the one ſide, and the Council of *Sixteen* on the other, diſcovered it ſelf by little and little, and proceeded ſo far, that as theſe were partial to the greatneſs and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſo the others made themſelves Favourers of the Spaniſh demands, and in many things contrary to the Duke. Theſe were thoſe who in the ſiege precipitately made many of the Citizens to be executed, that were ſuſpected to be for the King: theſe, fomented by the Duke of *Nemours*, contradicted the election which the Duke had made of the Officers of the City; and theſe were the very ſame that were Authors and Introducers of the Spaniſh Gariſon: and they did often labour that the Catholick King might have the *Marks of Juſtice*, and be acknowledged as Patron of the League, and Protector of the Crown of *France*. But now, the paſſion of theſe men ſtill increaſing, being unſatisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, whom they taxed of fear and meanneſs of ſpirit; and being mad againſt the Parliament, whoſe gravity they ſaw withſtood their power, they were grown bold and preſumptuous ſince the Duke of *Guiſe* was at liberty, and ſince the Spaniards (having diſcovered the agreement between the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorain*) began openly to try to pull it down, and to draw unto themſelves the Forces of the party, the ſtrength whereof

The Council of *Sixteen* falls into an emulation with the Parliament of *Paris*, and with the Council of State choſen by the Duke of *Mayenne*.

whereof conſiſted in the City of *Paris*. Theſe had the common people at their devotion, not only by reaſon of their natural dependance as fellow-Citizens, but alſo becauſe they were weary of Contributions, which the greedy nature of the Duke of *Mayenne* did often multiply beyond what was fit; the diſburſing of them afterwards not excuſing the weight of thoſe burdens with his honour and equity. Wherefore ſome of the chief of the *Sixteen*, that were moſt affectionate to the party, (whom they called *Zealots*) began to contrive the way to abaſe the authority of the Parliament, that they might be able more eaſily to diſpoſe of the affairs of the City, and put it either under the Duke of *Guiſe*, or the immediate protection of King *Philip*. The Spaniſh Miniſters aſſented to, or rather concurred in this attempt; and no leſs than they, the Biſhop of *Piacenza*, who ſince the Popes death was wholly turned to favour *Spain*; and the principal men were the Sieur *de Buſſy* Governour of the *Baſtille*, the Sieur *de Cromay* Counſellor of the Great Council, Commiſſary *Louchart*, *Ameline* an Advocate, *Olivier* a Treaſurer, *Boucher* a Divine, Father *Commolet* a Jeſuite, and divers others of the ſame condition. After many conſultations and debates among them, by advice of the Biſhop of *Piacenza*, they choſe four of the *Sixteen*, who ſhould go to the Duke of *Mayenne* to carry their complaints, and to demand that the Council of State might be repleniſhed with ſufficient faithful men, and ſuch as the City might confide in; That that Council might always reſide in *Paris*: That the Treaſurers Accounts might be over-looked, and eſpecially of one *Ribes*, that kept the Duke of *Mayenne*'s particular Coffers: That this might be done by ſelect perſons approved of by the Council of the *Union*: That the *Gabelles* might be taken away, which were newly impoſed by the Governour *Belin*, and the *Prevoſt des Merchands*: That the City-Gariſon might be payed and increaſed for their ſecurity: and finally, That Preſident *Briſſon* (againſt whom they carried a whole heap of complaints) and ſome other principal men of the Parliament, might be put out of their Offices, and ſeverely and exemplarily puniſhed and rooted out, as Traitors and Rebels. 1591.

Theſe four Deputies came to *Rheims* at the time when the Duke of *Mayenne* was gone into *Lorain*; and having waited for him many days, they at laſt found him at *Retel*; where having been heard by him, they were at firſt ſharply reprehended as men that demanded too much, and aſpired unto an abſolute power: but afterward, not to exaſperate them utterly, he uſed them more favourably in their other audiences, ſhewing them, that whilſt he was buſied with the Enemy, he had not leiſure to attend thoſe matters: that in due time and place, he would come perſonally to *Paris*, to give them all poſſible ſatisfaction; and that in the interim they ſhould abſtain from medling with new deſigns, which put all things in confuſion, and doing themſelves harm, did wonderfully advantage the Enemy. But theſe men being returned to *Paris*, not much edified by the Dukes Anſwer, and particularly offended at his firſt reprehenſion of them, inſtead of moderating, increaſed the boldneſs of the reſt, exclaiming afreſh againſt the Duke, and ſaying it was neceſſary to take ſome reſolution, for that they found him wholly averſe from their intentions: wherefore all of them boiling with anger, thinking themſelves undervalued by the Duke, and at laſt being reſolved either to abaſe, or abſolutely to change the Parliament, that they might govern the City their own way, they began to ſtir up the people, perſwading them that Religion was betrayed, and that the Parliament endeavoured to put the City into the hands of the *Navarrois*.

It happened that *Brigard*, one of the firſt Fomenters of the League at *Paris*, having been accuſed, as if (having changed his mind) he held intelligence, and plotted ſecretly in favour of the King, was by the inſtigation of the *Sixteen* violently caſt in priſon: but in the mean time, while they proceeded ſlowly againſt him with due proofs, he found means, either by money, or his own induſtry, to eſcape out of the place where he was kept, and alſo to get ſecretly out of the City, and out of the hands of his Enemies: which thing ſeemed very foul to the Council of *Sixteen*, and thinking he had been maliciouſly let go, by the Judges themſelves who made his Proceſs, being raiſed to the height of their fury, and with this incentive fomented by the Spaniſh Miniſters, and by the Gariſon which depended on them, they put the people in Arms upon the fifteenth of *November* in the morning, and, without further conſideration, being led by the Sieur *de Buſſy* and Commiſſary *Louchart*, having taken and blocked up all the ways that led to the Palace of Juſtice, they took priſoners the firſt Preſident *Briſſon*, *Claude l' Archer*, and *Jehan Tardif*, one Councellor of the *Chaſtelet*, and the other of the Court,

1591. *Brigard*, who had been impriſoned upon ſuſpition of Plots againſt the League, being eſcaped, the Judges that made his proceſs are by the people in Arms tumultuouſly put in priſon, and by the Council of *Sixteen* are cauſed to be ſtrangled, as accomplices in his flight.

who were the ſame men that had made the Proceſs of *Brigard*; theſe being brought faſt bound to the *Chaſtelet*, the ſame day, without any lawful form of Proceſs, but ſome precipitate informations taken by the Sieur *de Cromay*, were ſtrangled in priſon, and the next morning ignominiouſly hanged up in publick upon the Gallows. Then, as if they had obtained ſome ſignal Victory, running up and down the City with the common people armed and furious, they ſet their Guards in many places, and threatned to take the ſame courſe againſt many others. The Governour deſiring to put ſome ſtop to theſe proceedings, being alſo adviſed to it by the Dutcheſſes of *Nemours* and *Montpenſier*, began to try whether the ſtrangers of the Gariſon would obey him: but having found them all diſpoſed to favour the Council of *Sixteen*, and their preſent actions; and *Aleſſandro de Monti* having freely ſaid, that he would not ſtir againſt thoſe who ſincerely managed the Cauſe of God and of all good men; he thought it a better way to go out unarmed to parly with them, and to endeavour to appeaſe the people, and in part remedy thoſe miſchiefs that were like to follow: But neither did this ſucceed: for they valued him but little, and the *Prevoſt des Merchands* much leſs, deſiring ardently to put them both out. All the ſixteenth day was ſpent in this tumult; and on the ſeventeenth in the morning, their Council being met in the houſe of a Divine, named *Pellettier*, Curate of St. *Jaques de la Boucherie*, they reſolved to put themſelves freely under the King of *Spain*'s protection, and in the mean time to preſent ſome Articles to the Council of State, for the Government of the City; which by all means they would have accepted and put in execution. The Articles contained, That a Court of Juſtice ſhould be formed of men of their party, which ſhould proceed againſt Hereticks and Favourers of the Navarrois; thinking with the Judgments and Executions of this, to deſtroy and annihilate the Parliament: That all Commerce with thoſe of St. *Denis* ſhould be broken; which the Duke of *Mayenne* had eſtabliſhed, to facilitate the concourſe of victuals: That the Impoſts upon Wine ſhould be taken away; and that the Account of all thoſe ſhould be over-looked, who had managed the moneys raiſed by the Contributions and *Gabelles* of the City: That the moneys that came in by the ordinary Impoſts, ſhould not be ſpent but in the payment of the Gariſon, which ſhould be increaſed with Foreigners, either Walloons, Italians, or Spaniards: That the Council of State ſhould be filled up to a certain number; and the men that ſhould be choſen of it, were named by them: That likewiſe a Council of War might be framed, whereof ſome Colonels of the City were to be, and the chief Commanders of the Foreign Militia; without the conſent of which Council, the Governour ſhould not be able to reſolve any thing: And finally, That the Seals of the Crown, which the Duke of *Mayenne* carried about whereſoever he was himſelf, ſhould remain conſtantly in the City, and not be removed to any other place. This being reſolved on, they preſently diſpatched Father *Claudio Mattei* with Letters to King *Philip*, in which they prayed him to take upon him their Protection and Government: And having with cries and clamours made the Council of State to be aſſembled, they propounded the Articles, to the end they might be confirmed and executed. The Governour and *Prevoſt des Merchands*, with ſome of the graveſt *Eſchevins*, endeavoured to get the benefit of time, alledging, that the day was too far ſpent, and hoping that by delay, the ardour of the people would be cooled: But the Council, according to their advice, having determined to ſtay till the next day, the *Sixteen* with the people in arms ſtopt Madam *de Nemours* as ſhe was going out from the Council, and would by all means have the Articles confirmed; which the Council having choſen to do, as the leſſer evil, the Dutcheſs her ſelf carrying forth the Decree that was made about it, pray'd them with gentle words to forbear the execution of it till her Son, the Duke of *Mayenne*, had given his conſent, without whoſe knowledge it was not fit things of ſo great importance ſhould be done; that the delay was but for a few days, that the Council, and ſhe her ſelf would diſpatch the Sieur *de Bourg* to the Duke to carry him the Decree, and bring back his confirmation of it, and ſhe aſſured them they ſhould remain fully contented and ſatisfied. The fury of the people being in part appeaſed with this grant, they began to lay down their arms, and to be quiet again, expecting the reſolution of the Duke; who from *Retel*, being gone to *Laon*, to meet with the Dutcheſs, Mother to the Duke of *Guiſe*, upon the twentieth day in the evening, received the news of what had hapned in *Paris*.

The Council of *Sixteen* reſolves to put it ſelf under the protection of the Catholick King.

The Contents of certain Articles made by the Council of *Sixteen*.

He was wonderfully moved at ſo dangerous an accident, which was about to ſtrike directly at his authority, but yet would not ſhew any trouble of mind, leſt the Duke

of

of *Guiſe* who was preſent, ſhould take notice of his anger againſt his dependents, but only ſaid, that he would expect the Sieur *du Bourg* (who the Governour wrote him word, was immediately to depart) to be better informed of the buſineſs, and that it was good to remedy popular commotions with gentleneſs, and not to be incenſed againſt them, to avoid greater ſcandals and more pernicious errours: for the people drawn by a good zeal, do ordinarily move without conſideration. Theſe words ſetled the mind of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was afraid leſt he ſhould prove cruel againſt his dependents, and the diſcourſes of the next day quieted him much more; ſo that though the Duke of *Mayenne* ſaid he would go to *Paris* to prevent thoſe miſchiefs that might happen by the diviſions of mens minds; yet he let himſelf be perſwaded to ſtay, becauſe he had the command of the Army, and was to meet with the Duke of *Parma*; who being come to *Valenciennes*, was in the end of the month to be at *Guiſe*, that they might reſolve together of the time and manner of his coming. The Sieur *du Bourg* arrived the day following, from whom the Duke had the whole Narration of the buſineſs, and of the Decree that had been made in the Council of State to appeaſe the people; whereupon being reſolved to depart, and determining with himſelf to eſtabliſh his own power and authority by this occaſion, he diſpatched Monſieur *de Roſne* to the Duke of *Parma*, to excuſe him if he could not be at the place appointed upon the prefixed day, and left the charge of the Army, and of meeting with the Duke of *Parma*, to the Duke of *Guiſe*; but with ſuch caution, that to the end he might not be able to do any thing in arms, he gave ſecret orders to *Roſne* and *Tavannes*, who were Mareſchals of the field, that they ſhould neither draw forth Artillery nor Ammunition, which were all at *la Fere*; and he gave the Duke of *Guiſe* no Information at all of the particulars that were to be treated of with the Duke of *Parma*, to the end he might not be able to conclude any thing of moment; and having obtained of the Duke of *Montemarciano*, and of Commiſſary *Matteucci*, that the Switzers might not be diſmiſſed at that time; and that all the Forces ſhould ſtay till his return, ſhewing haſte and want of time, he took with him the Counts of *Vaudemont*, *Chaligny* and *Briſſac*, the Sieurs *de Baſſompierre* and *Villeroy*, with Seven hundred of his beſt Horſe, part French, part Lorainers, and departed upon the Five and twentieth in the morning towards *Paris*; leaving Preſident *Jeannin* with the Duke of *Guiſe*, to moderate his Counſels, and to obſerve his carriage. 1591.

The ſame night *Don Diego d'Ivarra* went the ſame journey, (though the Duke had deſired him to ſtay) not being willing to let himſelf be deceived as the Duke of *Guiſe* had been, but being by all means reſolved with his help and counſel to aſſiſt againſt the danger of the Spaniſh adherents. The Duke making ſpeed in his journey, would yet nevertheleſs take with him two Regiments of Foot that were at *Soiſſons*, and having received the Sieur *de Vitry* with Two hundred other Horſe at *Meaux*, he arrived near the City of *Paris* upon the Twenty eighth day in the evening. The *Sixteen*, with the Preachers, and the Colledge of *Sorbonne*, ſeeing the Duke come armed, and knowing, that the Governour, and the *Prevoſt des Merchands*, with the dependents of the Council of State and Parliament would be powerful in the City, (though *Buſſy* kept the *Baſtille* for them) being much affrighted, propounded to appeaſe him with words and demonſtrations, and ſent four of the chief of them, with many of the Citizens to meet him, to the end, they might endeavour to divert the anger which they imagined he came withal. Theſe met him at the Abbey of St. *Anthoyne* without the Walls, and, with a diſcourſe full of ſubmiſſion, ſtrove to perſwade him, that all had been done to an extream good end, for the ſafety of the City, the conſervation of Religion, the maintenanee of his own Authority, and to ſatisfie the people that were deſperate, becauſe there was no ſhew at all made againſt thoſe Rebels and diſturbers of the publick peace: That this had been choſen as the leaſt evil, to the end, that the people enraged might not make ſome bloody tumult: That thoſe who had been executed were manifeſtly guilty, as he might ſee by the proofs, which though they were not accompanied with the wonted Forms of Juſtice, were at leaſt true, real and manifeſt: That the Articles propounded to the Councellors of State, were by them accounted reaſonable; yet that nevertheleſs they ſubmitted them to his cenſure: And finally, they put him in mind how much they had done and ſuffered for the greatneſs of his Houſe, and for his own exaltation, and beſought him to make himſelf be known for an indulgent loving Father, and not for a punctual ſevere Prince. The Duke, who deſired not to receive an obſtacle at his entring into *Paris*, but to be let in with his Forces without reſiſtance,

1591. reſiſtance, excellently diſſembling the injury he had received, and the anger that was kindled in him, welcomed them all ſeverally, and anſwered them in general, that he came to the City for no other end, and with no other intention but to ſecure it, as he that knew well, the ſuſtentation of Religion, and his own hopes were all founded and placed in that people, and in the Council of *Sixteen*, the firſt authors and framers of his party: With which words and outward ſhows, having in great part aſſured their minds, he entred that night into the City when it was late, and being conducted to his Hoſtel, he held the ſame diſcourſe with many, knowing, that by proceeding ſo, if he ſhould find oppoſition, he might attribute the pardon to his own will; and if he could execute his intentions, thoſe outward demonſtrations could not hurt or prejudice him in any manner. A while after him arrived *Diego d' Ivarra*, who being come to him with the other Spaniſh Miniſters, they ſtrove together to perſwade him not to ſhew any reſentment of what was paſt, but to give ſatisfaction to the people for the time to come; ſince the things that had happened, though they were done without due orders and forms of Juſtice, were yet good in themſelves, and profitable for the conſervation of Religion; and that in the diſtractions of Civil Wars, the ordinary rules of good Government cannot be ſo well obſerved, but many things are done to a good end in the heat of dangers, which in quiet peaceful times would in no wiſe be ſuffered; That he himſelf had proceeded in that manner at *la Fere*, without forming any Proceſs againſt the Marquiſs *de Menelay*, whom he had cauſed to be killed; for otherwiſe that place could not have been kept; That therefore it was better to quiet all things by approving what was fallen out, than by going about to puniſh any one, to kindle new diſcords, and more dangerous tumults. The Duke anſwered with the ſame moderation, and ſo parted with the Spaniards: but having taken information of the Forces that were in the City, and having been told by the Governour, and the *Prevoſt des Merchands*, that the greater and better part of the people would be at his devotion, he cauſed the Colonels of the City to guard their ſeveral Quarters that night; and in the morning, having put in Arms the Foot and Horſe he brought with him, he went up to the *rüe St. Anthoyne*, and ſent to command the Sieur *de Buſſy* at that very inſtant to deliver up the *Baſtille* into his hands: he excuſing himſelf, interpoſing delays, and demanding ſecurity that he ſhould be harmleſs; the Duke cauſed the Artillery to be taken out of the *Arcenal*, and began to make them be drawn that way: whereat the Governour of the *Baſtille* affrighted, (being a man more accuſtomed to any thing than the exerciſe of Arms) and not ſeeing that any in the City ſtirred in favour of him; for the Governour and *Prevoſt* had poſſeſſed and blocked up all the ways; he at laſt, after many Treaties, agreed to leave the *Baſtille*, receiving a promiſe not only from the Duke, but from many others, that his life ſhould be given him; and yet being come home to his houſe, he was aſſaulted the ſame evening, and was neceſſitated to ſave himſelf, by getting over the tops of houſes, with much ado, and with very great danger; and after ſome few days (the Duke winking at it) he fled ſecretly from the City, and went to live in another place. *Buſſy* being out of the *Baſtille*, the Duke choſe the Sieur *du Bourg* (a man valiant and truſty) Governour of it, and put ſuch a Gariſon into it, as ſecured it from all danger that might happen: which done, he the next morning ſent the Sieur *de Vitry* with his Horſe, (the ſtreets being ſtill blocked up, and the Militia in Arms) and cauſed to be taken priſoners at their own Houſes, Commiſſary *Louchart*, Captain *Emmonot*, *Barthelemy Auroux* Colonel of the Quarter of the Carmelites, and *Ameline* the Advocate, *Cromay* the Counſellour being ſtolen away, and ſecretly fled: for being hid by the Spaniards, he continued many days in the habit of a Souldier, among thoſe of the Gariſon, and went afterwards into *Flanders*, where he lived in great neceſſity. Theſe four, judged to be the moſt faulty of the *Sixteen*, were the next day ſtrangled by the Hang-man in a Chamber of the *Louvre*, and after publickly hanged upon the Gallows; the example ſufficing the Duke to recover his authority and reputation, without ſhewing cruelty in the blood of ſo many others that were guilty of the ſame crime. This ſeverity did wonderfully terrifie the Preachers, and the Colledge of *Sorbonne*: but the Duke, not willing to loſe them, nor to put himſelf upon an enterpriſe that might be ſiniſterly interpreted, nor yet to make ſo great a confuſion as might cauſe ſome diviſion in his party, went perſonally to the Church of the *Sorbonne*, and there with grave and moderate words aſſured them of his favour and protection: and ſaid, That in conſideration of their former vertue and conſtancy, he pardoned the preſent diſobedience and conſpiracy; and, making ſhew

The Duke of *Mayenne* being come to *Paris* to appeaſe the Inſurrection, takes the *Baſtille*, kept by the Sieur *de Buſſy*: and having ſet ſtrong guards in the ſeveral quarters of the City, cauſes four of the chief of the Council of *Sixteen* which were moſt guilty to be ſtrangled.

to

to do it for their ſake, he cauſed an Edict to be publiſhed, wherein declaring that he had ſatisfied Juſtice by the puniſhment of four ſeditious perſons, he granted pardon to all the reſt, impoſing ſilence and oblivion to what was paſt. Out of this Pardon he excepted the Counſellor *Cromay*, *Adrian Cocher*, and the* *Greffier* that wrote the Sentence againſt *Briſſon*; who afterwards periſhed diverſly by divers ways. At the ſame time he alſo decreed, that experience having ſhewn how pernicious thoſe Meetings and Conventicles were which were made ſecretly without the preſence of the publick Magiſtrate, none ſhould upon pain of death any more aſſemble any other Councils within the City or without, ſave the ordinary Council of the Union, with the aſſiſtance or preſence of the lawful Magiſtrates. Theſe Decrees, regiſtred with full conſent of the Parliament, put an end to the power of the *Sixteen*, and did ſomething ſlacken and retard the deſigns and machinations of the Spaniſh Miniſters. 1591.

* Or, *Notary*.

But aſſoon as the Duke of *Parma* knew diſtinctly the things that had paſſed in *Paris*, he ſhewed himſelf infinitely ill ſatisfied at all that had been done, publickly blamed the little conſideration of the other Miniſters, who, to get a vain dependence of the baſeſt dregs of the people, diſguſted and alienated the Duke of *Mayenne*, in whoſe hand the Arms and ſtrength of the party were, and without whom, it was not to be thought that any good could be brought to a concluſion: he teſtified to the Sieur *de Rhoſne*, that thoſe things were done without his privity; praiſed the Duke of *Mayenne* for puniſhming the delinquents, and for his prudent moderation: and when the Duke of *Guiſe* came to him to *Valenciennes*, though he honoured him with all poſſible demonſtrations, yet he refuſed to treat with him about any thing without his Uncle's preſence and conſent. He ſaw that all the reſt of the party were ill grounded; that there was no ſure foundation to be made upon the people; that the Nobility depended upon the Duke, and the ſtrong places were held by men that he confided in; that he alone, with his prudence and valour, was fit to manage all the reſt: wherefore he aſſented not to the counſel of exaſperating him, and putting him in deſpair, from whence he knew the reſolution taken with the Duke of *Lorain* had proceeded; being certain, that when he ſhould once ſee himſelf unable to keep up his dignity, and the Place which he held, he would preſently make an Agreement with the King: nor did he doubt but all other French-men, except ſome few, would follow his counſel and authority. Wherefore he ſaw clearly, that having a deſire to proſecute the deſign that was begun, it was neceſſary to proceed ſlowly and cunningly, and not to put all things in confuſion, and the minds of the French in terrour and ſuſpition, by a precipice of furious reſolutions.

The Duke of *Parma* declares that he had not been privy to the commotion of the Pariſians, praiſes the D. of *Mayenne* for having puniſhed the delinquents; and having met with the Duke of *Guiſe* at *Valenciennes*, refuſes to treat with him without the preſence of the D. of *Mayenne*.

To this effect he wrote into *Spain*, and gave the ſame advertiſement to the Miniſters of State that were in *France*; though in both places they were of another mind, and particularly, in the Council of *Spain* they thought that by ſending ſmall ſupplies into ſeveral Provinces, they ſhould gain themſelves many dependents, alienating them from the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that ſo the War would be nouriſhed and prolonged, with leſs expence and more advantage: to this purpoſe they had granted aſſiſtance of men to the Duke of *Joyeuſe* in *Guaſcogne*, to the end that he might ſuſtain the War on that ſide near the *Pirenean* mountains: for this purpoſe they had ſent the Duke of *Savoy* three thouſand Foot, and three hundred thouſand Ducats, that he might maintain the War in *Provence* and *Dauphine*; and for the ſame effect they had ſent *Aquila's Tertia* into *Bretagne*, to gain the Duke of *Mercœur*; who with that aſſiſtance advancing his own affairs, this year in the beginning of the Spring had almoſt driven the Prince of *Dombes* out of the confines of that Province: but the Engliſh being come, who landed at *Breſt* without any hinderances, buſineſſes were equally balanced; ſo that after many petty encounters, which imported not much to the ſum of affairs, the Armies at laſt came to face one another.

The Spaniards grant ſmall ſupplies to divers French Heads of the League, to alienate them from the Duke of *Mayenne*, and divide them from the body of the League.

The Duke of *Mercœur* with the Spaniards, and the Prince of *Dombes* with the Engliſh, face one another in *Bretagne*.

The Duke of *Mercœur* was ſtrong in Light-horſe led by the Marquiſs *de Belle-Iſle*, ſon to the Mareſchal *de Retz*, and powerful in Foot by vertue of the Spaniſh *Tertia*, who were no leſs expert in Manufactures than in the matters of the War. On the other ſide, the Prince was accompanied with great ſtore of *Gentry*, and therefore had a good Body of Horſe, though in Foot, by reaſon the Engliſh were raw men, and the French all Musketiers, he was not to be compared to the Army of the League: For this cauſe, though they were within half a mile of one another, the Duke kept himſelf intrenched and encamped in mountainous woody places, advantageous for Foot; and the Prince was drawn out into the field, where the Squadrons of Cavalry might ſpread

1591. ſpread and enlarge themſelves as they pleaſed: and neither of them being willing to ſtir from their advantage, (after three days of obſtinate continuance in that manner, in which time there happened many encounters) they both took a reſolution to retire, and went to beſiege ſeveral places.

But the King having about this time ſent the Sieur *de la Noüe* with eight hundred Germans to aſſiſt the Prince as his Lieutenant in the managing of the War, they reſolved, being thus ſtrengthened in Foot, to turn again toward the Enemy, and try ſome opportunity to get the better of him: but it was hard for them to meet; for the Duke of *Mercœur*, a diſcreet wary Souldier, would not put all he poſſeſſed in the Province (which was a great deal) into the power of Fortune; but having the aſſiſtance and money of *Spain*, endeavoured to tire out the Enemy; and on the other ſide, *la Noüe* moderating the Princes forwardneſs with wiſe provident counſel, would not ſuffer him to incur the danger of a battel without manifeſt advantage. Wherefore, after divers encounters and various attempts on both ſides, to bring the Enemy under, the Duke at laſt went to aſſault St. *Maximin*, and the Prince marched to beſiege *Lambale*, which having battered, and with his Artillery made a convenient breach in the Wall, while the Sieur *de la Noüe* went perſonally to view it, and the works of the Town, he received a Musket-ſhot in the head, of which he died within a few days after, having in an inconſiderable action (as it often happens) unexpectedly met death, which he had not feared in ſo many difficult and glorious enterpriſes. He being dead, the King commanded the Sieur *de Lavardin* to go into *Bretagne* to ſupply his place, who proceeding with the ſame counſels, though military encounters were moſt frequent thorow the whole Province with variety of fortune, yet did they never come to the hazard of fighting with all their Forces; but it ſatisfied the Prince in ſo vaſt a Province, where his Forces were inferiour to the Enemies, to keep his name alive, and the affairs of his party in being.

The Sieur *de la Noüe* going to view the breach and the works at *Lambale*, is killed with a Musket-ſhot in the head.

The Kings affairs in *Dauphine* were much more proſperous, though the Duke of *Savoy*, of an unwearied mind and body, uſed his endeavours in thoſe parts, with many of his own Forces, and with ſtrong ſupplies from *Spain*; but the greateſt ſtrength of the Province being on the Kings ſide, under a vigilant, reſolute, diligent, and valiant Commander, who often obtained by policy what could not ſo eaſily be compaſſed with force, was the cauſe that after the defeat of *Ponte-Chiarra* the League was almoſt excluded out of *Dauphine*, and the ſeat of the War began to be in the Duke of *Savoy*'s own Country.

On the other ſide, the fortune of the Savoyards was more ſucceſsful in *Provence*; for having *Marſeilles* (if not wholly ſubject to the Duke, yet at leaſt moſt partial to the League) the Cities of *Aix*, *Arles*, and many other of the chiefeſt at their devotion: *Berre* being taken, they made themſelves terrible to the Province, in which Monſieur *de la Valette* with a ſmall force, could not equal their power; ſo that Count *Franceſco Martinengo*, after the taking of many Towns and Caſtles, did without much oppoſition, over-run that part that extends it ſelf along the Sea-ſhore. But having at laſt laid ſiege to *Vinon*, whilſt he battered it with exceeding great fury, Monſieur *de la Valette* being reſolved to ſhew more courage than he had ſtrength, and rather to truſt the affairs of the Province to the arbitrement of fortune, than to waſte himſelf with retreating continually in all places, advanced that way with Seven hundred Horſe, and not more than One thouſand and two hundred Foot, and having divided his men into four Battalions, whereof one was put in the Reer for a reſerve and re-inforcement to the reſt, commanded by the Viſcount *de Govern*et, he marched ſtreight without other advantage to aſſault the Enemy, who being riſen from the ſiege, and having paſt a Rivulet that was between them, came reſolutely to meet him. Nor was the conflict unlike the valour of the Commanders; for it was obſtinately fought on both ſides with equel courage for the ſpace of many hours, till the Viſcount entring freſh into the Battel with the laſt Squadron of Horſe, reſerved for their utmoſt hope in ſo great need, the Savoyards already wearied with long fighting, began to give ground to the Enemy, who was freſh and eager; whereupon *la Valette*'s other Squadrons alſo recovering vigour, charged them ſo home, that they made them return full ſpeed over the water, and had purſued them with a great execution, if the mutual loſſes they received had not perſwaded them to end the buſineſs; which while it was in the greateſt heat, the Souldiers that were in *Vinon*, ſallying gallantly out of their works, aſſaulted them

Count *Franceſco Martinengo* is defeated by Monſieur *de la Valette*, and the ſiege of *Vinon* is raiſed

them that guarded the Savoyards Artillery, and having routed them, nailed ſome great Pieces, fired a great deal of Ammunition, and did them many other miſchiefs. This defeat curb'd the Dukes proceedings, and did for ſome time ſecure the Kings affairs in *Provence*. 1591.

Nor was the War leſs hot in the Territories of *Geneva*; for the Sieur *de Sancy*, who being retired to *Baſil*, to obtain ſome number of Swiſſes in that Canton, having had intelligence that a hundred thouſand Ducats were on the way from *Milan* to make Levies in *Germany*, and that they were conducted by a few men, without any conſiderable Convoy, he laid an ambuſh for them in the Forreſt of *Baſil* with ſo good ſucceſs, that he took the Money, and being come with it to *Geneva*, had in a few dayes hired a Regiment of Swiſſes of the Canton of *Berne*, where there being alſo arrived three hundred Horſe raiſed in the State of *Venice* by Monſieur *de Metz* the Kings Ambaſſador to that Republick, and commanded by Count *Mutio Porto*, and *Paſſania Brazzoduro* Vicentines, and Captain *Nicolo Naſi* a Florentine, he had in a ſhort time recovered the territory of *Geneva*, and was advanced to aſſault the places that were held by the Savoyards; during the ſiege of one of which, named *Boringes*, ſome Companies of Neapolitans and Milaneſes belonging to the Catholick King, and that were there to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy*, marched up to diſturb them; but being fiercely charged by the Italian Cavalry, deſirous to make themſelves remarkable in gallant actions, they were routed and diſperſed, and *Boringes* ſurrendred it ſelf to the diſcretion of the Enemy.

The Sieur *de Sancy* who was at *Baſil* to raiſe men in that Canton, having heard of One hundred thouſand Ducats that were carrying from *Milan* toward *Germany*, to levy forces there, places himſelf in ambuſh in a Wood, aſſaults the Convoy, and with much eaſe takes the Money.

In this interim *Don Amadeo* having rallied his Forces, advanced to ſtop the Enemies incurſions, and being come near unto their Army, they ſent back their great Cannon to *Geneva*, and encamped themſelves in an advantagious place, keeping the top of an Hill with the Body of their Army, and with their Van-guard a Wood that was at the bottom of it. There Don *Amadeo* having diſcovered how the enemy was quartered, commanded forth his Van-guard to make themſelves Maſters of the Wood, where they of the Kings party making ſmall reſiſtance, retired little leſs than routed to the reſt of the Army, which ſtood in Battalia upon the wayes of the Hill: But the Italian Cavalry going down into the plain field, violently charged, and repulſed the enemies Van guard with the death of many; ſo that they alſo retired in like manner half defeated to their main Body. But the Duke of *Savoy* knowing that in the ſtrength of narrow places, which fill the whole Territories of *Geneva*, his men could make but ſmall progreſs, with the hazard of receiving much damage; while theſe Forces imployed themſelves with thoſe of *Geneva*, commanded Don *Amadeo* to retire, and onely to defend his own, till the Supplies ſhould either be diſſolved, or be ſent for away to other places. Nor was he deceived in his hopes; for the Sieur *de* **Giutry* who commanded the French forces, and the Italian Cavalry ſeeing the Savoyards retreated to defend their own, reſolved to go and aſſiſt the Mareſchal *d'Aumont* in *Bourbonois*, where he had much ado to reſiſt the Duke of *Nemours*, a Prince, that with his fierceneſs and courage kept all thoſe places which confined upon his Forces in very great terror. But the progreſs of the War was alſo weak on that ſide; for the Mareſchal having attempted to beſiege *Autun*, a Town, which, becauſe it was ſtrong, and well manned, moleſted all the Country round about; after many aſſaults and divers attempts, he was by the Duke of *Nemours* forced to retire with no ordinary loſs.

* The French ſays *Vitry*.

About the ſame time that the Duke of *Mayenne* was troubled in the buſineſs of the Pariſians, there was a Battel in the * Country of *Cahors*, where the Marquiſs *de Villars*, who governed the party of the League, and the Duke of *Vantadour* who held for the King, encountred one another, with much Gentry on both ſides, and with a very great number of Foot; in which action, after a valiant fight of two long hours, at laſt they of the Kings party had the better, and having ſlain ſix hundred of the Enemy, among which were many Gentlemen of great renown, remained Maſters of the Field, and of the carriages; and afterwards took *Cadenet*, an exceeding ſtrong place, and many other leſſer Towns; in which buſineſſes the courage of the Sieur *de Temines*, and Captain *Vivans* appeared moſt clearly, the greateſt merit of the victory, and the progreſs of ſo fair atchievements being attributed to their valor.

* *Query.*

While they labor thus with various ſucceſs, in the other parts of the Kingdom, the King marched with his whole Army toward *Normandy*, being reſolved to beſiege *Rouen*, as well becauſe of the promiſes wherewith he had engaged himſelf to the Queen of *England*, either to give her ſome juriſdiction in that City, or to aſſign her ſome

1591. other place upon the Sea ſide; as out of a deſign to reduce all that large and exceeding rich Province to his party; for except *Rouen* and *Havre-de-Grace*, there was no place of moment that held not for him; and by reducing it to his devotion, beſides the very conſiderable profit which he ſhould gain by the Impoſts and Revenues thereof, He abſolutely made himſelf Maſter of a large Country, full of great Towns, and a great many Caſtles, abounding in Gentry, numerous in people, plentiful in victual, and ſo ſituate, that on the one ſide it was open to the Ocean, convenient for the near Supplies of *England*; and on the other, it extended it ſelf near the City of *Paris*, cutting off from it the paſſage of the River *Seine*, which was moſt important for its preſent conſervation; wherefore, being intent with his utmoſt endeavours upon this enterpriſe, he had given charge to the Mareſchal *de Biron* (who, when he went into *Lorain*, ſtayed behind with part of the Army in thoſe parts) to ſeek to poſſeſs himſelf of all the places about it, and to make the greateſt proviſions he could of victual, ammunition, and other things neceſſary for that ſiege. *Biron*, after the taking of *Louviers*, where he had found wonderful great ſtore of corn, which he cauſed to be carefully kept, had aſſaulted and taken *Gournay*; and then paſſing further into the Country of *Caux*, had likewiſe taken *Caudebec*, ſeated upon the River *Seine*, between *Havre de Grace* and *Rouen*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Caſtle of *Eu*, which ſtands upon the great high-way of *Picardy*; after which ſucceſſes, being already abſolute Maſter of the field, he ſet himſelf diligently to make proviſions, ſtoring up corn, ſome at *Eureux*, ſome at *Ponteau de Mer*, and moſt of all at *Pont de l' Arche*, becauſe it was the neareſt place to *Rouen*. At *Caen* he cauſed great ſtore of Tents to be made, and other clothes for the Soldiers uſe. At *Diep* he gathered together plenty of Ammunition, and of thoſe Iron-inſtruments that were fit for the intended ſiege; and in all places buſineſſes went on with infinite diligence and order, but without any noiſe or apparent ſtir.

And yet there was not any of the contrary party, who perceived not that things were ſetting in order to beſiege *Rouen*; and the Duke of *Mayenne* being confident that that was the King's intention, did, with no leſs diligence buſie himſelf in making thoſe proviſions that were fit for the defence of it; and to give it reputation, he had ſent his ſon *Henry* thither, to give ſuch orders as were needful, to confirm the people, and to give them aſſurance that they ſhould not remain without relief. The Military affairs, and the weight of the defence, he laid wholly upon the Sieur *de Villars*, a Cavalier not onely of high ſpirit and courage, but abſolutely depending upon his name and authority; who going firſt to *Havre de Grace*, a Fortreſs abundantly furniſhed by former Kings, and leaving the Government of it to the Sieur *de Guiſon*, who likewiſe was a *Provencal* by birth, returned to *Rouen* with two and thirty pieces of Cannon of ſeveral ſizes, and with every thing neceſſary to make uſe of them; all which he cauſed to be carried in great Boats up the River; and brought thither Six hundred Horſe of that Country, and One thouſand and two hundred of thoſe Provencal Foot, which had long followed the War under his Command in thoſe parts: and as a man to whom learning (which he was adorned withal) ſuggeſted generous ſpirits, and the experience of many years, ſupplied with wary prudent Counſels, knowing how much good, order is wont to produce in Military affairs, and deſiring therefore that all things might proceed with a due diſpoſal, under their proper Heads, and that every one might know and execute his own Charge; he called all the Heads of the Clergy, the principal men of the Parliament, the chief of the People, and the Officers of the Souldiery, and diſtributed to every one his part of thoſe labours that were to be undergon in their future defence. He deſtined the Sieur *de la Londe* (an old Soldier, well known in the City, by having lived there many years) to the Office of Serjeant Major: to the defence of St. *Catherines* Mount, wherein the ſum of the buſineſs conſiſted, he choſe the Chevalier *Piccard* with his Regiment, and two hundred other Musketiers commanded by the Sieur *de Jeſſan*. The old Palace ſtanding between the *Porte de Chaux*, and the River *Seine* on the North-ſide, he gave to the Sieur *de Bauquemare*, firſt Preſident of the Parliament, with One hundred Swiſſers and Three hundred French: the old Caſtle, with the part adjoyning towards * *Maiſtre*, he aſſigned to his brother the Chevalier *d' Oyſe*, to whom he gave the Regiments of Colonel *Boniface*, and of *Commendatory Grillon*; and the Weſt-ſide toward the *Fauxbourg de St. Severe* beyond the River, he gave to Captain *Giacopo Argenti* of *Ferrara*, with his Regiment: *Carlo Siginolfi* a *Neapolitan* Engineer of great experience, commanded the Artillery; Captain *Baſin* the Fire-works,

The courſe taken by the Sieur *de Villars* in ordering, diſpoſing and preparing things to receive the ſiege, which was going to be laid to *Rouen* by the Kings Army.

* The French ſayes towards the Eaſt.

works, which were made in very great abundance: and at every Gate, one of the ancienteſt Preſidents, and one of the Counſellors of the Parliament aſſiſted, as well for ſecurity as reputation. The Citizens were divided into Ten Companies, under ten Commanders, choſen by them; whereof eight were to guard eight Bulwarks or great Towers lined with earth, which were in the Circuit of the City; and the other two had the Main-guard in the great Market-place; and in the Palace of Juſtice were lodged two hundred Swiſſers, and as many French Fire-locks, to be ready to help where need ſhould require. The Governor alſo cauſed ſome little Barks to be furniſhed with ſmall Pieces of Artillery, and manned with twenty Soldiers to each of them, as well on the upper as on the lower part of the *Seine*; which under the command of their Admiral the Sieur *d' Anquetil*, were to run up and down the River, to make Prize of ſuch Veſſels as ſhould ſtir, and to take Cattel and other proviſions along the banks of it, to keep the City in more plenty of Victual. Two Counſellors of the Parliament, and two Deputies of the City, were employed in the diſtributing of bread; and the old Sieur *de Courſey* had the care of delivering out the Ammunition. With this order, very well contrived, and exceeding well executed, by the diligence of the Governour, and the experience of thoſe to whom it was intruſted, things went on ſo quietly and ſo happily, that during all the time of the ſiege, there neither happened any diſorder, nor did any body ſuffer for want of Victual, the price of proviſions not much differing from the ordinary rate. 1591.

Againſt theſe proviſions, the Mareſchal *de Biron*, after he had received Three thouſand Engliſh Foot that had landed at *Boulogne*, and were led by the Earl of *Eſſex*, had under his Colours between Nine and ten thouſand Foot, and One thouſand and eight hundred Horſe: and to give a beginning to the Siege, he came and lay within ſight of the City, at a place called *Darnetal*, upon the Eleventh of *November*; which day the Cavalry of the Camp over-ran all the Plain, to the very Walls of the City, and of St *Catherine*: Captain *Boroſey* a ſoldier of great valour, with Two hundred Horſe, and Colonel *Boniface* with Five hundred Foot ſallyed out at the Porte *Cau-choiſe*, and charging firſt the Cavalry, and then the Regiment of Engliſh, skirmiſhed fiercely for many hours, though at laſt, being weary on both ſides, they retired willingly without advantage; yet the beſieged vaunted of a happy beginning, by reaſon of the death of a * Nephew of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who, his courage having drawn him into the moſt dangerous place of the fight, was ſlain by *Boroſey* with a Piſtol-ſhot in the throat. On the other ſide, Captain *Perdriel* with Two hundred other Horſe, and Captain *Baſin* with Four hundred Foot ſallied at the Porte *de Martinville*, and having skirmiſhed long with the French Light-horſe, led by *Franceſco Orſino* Sieur *de la Chappelle*, they were forced to retire, though they received not much harm, becauſe they were defended in their retreat by the Artillery of the neareſt Bulwark.

The Mareſchal *de Byron* layes ſiege to *Rouen* Nov. 11. 1591. In the firſt Skirmiſh before *Rouen*, the Earl of *Eſſex* his Nephew is ſlain by *Boroſey*.

* The Author is a little miſtaken in this particular; for it was the Earl of *Eſſex* his Brother Sir *Walter d' Evreux*.

But the Mareſchal, as ſoon as he had entrenched *Darnetal*, to the end his Army might lie ſecure from the ſprightly forwardneſs which he ſaw in thoſe of the Town, ſet himſelf for ſome dayes following (without advancing towards the City) to divert the courſe of the *Robec*, which little Rivulet running through the Field, and entering into the Town, drove eleven Mills near the Porte *St. Hillaire*, to the great conveniency of thoſe within; nor was it very difficult to turn it another way; which would have much incommodated the Town, and made them ſuffer exceedingly, if *Villars*, foreſeeing the diverſion of the water, had not provided againſt it before, by having cauſed a great many hand-mills to be made, which were continually kept going by the Countrymen, who, to fly the Enemy, were in great numbers gotten within the Walls. While they wrought to divert the water, the Mareſchal no leſs intent upon art, than he was upon force of arms, held a Treaty with Captain *Graveron*, who was in the City, to get into his hands the Porte *de Beauvais*, which he was appointed to guard; and this was managed by a kinſman of his, who was one of the Mareſchals ſervants, and who before the ſiege had often gone diſguiſed into the City for that purpoſe. But *Graveron* having revealed the Treaty to the Governour, and received Orders to draw the Enemy by night into an Ambuſh, he could not fain ſo well, but that the art was diſcovered; whereupon this treaty vaniſhed with little damage on either ſide. But the next day the Chevalier *Piccard* ſallying out from *St. Catherine*'s to skirmiſh, and the Earl of *Eſſex* with the Engliſh coming out of the Wood of *Turinge*, they contended with words no leſs than deeds: for *Piccard* upbraided the Engliſh, that not having courage enough to revenge the death of the Earl's Nephew, they ſought to

A double practice is diſcovered, which vaniſhes without effect.

1591. advance their deſigns by treachery, they came to ill language, and to give the Lye, for which, as ſoon as the skirmiſh was ended, there came an Engliſh Trumpet from the Earl of *Eſſex*, to challenge the Governor; which the Chevalier *Piccard* (who had ſpoke the words) having anſwered, it came not to a duel; for the Earl refuſed to fight with any other than the Governor; and the Governor, though he refuſed him not, yet he refer'd the Duel till another time, when he ſhould be free of the charge of that preſent defence, to which, as a publick cauſe, he was both firſt and more deeply engaged.

The Earl of *Eſſex* challenges the Sieur *de Villars* to a Duel, who refuſes it not; but refers it to another time, and ſo nothing is done.

All the Moneth of *November* was ſpent in continual Skirmiſhes, and hourly encounters, the Mareſchal in the mean time being imployed in fortifying his quarters, drawing Artillery and Ammunition, and cauſing proviſions to be brought in; expecting the Kings coming up to the ſiege with the reſt of the Army; who being come into the Camp upon the third of *December*, ſent an Herald to ſummon the City; but being very ſtoutly anſwered by thoſe within, the next day they broke ground to make their approaches to the Wall. The King lay at *Darnetal* with the Mareſchal *de Biron*, and the greateſt part of the Nobility that followed him, having the Swiſſers flanked with the Regiment of his Guards, for the defence of his own quarters. The Viſcount *de Turenne* (whom, in the right of his Wife, we will begin to call the Duke of *Bouillon*) was quartered on the right hand, with the Cavalry, and the German Infantry, ſpreading themſelves a great way in the Neighbouring Villages, upon the way that leads toward *Diepe*. The French Infantry (having loſt the Sieur *de Chaſtillon*, who was wont to command it, he being dead a while before of a natural death) was led by divers Colonels of renowned fame, and lay cloſe by the Germans; but on the right hand of the King's Quarters, towards the Porte *Cau-choiſe*, and the *Porte de Beauvais*. The Engliſh Foot lay on the left hand of the King, and the Swiſſers entrenched under the Wood of *Turinge*, againſt the Porte St. *Hillaire*, and the Mount of St. *Catherine*: The Baron *de Giury*, and the Sieur *de la Chappelle* with the Light-horſe, ſpred themſelves on the left hand of theſe, upon the way that leads to *Pont de l' Arche*, and thence towards *Paris*. And the Count *de Soiſſons* with Captain *Raulet*, beyond the River *Seine* (over which there was a paſſage made by a Bridge upon Boats) were quartered right over againſt the Fauxbourg of St. *Severe*.

The King with the reſt of the Army comes up to the ſiege of *Rouen*, he ſends a Herald to ſummon the Town but is refuſed.

When the whole Town was thus girt round, there being neither the hinderance, nor the conveniency of Suburbs (for the Governor, at the arrival of the Army, had cauſed them to be burnt) the King commanded Colonel St. *Denis* to take up his Poſt in the Church of St. *Andre*, which was the onely building that (becauſe it was built of ſtone) remained yet ſtanding, though they had endeavoured to demoliſh it: but he ſoon perceived that *Villars* had foreſeen the miſchief which he might receive from thence, and provided a very convenient remedy: For two exceeding great Culverins were diſcovered upon a * Cavalier raiſed within, which did ſo batter that place, that the French had ſcarcely poſſeſſed themſelves of it, when they were forced to quit it. This attempt having proved ineffectual, the King began to cauſe two Trenches to be caſt up, one to approach St *Catherines* Mount, which (being drawn from the Wood of *Turinge*) was wrought at by the Engliſh; and the other to end juſt againſt the Porte *St Hilaire*, at which the French Infantry wrought by turns. But the Sieur *de Villars* (beſides the other works which were thrown up day and night, and by a great abundance of Labourers, who within a ſhort ſpace had dammed up the Porte *de St. Hilaire* with Earth) having raiſed a very high Cavalier cloſe by it, filled the Moat with Caſamats, and fortified the Counterſcarp with little Ravelines, had alſo before the Forts of *St. Catherine* (where the utmoſt force of the ſiege was applied) drawn a Breſt-work of eighteen or twenty foot thick, flanked with two Ravelines onely for the uſe of Muskettiers, having neither Shoulders, * Orillons, nor Retreats; and before this a Moat of thirty foot wide, and ten foot deep; which was a very fit obſtacle to hinder, and keep in play the firſt fury of the aſſailants: But beſides theſe Fortifications, finding the City ſtrongly and fully manned, (for beſides the Townſmen moſt ready upon ſervice, there were in it Five thouſand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horſe) he reſolved with frequent Sallies to trouble the enemy, ſo that their Works ſhould go on but ſlowly; that manner of defence ſeeming to him very profitable, by reaſon of the hinderance it gave to the enemies approaches; and very generous, by reaſon of the fame and honor which (if they ſucceeded proſperouſly) he ſhould gain thereby: Wherefore the two trenches were ſcarcely begun, when five Companies of Foot, ſeconded

* A Mount raiſed on purpoſe to plant Cannon on Some call it a Cat.

* Orillons are the round ſhoulders at the ends of the faces of Baſtions next the Flanks, which cover the covered Flanks; little uſed in *Holland*, but much in *Italy* and *France*.

conded by *Boreſey* with 120 Horſe, ſallied out at the Porte *Cauchoiſe*; and on the other ſide Three hundred Provencials armed with Corſlets and Halberds, or Partiſans, flanked with a hundred French Firelocks, came down from St. *Catherines*, and with infinite violence aſſaulted thoſe that were at work making the Redouts. On the one ſide the Engliſh ran to oppoſe this Sally; and on the other, Colonel St. *Denis*, *la Luſerne*, and *Parabere*; and the fight grew ſo hot on both ſides, that it laſted above three hours with great execution, till the Baron *de Biron* being come up with a Body of Four thouſand Germans, and two great Troops of Horſe, ſent back thoſe of the Town, whereof (with the Sieur *de St. Sulpice*) there were ſlain above forty; but on the Kings party above Two hundred. 1591.

The Pioneers were terrified with this aſſault, to which the croſsneſs of the weather being added (which firſt with exceſſive Rains, then with very deep Snow and hard Froſts, hindered all manner of working) the approaches went on but ſlowly; and yet the beſieged, who with eaſe and conveniency lay under cover, did not for the ſame difficulties ſlacken the works they had begun; but every day, Caſamats, Trenches, Ravelines, and Cavaliers, were ſeen to riſe, and their ſallies were ſo fierce, and made to ſo good a purpoſe, that they kept all the beſiegers almoſt continually in Arms. Herein appeared moſt clearly the prudence and valour of the Sieur *de Villars*, who, though he could not ſtir up and down without difficulty, being lame of one foot, would yet himſelf in perſon (ſometimes upon a pad-nag, ſometimes upon a gallant horſe) be in all encounters, ſurveying himſelf, and ordering and governing the actions of his men by his own preſence: And amongſt the moſt courageous Salliers (at laſt known alſo to all the Kings Army) were Captain *Boreſey*, Captain *Baſin*, and one *Goville* a Prieſt; who much fitter for the exerciſe of Arms, then his Eccleſiaſtical Function, being bold beyond meaſure, and a deſpiſer of the greateſt dangers, was ever the firſt in all ſallies, and as often as he chanced to encounter any one, man to man, he always got the victory, with infinite applauſe of his own party.

One *Goville* a Prieſt, one of the ſtouteſt Defendants, noted both by the Kings party and his own, as often as he fights ſingle, ſtill gets the victory.

At laſt the approaches that were making at St. *Catherines*, were brought to perfection, though they proved very ſtreight, and had onely three Redouts; but they were favoured on the right hand by a long battery of fourteen pieces of Cannon, and on the left with ſeven more; but planted ſo far off, that the Commiſſaries that had them in charge, did not care to fill their Gabions; yet under favour of their ſhot, the works were advanced ſo forward, that they were brought to the Counterſcarp of the Fortification that was newly made, which being ſomething high, and the Trench of the beſiegers very ſtreight at that end (all defects of the Engliſh Engineer) a great number of men were ſlain by the inceſſant ſtorm of Musket-ſhot, which was poured from thoſe that were behind the Parapet of the ſame Counterſcarp: Wherefore it being neceſſary to beat them away, and that not being to be done by day, in regard of the defence which they received from the Curtine, from whence the Muskettiers of the Fort with very good order ſhot perpetually, the King coming perſonally into the Trench with three hundred Gentlemen, accompanied by four hundred gallant Firelocks, gave a fierce aſſault to that place in the greateſt darkneſs of the night, which it not being poſſible for the defendants to ſuſtain, they quitted the Counterſcarp, and (as Soldiers ſay) filing off to the right and left hand, under favour of their Fortifications, they retired into the Moat. Sir *Roger Williams*, a valiant Colonel, entred preſently with Eight hundred Engliſh, and Gabions being brought with wonderful ſpeed, he covered himſelf, working all night upon the edge of the very Moat; but the night following, the Sieur *de Villars* (having placed a Thouſand Muskettiers upon the Curtine, who, without intermiſſion, ſhot even in the dark againſt the angle of the Counterſcarp) ſent forth the Chevalier *Piecard*, and Captain *Baſin*, with Four hundred Provencals, and at the head of them compleatly armed ſixty Gentlemen defended with Targets, who falling on the ſame way by which they had retired the night before, valiantly regained that Poſt, beating the Engliſh from thence, who being hailed upon with a thick ſhower of Musket-bullets, durſt not ſtand up to handle their Pikes; but being terribly vext at the affront they had received, prepared themſelves the two dayes following, and on the third at night aſſaulted the Counterſcarp ſo precipitately in the King's preſence, that the Defendants being driven out, they lodged themſelves there, and with infinite ſpeed and diligence fortified and covered themſelves more than ſufficiently.

The end of the Trench was thrown open into the Moat upon the 29th of *December*, and upon New-years Eve two Batteries were raiſed; one of Fourteen Cannon, which battered

1591. battered the old Fort, and the other of ſeven, planted againſt the new. Theſe, though they thundered all the day, and continued all the night following, not to give the Enemies leaſure to repair their Works; yet did they make but little progreſs, the Forts being all of good Earth, and newly turfed, and the Artillery being lower than the Forts, battered more weakly, and made much leſs impreſſion. Wherefore, upon the ſecond day of the year 1592. they began to make a platform in the midſt between the two Batteries, that they might play more ſtrongly againſt the Forts. The beſieged would not paſs that night in idleneſs, but coming down between the Hill and the City, aſſaulted the Trenches that were at the Counterſcarp of the old Fort; and having put the Guards in confuſion, killed above Sixty of them, carried away many of their *materials, and would have thrown down all their Work, if Sir *Roger Williams* making oppoſition himſelf, with a few to ſecond him at the Gorge of the firſt Redout, had not long ſuſtained the violence of the Enemy; for laying hold of a Pike, and with him two Captains, an Enſign, and a Serjeant doing the ſame, he ſo bravely ſtood the fury of the Aſſailants, that a few other Soldiers working a little behind, made a gap in the Redout, and freſh men ſtill coming up, who at the noiſe of the fight ran to aſſiſt their fellows, the heat of the aſſault was firſt ſuſtained, and then other Squadrons of the Army coming one after another, they of the City were at laſt forced to give over the enterpriſe, and retreat, though with much gallantry and reputation: Nor did the fight end becauſe they were retired; for with their Artillery, *Harquebuzes a Croc*, throwing Fire-works, and a thouſand other wayes, they ceaſed not to moleſt and hinder the progreſs of the Battery.

*Or digging tools.

At the other Trench, which was caſt up againſt the *Porte de St. Hilaire*, and finiſhed the third day of *January*, there was a battery raiſed of four pieces of Cannon and two Culverins, which having found the Gate damm'd up with earth, and making no progreſs that was conſiderable, it was propounded to leave that place, and go to work againſt the Porte *de Beauvais* that ſtood lower; which propoſition was favoured by the French Colonels, becauſe the place was more convenient for them, and near the quarters where they were lodged. But in the mean time, while the Commanders are deliberating, and that the conſultation, by reaſon of the contrary opinions, proves long, the Chevalier *d' Oyſe* ſallying at the Porte *Caucheiſe*, aſſaults that very Trench, and in the mouth of it makes a great ſlaughter of the Soldiers of St. *Denis*, not being upheld by his wonted conduct and courage, becauſe it being then in debate, whether or no the Poſt ſhould be quitted, he was gone to the Conſultation, and to receive the Mareſchal *de Biron*'s Orders. The next day the Work was removed from thence ſomething lower, and the French (out of emulation to the Engliſh Foot, whom they ſaw upon the Counterſcarp of St. *Catherines*) with infinite diligence in a few dayes brought the Trench to perfection; which after it was ended, and the Gate battered with ſeven pieces of Cannon, Colonel St. *Denis*, without ſtaying till the breach were made very large, preſented himſelf valiantly to aſſault it; and at the ſame time Colonel *Piles* with his Regiment falling out of the ſame Trench, ſet up many ſcaling ladders againſt the Curtain which joyned to the ſame Gate. The aſſault was fierce, and no leſs fierce the defence: But the breach in the Wall being high and narrow, and a thick cloud of fire works, ſtones, and ſcalding water pouring from the Curtain, the aſſailants were conſtrained to retire, leaving above ſeventy of their Soldiers dead upon the place. This buſineſs happened upon the fourteenth of *January*.

Lieutenant *Landon* being taken priſoner by the Kings party, promiſes to let them in at a Gate of the City: but being ſet at liberty, he diſcovers the buſineſs to the Governor, who on the night appointed takes Captain *Raulet* and others that came for that purpoſe.

Whilſt their Arms are couragiouſly imployed on this ſide, they that were on the other ſide of the River, at the Fauxbourg St *Severe*, having no other Commiſſion but to hinder the entrance of Men or Victual into the Town, made weaker and leſs bloody skirmiſhes; in which the beſiegers having taken one *Landon*, a Lieutenant of *Commendatory Grillon*'s Regiment, they laboured to corrupt him, and bring him to give them a promiſe, that aſſoon as he ſhould have the Guard, he would let them into the Fort of the Bridge which was upon the *Seine*; *Landon* diſſembling a conſent unto it, becauſe he had formerly ſerved under Captain *Raulet*, and had received ſome courteſies from him, was ſet at liberty; and faining to keep his promiſe, upon the Eighteenth of *January* at night, he having the Guard, gave the ſign that was agreed upon, which being underſtood by thoſe without, Captain *Raulet* on foot compleatly arm'd with twenty Gentlemen, and thirty fire-locks, drew near to the Fort to be received in, the Count *de Soiſſons* ſtanding in Arms with the reſt of his Forces, intent to follow him upon all occaſions: But *Landon* having diſcovered all to the Governor, at the firſt appearance

pearance of the Kings Soldiers, ſallied out of the Fort with ſixty good men; and fell ſo fiercely on the Enemy, that the reſt running away, frighted at that unexpected encounter, Captain *Raulet* who ſtood to it, was taken priſoner by him; and the Count *de Soiſſens* advancing to diſingage him, could not come time enough to effect it. But about this time there was another intelligence, which was not fained, held with the Sieur *la Fountaine*; which being diſcovered and revealed by one *Mauclere* an Advocate, who was converſant in the ſame place, all the accomplices were taken and condemned to the Gallows. 1591.

Another practice, but not a fained one, is diſcovered, and thoſe that are guilty condemned to the Gallows.

They wrought now more diligently in many places than they were wont; for the ſoldiers had already (for their own honour) taken an affection to the enterpriſe, and the emulation between the Nations made the Work go forward with greater ſpeed: To increaſe the which, the King having taken a new Poſt between St. *Catherines* and *Martinville*, quartered 3000 German Foot there, who laboured no leſs than the reſt to make their approach with the Trench to the Counterſcarp of the Moat. On the other ſide, the beſieged, encouraged by the proſperous ſucceſs of their Sallies, agreeing among themſelves in all things belonging to the defence, moved by the Governors example, who putting his hand to all imployments, was preſent at all things; and ſollicited by *la Londe*, who with unwearied vigilancy went about, and provided againſt all wants in all places; laboured continually, ſometimes to make up their Works which the Artillery had beaten down, ſometimes in raiſing new Forts, and making new Caſamats, ſometimes to put in order warlick inſtruments and fire-works; but above all things, they were diligent and forward upon Sallies, to which not onely the Soldiers ran with infinite readineſs, but many times even the Companies of the Townſmen alſo: So that upon the one and twentieth day, ſallying out of the Porte *Cauchoiſe* on the one ſide, and out at the Porte *de Martinville* on the other, they made an hot and furious conflict: But the King having cauſed ſome Field-pieces to be ſecretly planted on the flank of his Poſt, they were driven back by the violence of them with great loſs, leaving ſlain the Lieutenant of the Governors Guards, two of the City Captains, and above 30 ſoldiers. Much more dangerous was the encounter that happened on the three and twentieth day, when 300 Horſe and 1000 Foot ſallying out at the ſame Gate, divided themſelves into ſeveral places; for the Cavalry went toward the field which leads ſtraight to *Darnetal*, to attacque the Regiments of Guards in their Quarter, and the Foot to march more covertly, entered into the dry channel of the *Robec*, and came to the Wood of *Turinge* to the Engliſh. The fight began about noon, weak at the firſt, becauſe *Grillon* Colonel of the Guards was ſcarce able to get an hundred of his men together, and the Engliſh ſhooting coldly at a diſtance, did not cloſe up reſolutely with the Enemy; but afterwards by the coming up of the Commanders, the action roſe to ſuch a height, that at laſt it proved to be like a Battel: For the Baron *de Biron* and *Francois de Montmorancy* Sieur *du Hallot*, with two Squadrons of valiant Gentlemen aſſiſted in both places, and the Baron *de Giury*, and *la Chappelle* with the Light-horſe ran to reinforce their party: And on the other ſide, *Villars* ſeeing the danger of his men, who were advanced very far, came forth himſelf to fetch them off, with *Boreſey*'s and *Perdriel*'s Horſe, and the Sieur *de la Londe* followed him with the Regiment of *Giocopo Argent*, and three Companies of the Townſmen; wherefore fighting in every place as in a pitcht Field, the ſervice grew very dangerous and bloody, freſh numerous ſupplies coming up on all ſides to thoſe that fought. But the King who being at that ſide towards the Battery of *Martinville*, was advanced with a few Horſe, paſſing with great danger over a little bank that was wont to ſtop the courſe of the *Robec*, to the place where the fight was, having heard that the Sieur *du Hallot*, wounded with a Muſquet-ſhot in the thigh, was carried to the next Quarter, and that the Baron *de Biron* hurt (though but ſlightly) in the face, was in great danger of being ſlain, he preſently ſent forth the Duke of *Bouillon* with a Squadron of *Reiters* to relieve his Forces, by whoſe fury *Villars* his Horſe being killed under him, he himſelf hurt ſlightly in one of his hands, and many of thoſe that were about him knocked down, he had wonderful much ado to retire under the Artillery of the Walls. In this action were killed Captain *Laurier*, the Sieur *de Plumetaut* a Gentleman of the Country of *Caux*, *Bois-Pulein* a Captain of Horſe, the Governours Captain of his Guard, the Sieur *de Molart*, and *Brebion*, with above an Hundred Soldiers: And, on the King's ſide were ſlain above an Hundred and fifty, and many more wounded; among which *Grillon* the Colonel of the Guards having

There ſally out of *Rouen* 1000 Foot, and 300 Horſe.

The Baron *de Biron* wounded.

The Skirmiſh increaſed almoſt to a Battel; many Commanders are either killed or wounded, and the Sieur *de Villars* alſo being hurt, hath much ado to retire to the Walls under the protection of his own Cannon.

1592. having received a dangerous shot with a brace of Bullets under the elbow, remained a long time disabled for service.

The same night the Chevalier *de Varneville*, of the Order of *Jerusalem*, died in the City of his wounds formerly received; and the Chevalier *Piccard*, being shot with a Cannon-bullet in the thigh, departed this life within a few dayes after. This loss was increased by the death of Captain *Basin*, that with much honor had engaged himself in all occasions, who looking out at a * Skyt-gate to discover the Enemies works, was hit with a Musket-bullet on the forehead, and lay dead a good while before any body took notice of it. *Goville* the Priest was likewise slain in a skirmish the next day; for having strained his foot in getting up a Work, and being thereby necessitated to retire softly, he was overtaken by many, and after having long defended himself, lost his life by a Musket-shot in the throat. The number of the Defendants being very much decreased by the death of these, they slackned their sallies, and therefore the approaches of the Army still advancing, the assailants were in many places fortified upon the Counterscarps, and at the old Fort of *St. Catherine*, and under the Curtine of *Martinville*, having also passed the Moats, they were working Mines under the Walls; and at the Porte *de Beauvais* they had already sprung a Mine, though with but little effect: Which Works being diligently hastned by the Mareschal *de Biron*, the Soldiers laboured with so much ardor, that by the sap they brought themselves under the Bulwark of the old Fort; and having reduced it all upon props, the Commanders believed that without Powder it would all fall of it self, as soon as the props should fail; wherefore, having drawn up two Squadrons in a readiness to go on to the assault, the props were set on fire; but the Earth, which was admirably good, and well beaten, sunk down so gently, that without opening it self, or falling in pieces, it onely sunk down upon the ground, the Bulwark remaining lower, but not broken, nor discomposed on any side, which was the cause, that without any further attempt the Foot returned all into their Trenches. They then began to make a Mine in the same place, to do that effect which could not be done with the Props, and in the mean time the Germans also wrought under the Curtine of *Martinville*; in which place *la Fountaine-Martel*, and *Agueville*, a young Gentleman of that Country, drawn by the emulation that was between them, sallied out at one of the Skyt-gates of the next Bulwark, each with ten Firelocks, and twenty Corslets, and gallantly assaulted the principal Avenue of the Trench; but being exceeded by so much a greater number, and there being no means to help them from the Walls, because the Works were beaten down, after a long and gallant fight, wherein almost all their men were slain, they had much ado to get themselves drawn up at the same Skyt-gate. The Mine at the old Fort was already perfected, and was to be sprung the next morning, when Colonel *Boniface* going the Round to visit his Guards in the still silence of midnight, heard the noise of the working in that place, and having caused many Fireworks to be cast into the Moat, to discover what the Enemy did; those fires running up and down, and scattering themselves into many places, by chance found the mouth of the Mine, and gave fire to it before the time, in such manner, that the blast striking backward, and carrying part of the Bulwark with it, burned and overwhelmed with Earth all the out-guard, and hurt many of those that were preparing themselves against morning, to give the assault; yet the ruine was so large, and the Earth so overturned at the point of the Bulwark, that it might easily have been assaulted, if that sudden accident, and the death of the chiefest of them, had not terrified the assailants; so that the Baron *de Biron*, who was to give the sign for the assault, not being in the Trench, and the Foot that were to make it not being drawn up in readiness, the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *Roger Williams* standing firm upon their Guards, sent away in haste to receive Orders what to do, and in the mean time the Defendants with sacks full of Earth, and brush Faggots, repaired the breach in a short space.

* A Skyt-gate is that gap in the *Parapet* where the mouth of the Cannon lies out, called in French *l'Embrasure*, or Cannoniere.

*Goville* the valiant Priest is killed with a Musket shot.

But the siege of *Rouen*, by reason of the importance of it, had from the beginning bred great anxiety in the Duke of *Mayenne*, who being departed from *Paris*, and returned to the Army, had dispatched the Sieur *de Rosne* to *Landrecy*, where the Duke of *Parma* then was, to solicite his coming, or at least to know his resolution. The Duke of *Montemarciano* and Commissary *Matteucci*, had also dispatched *Antonio Maria Pallavicino* to him, to let him know, that if he by the midst of *December* were not entred with his Army upon the Confines of *France*, they had a Commission from *Rome* to disband their forces; and likewise *Diego d' Ivarra* was gone thither, as well to inform

form him of the buſineſs that had faln out in *Paris*, as to repreſent unto him the importance and danger of the ſiege, already laid before *Rouen*. The Duke governing himſelf according to his Commiſſions, and his own deſign, never to let the Kings party have ſo much the better, that the League ſhould be ſuppreſſed by it; and ſeeing that he could no longer delay to aſſiſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, he reſolved to do it, but ſtill perſevering in his determination, not to ſhew any intereſſed end, but ſimply a deſire to ſuccor and ſuſtain Religion, that he might not put things in diſorder, and beget an unſeaſonable jealouſie in the French. *Diego d' Ivarra* was of another mind; who by his own opinion, and that of the other Miniſters who were in *France*, perſwaded that upon occaſion of the preſent neceſſity, which was moſt urgent, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other French Lords ſhould be conſtrained to aſſemble the States, and cauſe the *Infanta Iſabella* to be declared Queen, who ſhould afterward, with the conſent of the Confederate Princes, take ſuch an Husband as ſhould be reſolved on; which coming to paſs, he thought beſt to ſpend with a free hand, and with all their Forces to aſſault the King, and never to draw off their Army from him till he was abſolutely ſuppreſſed and overcome. But the Duke, though he knew this to be the laſt intention of the Catholick King, and of the Spaniſh Council, did not judge the preſent time ſeaſonable for that buſineſs, as well becauſe the French Lords (holding themſelves deceived, and that upon occaſion of their preſent exigency, they meant to bring their necks into a nooſe) would, in deſpair, caſt themſelves into the Kings mercy, who, with many inticements ſought to make them his friends; as alſo, becauſe there was not time to manage that deſign, with that patience and dexterity it required, while *Rouen* was already beſieged, and the neceſſity of relieving it admitted no delay. The Spaniards, and particularly *Diego d' Ivarra* (a man of a moſt fiery wit, and naturally of a ſtinging tongue) added, that the Duke of *Parma* being an Italian, (for his own intereſt, and that of the other Italian Princes) did not deſire the ſo great growth of the Spaniſh Monarchy, and that therefore he went interpoſing doubts and delays, no leſs than the French Lords did: But the effects of after-times have clearly ſhown, how prudent and profitable the Duke of *Parma*'s opinion was; who being reſolved to help in the ſo great need of the Confederates, was come to *Guiſe*, where he met with the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Montemarciano*, and having left Count *Mansfelt* in the Government of the Low-Countries, gave order to his Son, Prince *Rannuccio*, and the other Commanders, to draw together, and lead the Army toward the Confines. 1592.

The Duke of *Parma* is of opinion to ſuccor the League, without ſhewing any other end ſave that of Religion, and *Diego d' Ivarra* thinks it better (the League being in a ſtrait) to force them to call an Aſſembly of the States, and to declare the *Infanta Iſabella*, Queen of *France*.

The Duke could do no leſs, than give the Duke of *Mayenne* and the reſt, a touch of what King *Philip* had with his own mouth, ſpoken to Preſident *Jeannin*: That it was thenceforth neceſſary not to do things by chance, and without a determinate end, but to aſſemble the States; who (having underſtood the Catholick Kings intentions, which he would cauſe to be made known unto them by new Ambaſſadors) ſhould reſolve upon future things, which could not alwayes go on in the preſent uncertainty: And when he ſaw that the Duke of *Mayenne* anſwered him very coldly to that particular, he cauſed it afterward to be ſpoken of to him by Preſident *Riccardotto*, one of his Counſellors; but the Duke not refuſing the Convocation of the States, ſaid, it was neceſſary to refer it till another time, and that firſt it ſhould be treated on with the Dukes of *Lorain*, *Nemours*, and *Mercœur*, and that the ends to which they ſhould unanimouſly tend ſhould be agreed upon, leſt they ſhould proceed indeed by chance, and cauſe ſome diviſion among the Confederates: Which reaſons being very conformable to the ſenſe and opinion of the Duke of *Parma*, and having obſerved, that at this propoſition, all the French Lords were put in ſuſpence, and no leſs than they, Madam *de Guiſe*, who was then preſent, he ſeemed to remain ſatisfied, and impoſed ſilence to that point; but fell onely to demand *la Fere* for his retreat, whither he might bring all the Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage of his Army, it not being fit that they ſhould remain open to the Enemies incurſions; and that he, advancing into the bowels of an enemies Country, ſhould not have one place whither he might retire at his pleaſure. There was enough to do to obtain this point; for the Duke of *Mayenne* refuſed to alienate any place from the Crown: But having diſcovered, that the *Vice-Seneſchal de Montelimar*, Governor of that Fortreſs, held intelligence with the Spaniard, doubting, that they howſoever would get it againſt his will, he was at laſt contented that the Duke ſhould bring in his Arms and Artillery thither, and that he ſhould leave a Garriſon there of Five hundred Wallons, paid by the Catholick King; but

1592. ſtill under the ſame protection of the Crown, the ſame French Magiſtrates reſiding to adminiſter Juſtice; and not ſatisfied with that, he would alſo have a bill of the Duke of *Parma*'s hand, to leave it free to him again whenſoever he ſhould draw forth his Artillery.

The D. of *Parma* about that time gave great ſatisfaction to the Confederates by a very prudent and generous action; for certain Deputies being come to him from the City of *Orleans*, to let him know, That their Citizens (not having wherewithal to pay the ſoldiers of the Garriſon, who were many months behind, and ſeeing that the D. of *Mayenne* had no great care of their intereſts) were deſirous to put themſelves under the Catholick King's protection, being ready to receive what Garriſon he ſhould think fit: he reprehending them for ſeeking to ſwerve from the obedience of the Lieutenant of the Crown, refuſed to accept of them, though *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis*, and *Diego d' Ivarra* were of a contrary opinion; to whom he anſwered, that if they thought to get poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, by reducing the Cities one by one, the World would be at an end before they had abſolutely gain'd it, and that it was neceſſary to ſtrike at the root, and not buſie themſelves in pruning off the boughs.

Pope *Gregory* the 14th dies: *Giovanni Antonio Facbinetto* Cardinal of *Santi Quattro*, ſucceeds with the name of *Innocent* the 9th. His inclinations concerning the affairs of *France*.

Matters being ſet right with the French Lords, it was neceſſary to ſet them right alſo with the Miniſters of *Rome*; for after the death of *Gregory* the XIV^th^, *Giovanni, Antonio Facbinetto* Cardinal of *Santi Quattro* being choſen Pope, who took the name of *Innocent* the IX^th^, the affairs of the League ſeemed not to be hearkened to by him with the ſame inclination wherewith his Predeceſſors had imbraced them; for he told both the French Agents and Spaniſh Miniſters freely, that he would not ſtir to give any relief to *France*, till a free Catholick King (but ſuch a one as was generally liked of) were choſen; whereby he ſeemed to point at a Prince of the Blood-Royal; for *Scipio Balbani* had communicated the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s deſign to many, and their mindes were much entangled with it; nor was the Pope himſelf much averſe from this new thought: whereupon, being earneſtly ſollicited to aſſiſt the ſo urgent neceſſities of the League, and not to forſake the cauſe of Religion; he anſwered, that he could not make the Print of the foot longer than the foot it ſelf, and that the expences made by his Predeceſſor exceeded the abilities of the Apoſtolick See, and that he would contribute Fifteen thouſand Ducats a month till buſineſſes were ſetled, after which ſettlement he would ſtrain himſelf to do the moſt that the ſtrength of the Treaſury ſhould be able to bear; which things written into *France* by many, did not onely diſturb the mindes of the French Lords, but alſo made the Duke of *Monte-Marciano*, and Commiſſary *Matteucci* doubtful, which way they ſhould carry themſelves. Nevertheleſs, he created the Biſhop of *Piacenza* Cardinal, and appointed him Legat in *France*, as a man experienced, and who already had the management in his hands, it being commonly ſaid, That new Miniſters do maim buſineſſes, before they have time to underſtand and apprehend them. The Legate being choſen, he wrote, that if the Duke of *Parma* came into the Kingdom by the fifteenth of *December* at the fartheſt, then the Forces of the Apoſtolick See ſhould follow his Camp; but if he entred not within the ſaid term, they ſhould certainly be disbanded: which did not much pleaſe the Spaniſh Miniſters, who ſaw the Pope little inclined to follow their ends; but much leſs the Duke of *Mayenne*, who ſaw he could not hope for thoſe Aids that were fit for his deſign. But his death, which happened in the ſecond month of his Popedom, did ſo confound the mindes of the Legate and the reſt, that the Duke of *Parma* was neceſſitated with his entreaties and authority to conſtrain them to follow him in the preſent need, and to promiſe the Swiſſers to pay them with his own money, if they were not ſatisfied by the next Pope.

The death of Pope *Innocent* the Ninth.

Upon the 4th of *January* 1592, the Duke of *Parma* being come into *France*, and joyned with the Popes and the French Forces, muſters his Army. Upon the 16th day the Confederates march to relieve *Rouen*, with 24000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe.

All things being thus ſetled, and the Forces drawn from all parts, the Armies joyned, and advanced with eaſie marches towards *Neſle*; where, being arrived upon the fourth of *January*, the Duke of *Parma* would needs make a general *Rendezvous* of his Forces, which he muſtered, and cauſed to be paid a weeks pay; and likewiſe the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Count *de Vaudemont*, and the Duke of *Monte-Marciano* reviewed their Forces; and for that purpoſe, and to ſtay for the Artillery and Ammunition, which moved more ſlowly, they lay twelve dayes in the ſame Quarters. They ſet forward upon the ſixteenth in the morning, and by the way of *Amiens* (though the longer, yet the better, and more abundant in proviſions) marched directly toward *Rouen*. When they had paſſed *Amiens*, and left behind them the River *Somme*, the Duke of *Parma* would needs diſtribute the parts of his Army, and march continually

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in battalia, ſi nce they entred into an Enemies Country, full of uneven places, Woods and little Rivers; for which cauſe he would not expoſe himſelf to the danger of being aſſaulted unawares by the King's readineſs and celerity, which by paſt experience was exceedingly well known unto him. There were in the Army about Six thouſand Horſe; eight hundred *Reiters* commanded by the Baron of *Swarzembourg*, Two thouſand Light-horſe (in the abſence of the Duke of *Paſtrana*) commanded by *Georgio Baſti* Commiſſary of the Cavalry, Four hundred Flemiſh Lances under the Prince of *Chimais*, An hundred Italian Lances of the General of the Church, led by his Lieutenant *Lodovico Melzi*; Seven hundred Lorain Lances and Cuiraſſiers commanded by the Count *de Vaudemont*; and Two thouſand Horſe of the French Gentry, that followed the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Guiſe*, and the other Princes and Lords of that party. The Infantry amounted to the number of 24000, whereof Two thouſand Swiſſers; to ſo ſmall a number were they reduced that were raiſed by the Church; Three Spaniſh *Tertia*'s under *Antonio Zuniga*, *Lodovico Velaſco*, and *Alonzo Idiaques*; Two of Germans, under the conduct of the Counts of *Barlemont* and *Arembergh*; Four of Walloons, under Monſieur *du Vert*, Count *Octavio Mansfelt*, the Count *de Boſſu*, and Colonel *Claude de la Berlotte*; Two *Tertia*'s of Italians, that of *Camillo Capizucchi*'s, and a part of that which formerly was *Pietro Gaetano*'s, led by his Serjeant Major, and Four thouſand French, under the Sieurs *de Bois-Dauphine* and *Balagny*, and Colonel St. *Paul*. This Army was divided into three Battalions; the *Van-guard* led by the Duke of *Guiſe*, accompanied by the Sieurs *de Vitry*, and *de la Chaſtre*; the *Battel*, in which were the Dukes of *Parma*, and *Mayenne*, the Count *de Vaudemont*, and the Duke of *Montemarciano*; and the *Rere-guard*, commanded by the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Count *de Chaligny* with many other Lords. The firſt flying Squadron of Foot was led by *Camillo Capizucchi*, wherein were all the Italians; the Swiſſers guarded the Artillery, which were under the command of the Sieurs *de la Motte* and *Baſſompierre*; *Georgio Baſti* with a good Body of Carabines and Light-horſe marched before the whole Army, to ſcowr and ſecure the ways; and the Sieur *de Roſne* had the charge of Serjeant-Major-General. 1592.

The deſcription of the Confederate Army.

The King having heard the news of the coming of the Army of the League, conſulted maturely what was to be done; and having the example of *Paris* before him, reſolved to leave the Mareſchal *de Biron* with all the Infantry, and part of the Cavalry before *Rouen* to continue the ſiege, and to go himſelf with a good ſtrength of Horſe to meet the Enemy; not to fight with them in the open field, but to hinder them upon Paſſes, to retard and interrupt their march, and to lay hold of thoſe opportunities which the quality of ſituations, and the motions of the Confederates ſhould afford. He was perſwaded to this reſolution by finding himſelf ſo ſtrong and powerful in Horſe: for the Duke of *Nevers*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *de* St. *Paul*, and many other Lords being newly arrived at the Army, there were in all above Ten thouſand Horſe, and in the Camp between Seven and eight and twenty thouſand Foot; wherefore the King putting confidence in this number, left the major part of the German Cavalry, hard to be governed, and alſo ſome number of the French in the Camp before *Rouen*; and he himſelf with 2000 Cuiraſſiers, Five hundred light-horſe, A thouſand *Reiters* commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and 2000 Harquebuziers on horſeback, departed upon the nine and twentieth of *January* to march up toward the Enemy.

The Kings Army before *Rouen* amounts to 10000 Horſe, and above 27000 Foot.

At his arrival at *Folleville*, a little Town at the entring into *Picardy*, he received intelligence, that at that very time the Enemies Army keeping the right way toward *Rouen*, was paſſing a little lower, toward the Field that encompaſſes the paſſage of the great high-way: Wherefore, having ſent the Sieur *de Rambures* before with Fifteen Light-horſe to make diſcovery, he drew out the *Grand Eſquire* with Forty Gentlemen upon the right hand, and the Sieur *de Lavardin* with Thirty upon the left, and he himſelf in the midſt with Sixſcore Horſe advanced, that he might conveniently view what order the Army of the League kept in marching; when they had advanced in this manner little leſs than a League, *Lavardin* diſcovered ſome Spaniſh Foot, who reſting themſelves under a Tree, had ſet up their Pikes round about it; and being about to draw near to fall upon them, they on the right hand perceived two ſtrong Troops of Horſe (which had been upon the Guard at the end of the high-way) were already moving towards them; wherefore crying out that the fruit of the Tree was not ripe, they were the cauſe that *Lavardin* taking notice of the Enemy, turned courageouſly about,

The King at *Folleville* having intelligence that the Army of the League was marching near, advanced with ſome Horſe to view it, and being met with two Troops of the Enemy, skirmiſhes, and retires with all his men to *Barteville*.

1592. about, and at the head of his men, most valiantly charged them; who, having in the first encounter killed his horse under him, made a brisk On-set on both sides upon him; but the fight was short; for the King being come up with his Troop, the Horse of the League retired to their main Body. Then saw they the whole Army as it lay still, but the Guards being diligently placed through all the Field, the King found that he could not come nearer them, and therefore being joyned with the rest of his men, he retired that night to *Berteville*.

From thence following his design, he came upon the fourth of *February* to *Aumale*, a Castle seated upon a River, which divides the Confines of *Picardy* from upper *Normandy*, where he quartered all his men in the Suburb; and the next morning, being desirous himself to see the order, and view the Camp of the Enemy, he advanced in person with the Archers of his Guard, two hundred other Light-horse, and three hundred chosen Gentlemen, upon the way which the Army of the League marched, leaving the care of the rest that were in *Aumale* unto the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Longueville*. But as it often hapned to that Prince, (that being led on by his courage, and the curiosity of making discovery with his own eye, in the first ranks of his Soldiers, he was suddenly entangled wonderful great dangers) so it fell out that day; for having past a field exceeding full of Vineyards, which spreads it self from *Aumale* beyond the River, to the bottom of a Hill, and being gone up the steep thereof to the top, where there is a spacious Plain, he fell unexpectedly among the Avant Coureurs of the League, which he thought had been yet above a League from thence. The encounter was so sudden (because the Hill being between them, had hindred each party from discovering the other) that having neither time to retire, nor draw up in order, it was necessary to handle their Arms, and fall in pell-mell without any consideration. There were at the head of the French, the King himself, the Baron *de Biron*, the Count *de St. Paul*, the Sieurs *de Marivaut*, *de Chaseron*, *de Praslin*, *d'Aubigny*, *de Rambures*, and *de Champlivaut*, with many other valiant soldiers; so that there was no doubt but the Avant-Coureurs of the League, being both in number and courage much inferior, must give place to their fury and valor; and indeed, after a short resistance, they betook themselves openly to flight.

The King going from *Aumale* with a few Lords to discover the enemy, is forced to fight upon the sudden in disorder; yet notwithstanding after a short resistance, puts them to flight.

Then appeared the Duke of *Parma*'s Army, which being drawn into Battalia, with Military order, marched on its way along the same Plain. The whole form of their Battel was four-square, and had an open Interval in the Front, through which the Squadrons in the middle might draw forth to fight; and, at the Angles of the Rere, there were likewise two Intervals; that of the Front being shut up by the flying Squadron, and those in the Rere, by two Bodies of Horse, which were to advance first into the Battel. The Flanks were defended by the wonted carriages, which in admirable order went on without straggling: And by the side of them were the Foot of all the several Nations drawn up in Divisions: Without the Body of the Army, and of the foursquare form, the Light-horse and Carabines in very great numbers, being divided into many Squadrons, filled up the extent of the Plain on every side; and in the midst of the whole Camp, the Duke, carried in an open Chair, went himself, observing what was amiss, and setting all things in order. But the King had hardly made a stand upon the Plain, to take an hasty view of this excellent order, when *Georgio Basti* (advertised by the Avant-Coureurs) coming up with the Carabines and Light-horse of the Army, he found himself entangled by two great clouds of Harquebusiers on Horseback, who hailing upon them on both sides, forced him, though very late, to think of the means of retiring. Almost all the Gentlemen that followed him were without their head-pieces, because in such an unexpected accident they had not had time to take them; and fought confusedly in disorder, because haste had not suffered them to draw themselves up into a Body; so that onely courage, and sense of honour, and the Kings presence restrained them from flight, which was necessary, if they would save their lives: But a great number falling dead on every side (since even the best of their Arms was not proof against the violence of those Bullets that flew from the extraordinary wide bore of the Carabines) and the first flying Squadron of Foot already appearing, which having heard the beginning of the fight, came up a great pace to fall in amongst them, the King commanding his men to wheel about, but not to charge, went on at a round trot toward the descent, to meet with his Light-horse and Harquebusiers on horseback, which being led by the Baron *de Giury* and the Sieur *de Lavardin*, followed him not very far off. The Enemy with no less readiness was at his back, and on all sides the Captains

Captains of the light-Horſe made haſte to cut off his retreat; for being known by his countenance, plume, and habit, every one cryed out to his companions, that it was the King of *Navar*, and mutually exhorting each other to follow him, they put all their utmoſt endeavours to get him into their hands. The fury of their retreat downward (making many horſes ſtumble and fall) did ſo much hinder their ſpeed and order, that it was neceſſary the King himſelf, with evident danger, ſhould ſtay among the laſt, to ſuſtain the violence of the Enemy, and be in the greateſt ſtorm of ſhot, one of which ſtriking at laſt through the cantle of his Saddle, wounded him (though without danger) under the reins. As the Kings hurt neceſſitated him to fly full ſpeed to ſave himſelf, ſo did it utterly rout his men, who being come into the field below, were detained by the impediment of the ſtakes, and branches of the vines, and by the abundance of the hedges; ſo that men and horſes fell at every ſtep, and were expoſed to the fury of the enemies, who made ſuch a ſlaughter with their Carabines, that beſides the great number of Gentlemen which were ſlain, the Archers of the King's Guard were almoſt all left dead upon the place. But the light-horſe who were already come up into the midſt of the Plain, which being but ſhort, ſpread it ſelf between the Town and the place where the fight was, being met by thoſe who fled away, carrying news that the King was wounded and almoſt dead, diſordered themſelves without fighting, and facing about, fled back for company to *Aumale*; only the Baron *de Giury*, who was at the head of them with their Captains, advancing with thirty in his company to aſſiſt in the King's ſo manifeſt danger, covered him with his own Cloke, which he threw about his ſhoulders, and upheld him for a while, till he ſaved himſelf from the fury of his enemies. At the ſame time the Sieur *de Lavardin* advanced with threeſcore of his Harquebuſiers on horſeback, for the reſt had alſo taken flight, and placing himſelf behind the bank of a ditch that was by the way-ſide, endeavoured to ſtop the purſuit of the Enemy; but he being wounded at the firſt volley, *Giury*'s horſe killed under him, which in falling hurt his left leg and knee very dangerouſly, *Aubigny* unhorſt, *Chaſeron* wounded, *Rambures* bruiſed and bloody, not one of them would have been ſaved, if the Duke of *Nevers* with a great Squadron of Cavalry (wherein were the Counts of *Torigny* and *Montgomery*, the Sieur *de Montigny*, and the *Grand Eſquier*) had not advanced to diſengage them. The Duke, after he had heard of the beginning of the skirmiſh, and that the King was put to the worſt, had wonderful diſcreetly diſpoſed that part of the Harquebuſiers on Horſeback which had remained with him, along the bank of the River, to make good the Ford, and favour the paſſage of thoſe that fled; and himſelf, with the main body of the Cavalry, all armed, and in excellent good order, had paſt the River to relieve and ſuſtain his men, which he ſaw afar off were overpowered and oppreſſed by the violence of the Enemy; and his coming was very ſeaſonable; for if he had ſtayed longer, both the King himſelf and all the reſt that were in the Plain, would certainly have been either killed or taken. The Duke went on till he came to a place, where (by reaſon that the River was overflowed) he was fain to paſs along a narrow bank, and there, not only ſeeing the Spaniſh Carabines (incouraged by the beginning of the victory) furious in a cloſe purſuit, but alſo the Sieur *de Vitry*, the Baron *de la Chaſtre*, and the Count *de Chaligny*, who leaving the body of the Army behind them, were run to reinforce the fight, he took a reſolution to retire without paſſing any farther, leſt he ſhould loſe the Gentry that were with him, if with ſo great a diſadvantage, and to no purpoſe, he ſhould have expoſed them to the Enemies whole Army, which was like to charge them every minute; wherefore, having fetch'd them off, who (their horſes being loſt) retired with much difficulty, having recovered *Giury* and *Lavardin*, both very ſore hurt, and having gathered up many Gentlemen that were ſcattered about the field, he returned wheeling off, and facing often about till he came River of *Aumale*, where, being ſuſtained by the Harquebuſiers that lay along the bank, he paſſed it again without any diſorder; and drawing up quickly, followed the King's ſteps, who with very great ſpeed had taken towards a Wood, to retire the more ſecurely.

It is moſt certain, that if the Army of the League had advanced quickly (with the ſame fury as did the Carabines) on the right hand and on the left, (for in all that Country they might have marched freely as far as the bank) the King ſurrounded and encompaſſed on all ſides before the Duke of *Nevers* had arrived, would, with all his men have remained in their power, ſince that notwithſtanding they did not, he had both much ado, and exceeding great fortune to ſave himſelf; but at the ſame time the

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While the King views the Enemies Army, their Cavalry come up to him, and he being in wonderful great danger, comes off wounded.

The Duke of *Nevers* relieves the Kings Cavalry that was retiring to *Aumale*, and makes good their retreat.

The Duke of *Nevers* having fetched off the Kings Cavalry, follows the King, who had ſaved himſelf in a Wood.

1592. the news being confuſedly brought, that the Enemy was preſent, that the King himſelf was there in perſon, that they were fighting, and that they fled; the Duke of *Parma*, not ſuffering himſelf to be carried away with common reports, and not thinking it poſſible, that the King, without ſome ſecret ſtratagem, would have adventured himſelf inconſiderately among the *Avant Coureurs*, doubting, leſt in a Country where he was not well acquainted, ſome Ambuſcado might be laid for him; therefore, cauſing his Army to make a halt, and having ſtopt the flying Squadron that was already upon its march, before he advanced, he would make himſelf ſure that he would not be catched in a Trap; which prudent warineſs nevertheleſs gave the King conveniency to ſave himſelf; for though the Duke of *Mayenne* (who, in vain, had urged, that the whole Army might advance) ſet forward with a Body of Horſe at a large trot to follow him, yet it being already night when they entered into *Aumale*, he was out of hope to do any good, and therefore reſolved to ſtay and paſs no further.

The King cauſed his wound to be dreſt in the Wood; which found not dangerous he goes preſently to *Neuf-Caſtel*.

The King cauſed himſelf to be haſtily dreſſed in a Wood, about half a League from *Aumale*, and having found that the wound was not very deep, (for the bullet being deaded by paſſing through the Saddle, ſtuck but in the fleſh) proſecuted his journey with very great ſpeed, and ſtopt not till he came within the Walls of *Neuf-Chaſtel*; where the Duke of *Nevers* having done the part of a prudent and valiant Soldier, arrived alſo, though many hours after, with all his men perfectly ſafe. It was feared leſt the next day the Duke of *Parma* ſhould follow on his voyage ſpeedily, and haſting directly to *Rouen*, where the report of the King's being routed and wounded, might have bred a fright and a confuſion in the Army, with very great danger of being defeated and ſcattered; nor did there appear any other remedy to retard his march, ſave to defend *Neuf-Chaſtel*; which place ſtanding upon the Road, they did not believe he would leave at his back, eſpecially if it were ſtrongly Garriſoned, leſt it ſhould obſtruct the way, and hinder the bringing in of Proviſions, which were all of neceſſity to paſs through thoſe parts. But the Town being weak, and the exigency requiring a ſpeedy reſolution, the Baron *de Giury*, though his foot was very ſorely hurt, proffered himſelf to ſtay, and to defend it ſo long, that the Enemy might not come unexpectedly to *Rouen*; but that the King's Army, the preſent terror being overpaſt, might have time to ſettle it ſelf again, and that the King himſelf being grown better of his wound (which they hoped he would be within a few dayes) were able again to ſet on Horſe-back, and with his preſence put courage into the actions of his Soldiers, which was the only means to ſuſtain himſelf. So Three hundred Cuiraſſiers, and Four hundred Harquebuſiers on horſe-back being left at *Neuf-Chaſtel* with *Giury*, the King, with the Baron *de Biron* went to *Diepe*, that they might be the better cured, and the Duke of *Nevers* with the remainder of his men returned to *Rouen* to reinforce the Army.

The King leaves the Baron *de Giury* at *Neuf-Chaſtel*, he having undertaken to defend it, and goes to *Diepe* to be cured of his wound.

The Duke of *Parma* quartered the next day at *Aumale*, and the French Lords murmuring, that if he had advanced that day, the War might eaſily have been made an end of; he anſwered, That if he were to do it again, he would take the ſame reſolution, becauſe it was dictated by reaſon, having till then believed, that he had had to do with a Captain-General of an Army, and not with a Captain of Light-horſe, which he now knew the King of *Navarre* to be: but this buſineſs bred a diſcontent among the Commanders of the League; for the Spaniards and Italians commended the Duke of *Parma*'s warineſs, and his ſecure way of managing the War, and the French praiſed the forward humour of their Nation, and would have had him proceed in the ſame manner which they ſaw the King hold in the promptneſs of his reſolutions: but the condition of the one was very different from that of the other; for the King being General of a voluntary Army, and having no other hope, nor any other ſecurity but himſelf, was neceſſitated to venture his own perſon upon all occaſions, making way with his danger for thoſe that followed him: but the Duke of *Parma* coming only to ſuccour the Confederates, would not hazard at once the hopes of *France*, and the poſſeſſion of *Flanders*, without expectation of ſome fruit by his Victory, that might countervail ſo great a loſs; and therefore with art and prudence, as he had done at *Paris*, he pretended not to conquer, but not to be conquered. However it were, it is moſt certain, that from hence there began to riſe differences and diſcontents between him and the Duke of *Mayenne*, which afterwards encreaſed every day.

The Duke of *Parma*'s Anſwer to the French Lords.

The

The Army of the League advancing with commodious marches, laid ſiege to *Neuf-Chaſtel*, which, by reaſon of its weakneſs, they believed would have made no reſiſtance; but the Duke of *Parma*, incenſed at the boldneſs of the defendants, and at the impediment which he received thereby, cauſed his Artillery to be planted with as much ſpeed as was poſſible, and with wonderful fury to batter that part of the wall which ſtood toward his Camp, which being old, and not lined with earth, within a ſhort ſpace afforded a breach very convenient to be aſſaulted: which Monſieur *de Giury* ſeeing, began to capitulate; and though the Duke were at firſt highly incenſed at his reſiſtance, yet being appeaſed by the interceſſion of Monſieur *de la Chaſtre*, *Giury*'s Father-in-law, and admiring the valour of that *Cavalier*, (who, to give his party time to recover breath, had thruſt himſelf into ſo great a danger) granted him honourable conditions: about the performance whereof there aroſe ſome diſpute; for Monſieur *de Rebours* a Colonel of French Infantry, who had ſhut himſelf up in the Town with *Giury*, not having been particularly mentioned in the Capitulations, the Duke of *Parma* pretended that he not having been named, ought not to enjoy the benefit of the Articles, but to remain a priſoner; and Monſieur *de Giury* argued, that having made compoſition for himſelf and all his ſoldiers, though *Rebours* was not named with the other Officers, becauſe he had not his men there, was yet comprehended, and ought to go free with all the reſt; which, after it had been a while diſputed, the Duke of *Parma* generouſly remitted the difference to the Kings own deciſion, who knew, whether he had left *Rebours* with command or without command for the defence of the place. But the King having called a Council of War and having heard every ones opinion, gave judgement, that *Rebours* was to be underſtood as comprehended in the Capitulation. 1592.

The Duke of *Parma* beſieges *Neuf Chaſtel*, which, though weak, is gallantly defended by *Giury*; but a breach being made, and the aſſailants ready to fall on, *Giury* capitulates. The Duke of *Parma* angry at his reſiſtance, ſhews himſelf unwilling to treat; but being appeaſed, grants him honourable conditions.

But the obſtacle of *Neuf-Caſtel*, though it was but for four days, gave great help to the King's affairs; for that time was not onely very conſiderable, but in that interim part of the victual being ſpent which was brought along with the Army of the League, it was neceſſary to ſtay to make new proviſions; for the Country, deſtroyed in a ſiege of ſo many months, in the ſterility of the Winter, did not afford any thing, and the victuals that were to be brought from *Picardy* were of neceſſity to be accompanied with ſtrong Convoys, and backed by the Cavalry of the Army, becauſe the King and the Baron *de Biron*, from *Diepe* and *Arques* where they lay, cauſed all the wayes to be obſtructed with their Horſe. This ſtay was of ten days, to the great murmuring of the French; for the Duke would not engage himſelf in an Enemies Country, all ruin'd, and not well known to him, without ſuch abundant proviſions of victual as were neceſſary to feed the Camp, not being accuſtomed to remit the event of his Counſels unto fortune. In theſe dayes there happened many valiant encounters; for the King being cured of his wound, ſuffered not the Enemy to repoſe without ſuſpition, nor without danger; but matters proceeded almoſt alike; the encounters being between the Cavalry, wherein the number of the Gentry on each ſide equalled the proceeding, with bold attempts, prompt reſiſtance, and gallant reſolutions.

It fell out that the King, being advanced upon a hill that lay on the right ſide of the great high-way, by which all the Enemies Army marched, cauſed the Sieur *de Montigny* with a Squadron of Light-horſe, and the Sieur *de Praſlin* with another of Cuiraſſiers to fall ſuddenly into the Quarters of the Duke of *Aumale* (who brought up the Rere) juſt at the time when he newly entered into them; but after a ſhort skirmiſh rather than fight, being in their retreat charged by the Count *de Chaligny*, and the Sieur *de Roſne*, there followed in the adjoyning Plain a great encounter, to which the Sieur *de Fervaques*, and the Count *de Torigny* ſon to the Mareſchal *de Matignon* coming up with the Troops of *Normandy*, they fought above two hours with ſingular bravery; but when they of the League would have retired, they found themſelves engaged by the Baron *de Biron*, who, with another Troop fell in upon their Flank, ſo that to ſave themſelves they were fain to turn their backs and run full ſpeed; which the Count *de Chaligny* ſcorning to do, and gallantly fighting in the midſt of his enemies, was taken priſoner by *Cbicot* the King's Jeſter, but a notable ſturdy lad, who, in the taking of him received a wound from him in the head, whereof he died not many dayes after. The Count being brought into the King's preſence, and being much afflicted to have been taken by a Fellow of ſo baſe a profeſſion, the King comforted him, aſſuring him, that *Cbicot* was a valiant Fellow, and that he ought rather

A skirmiſh grows almoſt to a Battel.

*Cbicot* the Kings Jeſter takes the Count *de Chaligny* priſoner.

1592. rather to complain againſt himſelf for having engaged himſelf ſo far; to which the Count anſwering, that the deſire of ſeeing and learning had made him ſo forward: the King replyed, that thoſe of his party knew not how to teach him, and that if he would learn the art of War, he ought to fight under his Colours, and near his perſon. Theſe were the ordinary ſayings of the King, who gave the Counts ranſome to the Dutcheſs of *Longueville* and her daughters, who, having been taken at *Corbie*, after many months impriſonment, were fain to buy their liberty with 30000 Ducats.

The next day, juſt as the Army of the League came out of their Quarters, the Baron *de Biron* in the Plain attacqued the firſt Diviſions of them led by the Sieurs *de Vitry*, and *de la Chaſtre*, where the Skirmiſh with infinite courage on both ſides began to grow exceeding hot; but the Army ſtill marching in Battalia that way, the Baron reſolved to retire among the Hils, which being very wooddy on all ſides, gave the King conveniency to moleſt the Enemy with his flying Army, and alſo to make his retreat in time of need. By reaſon of theſe ſo frequent and dangerous encounters, which ceaſed neither day nor night, the Duke of *Parma* marching with his Army always in order, advanced but ſlowly, not ſtirring if the day were not very clear, and if the Country were not well diſcovered, and taking up his Quarters betimes in the evening, that he might have leaſure to fortifie and entrench his Camp.

The Duke of *Parma* draws near to *Rouen*. A generous offer of *Georgio Baſti*, and *Camillo Capizucchi*.

But he was now come near to *Rouen*, and it was neceſſary to reſolve upon ſome way, either to raiſe the ſiege, or relieve the place: *Georgio Baſti* proffered himſelf with a certain number of Light-horſe, and two Squadrons of Lances to march away, and arriving by night, to paſs through the midſt of one of the Kings quarters, and diſperſing it, to enter into the City. The ſame did *Camillo Capizucchi* offer to do with his *Tertia*, accompanied with a certain number of Horſe; but the Duke thought not theſe propoſitions proportionable to the preſent need of the City, which was not onely of neceſſity to be relieved, but totally freed; and beſides that, it was dangerous to hazard a Body of good men, though ſmall, againſt the preparations of a whole Royal Army. And therefore after mature deliberation, he reſolved to relieve the City with all his Forces in this following manner. The King, with the greater part of the Cavalry was moved into the midſt of the way on the right hand, toward *Diepe* and the Country of *Caux*, to keep ſtrong parties abroad, that he might obſtruct the paſſage, and make it difficult to the Army of the League; and being drawn from *Rouen* the ſpace of five or ſix Leagues, had diſpoſed his quarters in places ſeparate from one another, yet near among themſelves. The Baron *de Biron* lay at *Diepe* and *Arques* with the remainder of the Horſe, to ſhut up the paſſage to the Army of the League, and by following them in the Rere, to hinder the bringing in of proviſions. At *Rouen* there remained onely the Foot with the Mareſchal *de Biron*. Things being thus diſpoſed, the Duke of *Parma* reſolved to move in the afternoon from the place where he was quartered, and taking the way upon the left hand, which leads ſtreight to *Pont de l' Arche* (after he had gone round the wood of *Bellencomble*) to turn upon the right hand, and marchiug all the night, to arrive unexpectedly at *Rouen* by break of day, and without delay to aſſault the Poſts of the Mareſchal *de Biron*'s Infantry; which (the beſieged ſallying out of the City with their wonted valour) he doubted not but would be totally defeated and diſſipated, before the King (who, at the firſt intelligence of their moving would be uncertain of their extraordinary march) could have time or opportunity to aſſiſt it with the Cavalry.

With this intention (the weather being very fair for that ſeaſon of the year) he moved ſuddenly upon the twenty ſixth of *February*, taking upon the left hand toward *Bellencomble*. But, upon the twenty fifth day, the diligence and valour of the Sieur *de Villars* had already prevented his deſign: for, he ſeeing the King was abſent with all his Horſe, and that the Foot of the Camp was divided at many ſeveral Poſts, and not being willing to ſuffer another to have the glory of raiſing the ſiege, if he could do it by himſelf, he determined to try it by a bold ſally he could put the enemies affairs in diſorder; and being advertiſed by an Iriſh-man who was run away from the Camp, that ſince the departure of the King with the principal Lords, the Guards were not ſo diligently kept, becauſe the Mareſchal *de Biron* could not be in all places, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the High-Chancellor, with the Lords of the Counſil who were remaining at *Darnetal*, had no experience in military matters, he ſet himſelf in order to ſally in four ſeveral places, and aſſault all the Poſts at once. He

caused

caused the Townsmen armed in their several Companies to guard the Walls, under the command of the Sieur *de la Londe*, and he himself being resolved to go forth in person, disposed businesses in this manner following: Colonel *Boniface* was to sally from St. *Catherines* with his Regiment of Foot, and two hundred Gentlemen and Officers at the head of it, being backed by the Chevalier *d' Oyse* with two Troops of Horse that sallied from *Martinville*, and were to assault the Post of *Turinge*. *Pericard* with his Regiment seconded by Captain *Borosey* and the Sieur *de Quitry*, was to assault the Batteries planted against the old Fort. Captain *Giacopo Argenti* with his Infantry, followed by the Sieur *de Canonville*'s Horse to re-inforce them, sallying at the *Porte Cauchoise*, was to march toward the Covent of Carthusians, to make head against the main Body at *Dernetal*, in case they should move to succour their Trenches. The Governour himself with a select number of Souldiers and Gentlemen, seconded by Captain *Perdriel*, salling at the *Porte de Beauvais*, was to assault the Battery newly raised by the French Regiments. All these things were in order at break of day, and the sign being given by a Cannon-shot, they sallied with singular gallantry, and with so much violence, that the passage to the Trenches being taken both before and behind, and the Guards surrounded, they made a wonderful great slaughter in every place, took the Cannon, some of which they nailed, some they drew into the Moat; they spoiled the engines and instruments of War in all places, gave vent to the Mines, blew up the Ammunition, and filled every place with death and terrour; so that all the Foot making no further resistance, fled without stop toward *Dernetal*. The Alarm had been suddenly given, and the Mareschal *de Byron* with four thousand Swissers and Germans, and with those Gentlemen that were remaining in the Camp, was coming a great pace to succour his Trenches; but Captain *Perdriel*, who sallied after the Governour at the *Porte de Beauvais* with three Troops of Horse, over-ran all the Plain, and wheeling and skirmishing briskly, endeavoured to keep him in play; and the same did the Chevalier *d' Oyse*, with *Borosey*, *Quitry*, and *Cannonville*, till the Souldiers had done what they intended in the Trenches; which having fully performed, all those four Squadrons likewise advanced to receive the encounter of the Mareschal *de Byron*, and between the Trenches and *Dernetal* they made a bloody fight; in which, though the Sieur *de Larchant* a brave Cavalier, and Captain of the Kings Guards was slain, and the Mareschal himself sorely hurt with a shot in the thigh; yet the other Squadrons of the Germans coming up, and the English and French Infantry rallying themselves together on all sides, they of the Town were beaten back, though with much ado, and driven to their very gates. But the Ammunition being blown up, the Artillery taken, and all things put into confusion, the loss was inestimable, and irreparable for a long time. There were slain on the Kings side above eight hundred Souldiers in the Trenches, and amongst them two French Colonels, and fourteen Captains of several Nations; and of the Assailants not above fifty. The Governour presently dispatched the Sieur *de Franqueville* thorow the Woods to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to give him notice of what had passed, and to let him know, that it was not necessary to precipitate any thing to relieve the City, for the Enemy was left in such a condition, that they would be able to hurt them but little for many days. 1592.

This intelligence being received on the twenty sixth in the evening, while the Army was marching their appointed way, they made an halt, and the Commanders were called to consult. The Duke of *Parma* was of opinion to prosecute the design, for that the Infantry being astonished by the misfortune of the day before, it would be much more easie to dissipate them, and make themselves Masters of their Quarters, freeing the City utterly from the siege, and effecting that for which they were advanced so far: but the Duke of *Mayenne* considered that the business they intended to do was already done, the Mines and Trenches destroyed, the Artillery taken, and Ammunition blown up, that there remained nothing to do, save to beat the Infantry out of their Quarters at *Dernetal*, whither they were all reduced, which being excellently well fortified, was not an enterprise that could be so easily effected without dispute; so that it being necessary to spend many hours time about it, the King in the interim would be come up, most powerful in Horse, with whom they must of necessity fight, with their Souldiers tired with marching, and wearied with the first encounter; and that the City not having need that things should be precipitated, it was better to proceed with that circumspection wherewith they had governed themselves till then. His

The Duke of *Parma* is of opinion to follow the enterprise of *Rouen*, and to prosecute the Kings forces already terrified: The Duke of *Mayenne* is of another mind, and his advice is followed.

1592. opinion was followed, though many of the Spaniards believed he gave that counſel, becauſe the Duke of *Parma* ſhould not get the glory of having relieved *Rouen*; and ſo in the ſame order the Army faced about, and returned to the quarters from whence they came.

There they conſulted what was to be done. The Duke of *Mayenne*'s opinion, in which the other French Lords concurred, was, that the ſiege of *Rouen* could not be raiſed without coming to a Battel, which, by reaſon of the great abundance of Gentry that followed the King at that preſent, he judged very dangerous: whereupon his advice was, (*Rouen* being in ſuch a condition, that there was no danger it ſhould be much ſtraitned in many days, no nor in many weeks) that only ſeven or eight hundred Foot ſhould be ſent into the City for a reinforcement, and to make up the number of the dead; and that the reſt of the Army ſhould bend another way, ſhewing that they were no longer in fear nor care about the ſiege, but that they ſhould buſie themſelves about other enterpriſes: for the Gentry that followed the King, tired with the ſufferings and expences of all that Winter, ſeeing there was not like to be any occaſion of fighting for a long while, and that the Army of the League was far off, would with their wonted haſte retire to their own houſes, and that many others would leave the Kings Camp in the ſame manner; which as ſoon as they ſhould ſee come to paſs, they ſhould ſpeedily march back, and without loſing time advance to *Rouen*; for that the King would certainly be forced to draw off; or if he fought, the Victory would be ſecure. The Spaniards and Italians, fearing leſt others ſhould enjoy the fruits and honours of their labours, inclined to go forward, firmly believing that the King would riſe from the ſiege, rather than be catched between the City and their Army; and ſince ſo much was already done, they deſired to perfect the enterpriſe: and this opinion was favoured by Prince *Rannuccio*, more deſirous of glory than any other. But the Duke of *Parma* choſe to follow the advice of the French; and having ſent to *Rouen* eight hundred Walloons of the Regiment of the Count *de Boſſu* and *de la Bourlotte*; who arriving by night, entered without oppoſition, departed with the reſt of his Army; and having paſſed the River *Somme*, he marched away as faſt as he could, and went to beſiege St. *Eſprit de Rue*, a wonderful ſtrong place ſtanding toward the Confines.

The Duke of *Parma* ſends 800 Horſe into *Rouen*, and then goes to beſiege St. *Eſprit de Rue*, an exceeding ſtrong place.

When the Army of the League was retired, the King, though the cauſe of the reſolution of the Confederates was obſcure to him, determined nevertheleſs to ſtraiten the ſiege of *Rouen* more diligently than he had done before; and the Men of War being arrived, which the States of *Holland* ſent to his aſſiſtance, commanded by *Philip* one of the Counts of *Naſſaw*, (aboard which were many Pieces of Cannon, great ſtore of Ammunition, and above three thouſand Foot) he cauſed the Cannon and Ammunition to be landed, whereof he had exceeding great need, by reaſon of the ſpoil made in the ſally, and gave order that the *Holland*-Ships ſhould not only ſcowr the River, to hinder the coming of Victual and other neceſſaries that were brought from *Havre de Grace* to *Rouen*, but alſo that they ſhould come up cloſe to the City, and battering the old Palace and other places near the River, increaſe the dangers and labours of the beſieged. He alſo cauſed certain Barks to be manned in the upper parts of the River towards *Pont de l' Arche*, which under the command of Monſieur *de l' Hoſpital* High Chancellor of *Navarre*, ſcowred it alſo on that ſide, and blocked it up ſo much the more: which Barks, the firſt day they ſet forth, meeting with Monſieur *d' Anquetil*, made a very ſharp fight, the end whereof was that one of the Town-Ships being fired, and another ſunk, though the King's did alſo receive much harm, yet thoſe of the League retired under the protection of the Walls. The *Holland*-Ships drew near alſo on the lower ſide, and ſhot an infinite number of Cannon-ſhot into the Town, which nevertheleſs did but little hurt: but the Governour having cauſed three Culverines to be planted upon a Cavalier which had formerly been raiſed by the River ſide, after that one of their Ships was boared thorow and thorow with them, and the Main-maſt of another ſhot down, they drew off, to look to the blocking up of the River, and landed Two thouſand Foot more, to re-inforce the Army.

The King receives ſupplies by the *Holland* Fleet, and applies himſelf with his utmoſt endeavors to the ſiege of *Rouen*.

The King in the mean time ſet himſelf again to caſt up Trenches, and make Redoubts on all ſides; and haſtening the Works with his own preſence, the Princes and Lords aſſiſting likewiſe in their turns, not intermitting to work by night, they were brought to perfection in a few days. The firſt of them, drawn from the ſide of *Turinge*, was followed

followed more eagerly than the reſt, to recover the Cannon which at the Sally had been thrown into the Moat on that ſide: But the beſieged perceiving this deſign; made an Engine to raiſe and draw them up; and though the skirmiſhes were many, and that the Artillery and Fire-works did much miſchief on all ſides, yet they of the Town drew them up to the Bulwark of the old Fort; and having brought them into the City with great joy and triumph, ſet them in the Court of the Archbiſhop's Palace, where the Governour lay, becauſe it ſtood in a place equally diſtant from thoſe which the Enemy battered at that time. They wrought luſtily in all places; and the Count *de Soiſſons* being again paſt over into the Fauxbourg of St. *Severe*, had begun alſo to raiſe a Battery on that ſide, to divide the Forces of the Defendents, and preſs them on all ſides: yet nevertheleſs *Villars*, to ſhew that he neither feared nor was ſtraitned, cauſed many Cavaliers to go forth between the *Porte de Martinville*, and that of St. *Hilaire*, and to make a Turnament, running at the Ring and *Faquin*, and making ſhew to be fully at eaſe, and unconcerned, among ſo great and ſo continual toils and labours. But the King interpreted this action, not to vanity (which *Villars* was very far from) but to weakneſs, and that he endeavoured with that cloak to palliate the extream neceſſity he was reduced to, and thereſore with greater diligence followed his Batteries and Mines in every place. They continued their Sallies, with various fortune; and now at laſt the ſmallneſs of the number of the Defendents ſlackened them, the Sieur *de Franqueville* having been ſlain in one of them, and Serjeant-Major *La Londe*, with many other Officers wounded; and yet they made ſo briſk an one on the ſide toward St. *Severe*, that the Count *de Soiſſons* ran himſelf into the Trench, exhorting and encouraging his Souldiers; yet they of the Town having ſeized upon a Redoubt, advanced into the plain, where encountring the Baron *de Guiry*, who was gone on that ſide with ſome Troops of Light-horſe, the fight was very hot and terrible, *Guiry* himſelf being ſo ſorely wounded in the ſhoulder, that he was given for dead; to the Kings ſo great and ſo manifeſt trouble, that having heard the news, he ſaid with a deep ſigh, That he had now no body to whom he could recommend the ſo important charge of the Light-Horſe; which Speech offended many, and particularly the Sieurs *de Montigny*, and *de la Chappelle*, who pretended to the place: but *Montigny* continuing to ſerve with ſingular valour, in proceſs of time attained his deſires; and on the other ſide, *la Chappelle* diſcontented and made deſperate by the Kings words, within a while after went over to the Enemy: and yet *Guiry*'s wound was neither mortal nor dangerous, and they of the Town were beaten back with the loſs of many men.

1592. The Kings Souldiers at *Rouen* deſire to recover their Cannon which the beſieged had caſt into the moat: their deſigns are diſcovered, and the defendents at laſt, though after many skirmiſhes, draw them up with engines, and bring them into the Town with great joy.

*Or, Quintane.

The Sieur *de Guiry* is ſorely wounded; for which the King much grieved, ſaid, *That if he ſhould die, he had no body to whom he could commend the charge of the Light-Horſe:* which ſpeech diſguſted the Sieur *de Montigny* and *la Chappelle*; the firſt of which ſpurred on by the Kings words, continues to ſerve him with more diligence; and the other in deſpair goes over to the League.

But that which did more harm, was, that upon the 24th of *March* a very great piece of the Wall of about ſeventy paces fell of it ſelf between the *Porte-Cauchoiſe* and the Monaſtery of St. *Dominique*, which while the beſieged laboured to repair with Earth, Wool-packs, Baums, and other Inſtruments, the King having cauſed ſome ſmall Pieces to be ſuddenly brought on that ſide, did them ſo great miſchief, that in all the time of the ſiege they had not received greater: whereupon *Villars* ſtreightned on all ſides, and having but a few Souldiers left, not being longer able to reſiſt ſo long and ſo obſtinate a ſiege, was fain to write to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that if he were not relieved by the twentieth of *April* at the furtheſt, he ſhould be forced to capitulate. But in the interim that came to paſs which the Duke of *Mayenne* had ſo confidently foretold; for the Nobility tired out with the toils of the whole Winter, having ſpent their Money, worn out their Clothes, and quite harraſſed their Horſes, now that there was no more hope that the Armies ſhould fight, had according to their wonted cuſtom taken leave to go ſee their own Houſes; and the Army was thereby ſo diminiſhed, that of few leſs than Ten thouſand there remained few more than Five thouſand; and they, becauſe the Country was utterly waſted round about, and deſtroyed by their long ſtay there, in a ſeaſon when the old ſtore was ſpent, and the new not yet grown up, were brought to a very weak eſtate; and to have wherewithal to ſubſiſt, they were forced to divide themſelves, and lie at large, ſcattered in many ſeveral quarters.

1592. The Mareſchal *de Byron*, and the Duke *de Bouillon* had foreſeen that evil, and had laboured to perſwade them all to fifteen or twenty days patience longer, in which time the event of things might be totally ſeen; but ſo great was the neceſſity of many, and ſo precipitate the inclination of the Voluntiers, that they could not be kept, there being many even of the Commanders, who conſtantly believed that the Duke of *Parma* had loſt all hopes of relieving *Rouen*, and that he had ſet himſelf in good earneſt upon the enterpriſe of St. *Eſprit de Rue*, to try if diverſion could work any effect, and that therefore his return was not to be feared; but that the Infantry with the new Supplies from *Holland* were ſufficient to take in *Rouen*: Which opinion (as the French are ready enough to be vainly conceited of themſelves) to the contempt of the Duke of *Parma* and his Army, was grown ſo common, that it was alſo entered into the King himſelf; ſo that he little thought he ſhould have any more need of the Cavalry. On the other ſide, the Foot (which had paſſed all the Winter in the Trenches, half drowned with the exceſſive Rains that fell continually after a great abundance of Snow, and conſumed with perpetual watching and toiling) were not in any better condition than the Horſe, but had more need of reſt, than to be imployed in new and dangerous actions, beſides the diſeaſes, which (according as they are wont) were ſpread amongſt the Germans, and much more among the Engliſh, had exceedingly leſſened the number of thoſe Forces, and the French Infantry not ſtaying to feel the uttermoſt ſufferings, ran away every hour; nor could the King (though he at laſt took notice of the decay and tiredneſs of his Army) uſe ſo great diligence as was ſufficient (after above five months waſting of proviſions) to keep his Camp plentifully furniſhed: Which things being known to the Duke of *Parma*, and much more particularly to the Duke of *Mayenne*, having deferred till the very utmoſt time mentioned in the Governour of *Rouen*'s Letters, to give the Enemies Army ſo much the longer time to conſume it ſelf, they aroſe ſuddenly from *Rue*, where they had rather made ſhew to imploy themſelves, than taken any care to get the place, and being well provided of Victual, paſſed the River *Somme* at a place called * *Blanquetaque*, where ſpreading it ſelf at large, it is leſs rapid, and more ſhallow, and in ſix days march came very near to *Rouen*; having with this celerity made that journey in ſo ſhort a ſpace, which the time before they were no leſs about than thirty days.

The Duke of *Parma* leaving the ſiege of *Rue*, draws near to *Rouen* to relieve it.

* *Which is between* Cretoy *and S.* Valery.

The King having heard of the Enemies ſudden coming, preſently made them who were in the Fauxbourg of St. *Severe* come back over the River to join with the reſt of the Army, and with extream diligence recalled all his Cavalry to the Quarters at *Darnetal*, with an intention to oppoſe and meet the Enemy; but having made a ſtrict muſter of his Forces, and knowing them to be ſo diminiſhed both in number and vigour, that they were no way equal to the numerous Army of the League, he reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, and reſerve matters till a better occaſion; being certain that the greater part of the Nobility would within a few days be come back to him again. But leſt the Army of the League drawing near apace, and without reſiſtance, ſhould diſturb the order of his retreat, he ſent forth the Duke of *Bouillon* with the German Horſe, accompanied with a few French Light-Horſe and Cuiraſſiers upon the great road toward *Neuf-Chaſtel*, to hinder and fore-ſlow the Enemies march. The Country thorow which the Army of the Confederates came was all plain, not troubled with either Hills or Woods, which was a great diſadvantage to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who with a few men intended to make ſhew to be the whole Army; and yet he took his time ſo opportunely to aſſault the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Vanguard when the reſt of the Army was not yet moved out of their Quarters, that he put the firſt Troops of it into ſome diſorder, and in the firſt fury of the charge took a Cornet; but *Roſne*, *Baſſompierre*, and the whole Vanguard coming up, and within a while after the Duke of *Parma* with the Battel, the buſineſs was reduced to faint skirmiſhes upon advantage; for the Duke of *Parma* commanding out many Troops of Horſe every way, endeavoured to diſcover his Wings and Reer, to find whether or no the Kings whole Army was there; and the Duke of *Bouillon* perceiving his deſign, made as many Fronts as the Enemy ſent forth Troops, and extending his Battalion to the utmoſt, would not ſuffer them to effect their intents; with which arts the whole day was ſpent in petty Incounters, and the King with his Commanders had time to raiſe his Camp from before *Rouen* without diſorder. The Artillery were drawn off without delay, and while the Army was imbattelling, they

The King muſters his forces, and finding himſelf much weaker, reſolves to raiſe his ſiege.

were

were ſent before with the Carriages to *Ponte de l' Arche*, toward which place the King intended to retire; who after he had made a ſtand, about half an hour facing the City, left the ſiege upon the 20th day of *April*; and the Baron *de Byron* making good the retreat, marched commodiouſly the ſame way. 1592. The King ſending away his Carriages before, draws up his Army in battalia, and marches away from the ſiege of *Rouen*.

The Duke of *Parma*, with his Army in Battel-aray, arrived the ſame day at *Rouen*; and having ſent *Georgio Baſti* to follow the Reer of the Kings Army, to obſerve which way he marched, entered with the Duke of *Mayenne* into the City, where having given infinite praiſes to the Sieur *de Villars* and the reſt that had been with him in the ſiege, he retired the ſame night to quarter with his Army in the Neighbouring Villages.

*The End of the Twelfth BOOK.*

THE

1592.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The THIRTEENTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

IN *this Book is set down the Determination of the Confederates to besiege* Caudebec, *thereby to open the passage of the River, and totally free the City of* Rouen: *They lay siege unto it; the Duke of* Parma *in viewing the Works receives a Musket-shot in the Arm: The Town is taken; but things go on so slowly, that the King hath time to get his Army together again, and taking all the Passes, to besiege the Army of the League in the* Peninsula *of* Caux; *many actions of importance follow: The Duke of* Parma *troubled with his wound, and straightened with want of Provisions, thinks of passing the River* Seine *to disingage himself from that danger which he found he was run into: He manages that design with so much art, that he passes the River, and retires without receiving any loss; he draws off with long marches, repasses the River at St.* Cloud, *returns into* Flanders, *and leaves Supplies (not very powerful) under the Sieur* de Rosne. *The Duke of* Mayenne *being angry, goes not with him; he takes* Ponteau de Mer, *and falls into discord with the Popes Commissary; he enters into a Treaty of Agreement with the King, who vexed at the unexpected passage of the Confederate Army, lessens his own, and follows the Enemy with a flying Camp. He lays siege to* Espernay *in* Champagne, *which had been taken a while before by the Sieur* de Rhosne; *the Mareschal* de Byron *is slain there with a Cannon-shot;* Espernay *is taken, and other neighbouring Garisons fall of themselves: The King raises a Fort upon the* Seine *to keep Provisions from the City of* Paris, *the Duke of* Mayenne *attempts in vain to divert him: There arises on the Kings side a third party of the Princes of the Blood, and many Machinations are set on foot. Pope* Clement *the Eighth is created, who applies himself with great Moderation to the Affairs of* France. *The Duke of* Mayenne *at the Sollicitation of the Pope and the King of* Spain, *resolves to call the States-General to Elect a King; upon this there follows divers Artifices, and different Treaties; King* Philip *sends new Ambassadors to declare his Will unto the*

*the States. The Duke of* Mayenne *meets them, they diſagree, but piece up again for their own private intereſts. The King attempts to diſſolve the States; He cauſes the Catholicks of his Council to hold a Conference with the Confederates, which with the Duke of* Mayenne's *conſent is begun at* Surenne; *He takes* Noyon; *the King being neceſſitated to go ſpeedily into* Poictou, *cannot relieve it. The Catholick King's Ambaſſadors propoſe the* Infanta *of* Spain *to be elected Queen; the Propoſition is ill reliſhed by the States, and there are divers practices about it. The King takes* Dreux; *and being conſtrained by the importunities of his own Catholicks, who threaten to forſake him, reſolves to turn his Religion; He removes to* St. Denis, *and goes publickly to Maſs. He appoints the Duke of* Nevers *his Ambaſſador to the Pope to ask Abſolution; the States of the League are troubled at it. The Duke of* Mayenne *ſeeing that he could not obtain the Kingdom for himſelf, nor for his Poſterity, conſents that a Truce ſhould be treated on; the Deputies at* Surenne *conclude it till the end of* October; *it is willingly accepted, and the States at* Paris *are diſmiſſed.* 1592.

THE relieving of *Rouen* effected with ſo much eaſe, and without Blood, by the Duke of *Parma*'s excellent dexterity in making uſe ſometimes of ſlowneſs, ſometimes of celerity, according as they were ſeaſonable, filled his Name with infinite honour, and did very much depreſs that height of proſperity to which the Kings affairs ſeemed to be grown up; but the buſineſſes which followed, though they much more clearly ſhewed the Dukes prudence and valour, did yet within a ſhort time raiſe the Kings affairs to their former condition.

The Council of the League, after they ſaw the Kings Camp was raiſed, began to debate what was fitteſt to be done. The Spaniſh and Italian Commanders were for following the Enemy; and now that he was ſo weak, and his men tired out with ſufferings, adviſed to proſecute his ſuppreſſion, whiles the occaſion preſented it ſelf of hoping with reaſon to effect it: but the French Lords (to whom exceeding great belief was given, by reaſon of the knowledge they had of the Country, and of the ſituations of places) ſhewed, that he paſſing the *Seine* at *Ponte de l' Arche*, and marching into Lower *Normandy*, would not only leave them in a neceſſity of returning to *Rouen* to paſs the River, but alſo make it very difficult for them to follow him thorow a Country that was wholly the Enemies, far from ſupplies, retreats and proviſions; whereas he with the fervour of the Nobility, which would preſently be run together to withſtand his danger, encreaſing in ſtrength every hour, and refreſhing his Forces in places ſo fertil and abundant, would quickly be able to look them in the face, and reduce them, being ſurrounded in his Country, to ſome ſtrange encounter. Wherefore, that they might utterly free the City of *Rouen*, and open the River unto it, they thought it much better to aſſault *Caudebec*, that alone hindered the paſſage of the *Seine*; which being taken, and the intention perfected for which they were come thither, they might afterward conſider what enterpriſe would be moſt advantageous to their common intereſts. The Duke of *Parma*, who deſired abſolutely to free *Rouen*, and then following his wonted deſigns, to return to the Government of the affairs of *Flanders*, did willingly embrace the Counſel, not taking notice (by reaſon he was not acquainted with the Country) that ſhutting himſelf up in the Peninſula of *Caux*, environed on one ſide with the River *Seine*, and on the other two by the Ocean Sea, if the King with his Army ſhould poſſeſs the paſſage out of it, which was but one, and that narrow one of a few miles, he would ſhut them up as in a net, and by reaſon of the littleneſs of the Country, would (only by ſtopping proviſions from him) conquer him very eaſily with hunger. But the French Commanders either did not believe that the King could ſo ſoon be in a condition to follow them, or elſe thought to take *Caudebec* in a few hours, and retire before he ſhould be come up to them; and the Duke of *Parma* ſuffered himſelf to be led by thoſe who knew the ſituations and quality of the

1592. The Army of the League with no very good advice go to beſiege *Caudebec*, thereby utterly to free the City of *Rouen*.

the Country better than he, out of the apparent reaſon of abſolutely freeing the City of *Rouen*, which certainly without the taking of *Caudebec*, being deprived of the uſe of the River, would have remained little leſs than beſieged: wherefore having thrown down the Kings Forts and Trenches, the Army of the League came before *Caudebec* upon the 24th day of *April*.

*Caudebec* lies behind certain Hills (not very high nor ſteep, but fertil and well wooded) in a large Plain, upon the bank of the River *Seine*, encompaſſed with very thick Walls, but not lined with Earth, nor bettered with any kind of Fortification. There were to defend the Town Monſieur *de la Garde* a Colonel of French Infantry, and *Pauſania Bracciodurο*, who alone commanded the Italian Light-Horſe; for *Nicolo Naſi* was dead in the Camp of a natural death. Theſe, not to fail in the duty of good Souldiers, took a Poſt without the Town between two Hills, in the paſſage that led from them into the Plain, intending to keep the ſiege as far as poſſibly they could from the Walls. The Walloons of the Count *de Boſſu*, and Monſieur *de Vert*, were ſent to drive them from thence; with whom though they skirmiſhed a long while, and gained time, yet being exceeded by a greater number, they were fain to retire to the Town, and leave the paſſage free unto the Army of the League; but as it marched down into the Plain, the *Holland* Men-of-War, who were drawn cloſe to the bank of the River, plaid upon it moſt furiouſly with their Cannon, and did a very great and unexpected miſchief to the firſt Squadrons: wherefore the Duke having commanded the Army that was marching to make a ſtand, did with excellent order, and no leſs expedition, cauſe his Artillery to be drawn to the ſide of a Hill, and from thence to give fire with equal violence upon the Ships, ſo that (the Cannon which were planted upon the Land, ſhooting with more certainty than thoſe that were upon the Water) having almoſt ſunk the Admiral, and ſhot many of their beſt Ships thorow and thorow, the reſt drew off from the ſhore, and with the ſtream of the River fell down to *Quillebœuf*, a place that ſtands ſomething lower, but upon the ſame bank, and there for their ſecurity they began to draw a Line about the Town; which for the conveniency of it, in reſpect of Navigation, and of the paſſage of the River, being made a Fortreſs, was in after-times held in exceeding great conſideration. But the Ships being beaten off, and that trouble taken away, the Duke having quartered his Army, cauſed a Poſt to be taken under the walls, and the next day went in perſon with Prince *Ranuccio*, the Sieur *de la Motte*, and Count *Nicolo Ceſis*, to view the place; and whilſt he diligently ſurveyed all things, and becauſe he would not truſt to others, deſigned himſelf the manner of forming the Battery, he was hurt in the midſt of the right arm with a Musket-bullet, which being ſhot from one of the great Towers of the Wall, took him under the elbow, and paſſing between the two bones, went almoſt to his hand, where (being ſpent before) it flatted it ſelf, and ſtayed, not having force enough to make its way out. He never changed his countenance, nor interrupted his diſcourſe, nor ſpake of his being wounded; but it being diſcovered by the ſtanders by, who ſaw the blood run down from under his Cloke, he would nevertheleſs make an end of giving thoſe orders which he had begun to deſign; and being brought home to his quarters, and viſited by the Chirurgions, his hurt was not found any way mortal, but exceeding painful; and ſo much the more, becauſe they having been found to make three inciſions in his arm, to find the courſe of the wound, and to take out the Bullet, he fell into a Fever within a while after; which continuing upon him, he was conſtrained at laſt to keep his Bed. After this accident, the chief command of the Army was left to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the ordering of the Catholick Kings Forces to Prince *Ranuccio*, who nevertheleſs did not diſpoſe of any thing without his Fathers conſent. The Cannon were planted the next day, though but ſlowly; and having battered and beaten down a great ſpace of the Wall, Monſieur *de la Garde* (though againſt the opinion of *Bracciaduro*) began to treat of ſurrendring, and after ſome debate obtained the conditions he demanded; for the Duke of *Parma* being in no very good eſtate, every one deſired that the progreſs of matters might be facilitated. So the next day the Town came into the power of the Confederates, who to give their Army reſt, and to refreſh it with plenty of victual which they had gotten there, ſtaid there three days after the taking of it.

The Duke of *Parma* viewing the ſituation of *Caudebec*, receives a Musket-ſhot in the arm.

Monſieur *de la Garde* ſurrenders *Caudebec* to the Lords of the League.

Upon notice of the Enemies return, the Nobility return to the Kings Army with great Supplies.

In the mean time the Nobility of the neighbouring Provinces (which had been ſummoned from the very firſt notice of the Enemies return) were come unto the King; the Sieur *d' Humiers* with Two hundred Horſe from *Picardy*, the Sieur *de Sourdis* from

from *Chartres* with an hundred and fifty, the Sieur *de Hertre* Governour of *Alançon* with Two hundred, the Count *de Montgomery*, and the Sieur *de Colombiere* with Three hundred, Monsieur *de Canisi* (Son-in-law to *Matignon*) with an hundred, *Odet* (Son to the late Sieur *de la Noue*) with as many, and Colonel St *Denis* with Six hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back. There arrived also Monsieur *de Souvray* and the Count *de Lude* with Three hundred Gentlemen who had not been in the Camp before; and at last the Duke of *Montpensier* long expected, and the Sieur *de la Verune* Governour of *Caen* came with Eight hundred Gentlemen, Two hundred Light-Horse, and Four hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back. 1592.

The Duke of *Montpensier*'s stay had been occasioned by his desire to obtain *Auranches*, a Town in lower *Normandy*, which was the onely one, that in those parts, towards the Confines of *Bretagne*, held for the party of the League; for having besieged it at the latter end of the year before, with hope of taking it within a very few dayes, the business afterwards proved otherwise; for Monsieur *de Vicq*, an old soldier, and an undaunted Cavalier, who was come from *Pont-Orson*, having shut himself up into the Town, had gallantly made good the Suburbs for many dayes, till the Walls and Bastions of the City were made very defensible. But the Suburbs at last being taken, and the approaches being begun, there fell so great and so continuing a Snow, as did not onely fill all the Trenches already made, but also hindered the work in such manner, that the Camp was fain to lie idle many dayes, being in the mean time tormented with such excessive cold weather, that had it not been for the Suburbs (the houses whereof were pulled down, and the wood of them burned to warm the Soldiers) it had not been possible to have persisted in the enterprise. The Snow being ceased, the Ice continued so hard frozen, and the earth therefore so dry, and as it were turned into stone, that it could not be digged nor entered with a pick-axe without wonderful difficulty; and yet having with great toil raised a Plat-form with two Batteries, they planted upon them the Artillery, which was brought from *Caen* and *Falaise*, and particularly one Cannon of an unmeasurable greatness, which they called *le grande Robin*, with all which the Walls being battered in two places, and also many houses beaten down by the shot that went into the Town, it was fiercely assaulted upon the second of *February*, and though stoutly maintained by those within, yet the heat of many of the Defendants weakned the hope of holding out, in such manner, that the Sieur *de Vicq* was forced to capitulate, and surrender the Town into the Duke's power; who having set his Forces again in order, and gathered the Nobility together, was come unto the King, by whom he had been often very earnestly sent for.

Now the King's Army being in a very few dayes so increased, that in it there were between seven and eight thousand horse, and between sixteen and eighteen thousand Foot; for besides the Hollanders of the Fleet, he had dreyned all the neighbouring Garrisons; and the error of the Confederates being manifestly known, who had unadvisedly engaged themselves in a nook, where they must suffer and labour very much before they could get out, resolved to cut off their retreat, and pressing them on all sides, to reduce them (without any danger to himself) unto extreme necessity of Victual; for one part of the passage into the *Peninsula* towards the Sea being shut up by *Eu*, *Arques* and *Diepe*, which places being strongly Garrisoned, did, in great part, obstruct the way, and the *Seine* being blocked up by the possession of *Quillebœuf*, and by the Holland Fleet, there remained nothing but wholly to shut up the other part of the entrance toward the River *Somme*, which alone led from the *Peninsula* into the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*. The King therefore being departed with exceeding great celerity from the Walls of *Pont de l' Arche*, and marching without stop, though with his Army in Battalia, came upon the last of *April* within sight of the Enemies Camp, which being gone from *Caudebec* the same day, had taken up quarters at *Tvetot*, a great Town, which afforded much conveniency for lodging.

The Kings Army returns, being near 18000 Foot, and 8000 Horse.

It was a remarkable thing, that the King also by not well heeding the situation of the place through which he marched, put himself in manifest danger of being defeated: For that Country being all inhabited by Lords, who possess many Towns there, it is for their pleasure and conveniency all full of large Parks, encompassed with great well-built Walls, as high as a man on horse-back, and some of these there are, that take up the space of three or four miles. Now the King advancing through this Countrey towards the Camp of the League, it was was necessary, keeping the ordinary way, to pass between two very great Parks, one of which was on the right hand, and

1592. the other on the left, the High-way being in the midſt: wherefore the Cavalry and Infantry being fain to march but few in front, the Kings Army was brought into ſuch a condition, that the Van-guard was paſt the Parks, the Battel was ſhut up between the Walls of them, and the Rere was yet remaining on the hither ſide: So that if it had been aſſaulted, the Van-guard would have been fought withal, and defeated, and neither the Rere nor Battel would have been able to aſſiſt it. The Duke of *Montpenſier* who led the Van, perceived it, when being come paſt the Parks, he diſcovered the Enemies Army encamped upon the ſide of an Hill; but not being able to do any thing elſe, he drew his Squadrons ſtill into order as they came, and by redoubled Meſſages haſtned the Kings marching up with the Battel. The Enemy likewiſe perceived it, and Count *Aleſſandro Sforza*, a Cavalier of great fore-ſight and experience, ran himſelf (as he hath often told me ſince) to give the Duke notice of it, ſhowing with how much eaſe and facility the Victory might be gotten by reaſon of the enemies error; but the Duke very ill of a Feaver, in great pain with his wound, and lying in his bed, could not ſo ſoon take a reſolution, and told Count *Aleſſandro*, That to fight with the King of *Navar*, live men were neceſſary; and not ſuch bloodleſs carcaſſes as he was: Yet having call'd the Duke of *Mayenne*, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other Commanders, he gave them order, if the occaſion would bear it, to fall in upon the Enemy, and cauſing himſelf to be ſet in a Chair, he made himſelf alſo to be carried to the place where the Kings Army was ſeen to appear advancing between the Parks; but at ſuch time, when by the diligent care of the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Van-guard had already taken up their ſtation, and the Battel was almoſt all paſt, and before the Camp of the League (which was come into quarters but a few hours before) could be drawn together in Arms, the Kings whole Army was paſt, and ſetled again in its former order; ſo fair, and ſo evident an occaſion being loſt by reaſon of the Generals being hurt.

The King marching with his Army between the walls of two Parks, puts himſelf in great danger, which he eſcapes by reaſon of the D. of *Parma*'s being in a Feaver.

The Armies quarter within a mile of one another.

The Armies being quartered at leſs than a miles diſtance from one another, there remained a thick Wood between them upon the right hand, which the days following gave matter for many remarkable encounters; for they of the League, that night drew a Trench at the entry of it toward the Enemy, to keep the poſſeſſion of the Wood unto themſelves, and placed there to guard it the Count *de Boſſu*'s *Tertia*, which was Two thouſand Walloons. There, upon the firſt day of *May* happened three hot skirmiſhes, whilſt the King laboured to view that Poſt: The firſt between the Baron *de Biron*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, the ſecond between the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Sieur *de Roſne*, and the third (which laſted till night) between the Sieur *de Montigny*, and the Baron *de la Chaſtre*; yet was it not poſſible for the King to diſcover what Works the enemy had made in the entry of the Wood; for beſides the hindrance of the Cavalry, the hail of Musket-bullets which ſhowred from thence with infinite fury, would not ſuffer any body to draw near it. But the next day the skirmiſh being begun again, the Baron *de Biron* (though many of his men were left dead upon the place) ruſhed on ſo far, that he diſcovered there was nothing but a ſingle line, without any ſign of Cannon, and without the defence of Flankers or Redouts; wherefore upon the third of *May* in the morning, the King having commanded out three Squadrons of Foot, one of Germans, another Engliſh, and the third French, ſent them on at break of day to aſſault and make themſelves Maſters of the Trench, who having marched very faſt over the little Plain that was between, fell unexpectedly upon the Walloons, and beat them away from their Poſt, (who, for haſte of retreating, left alſo their baggage behind them) and without loſing time, began to fortifie themſelves in the Trench. But the Duke of *Mayenne* and Prince *Ranuccio*, without giving them leaſure to ſecure that place, having drawn forth a great number of Carabines and Light-horſe upon the right and left hand, to obſtruct the way, commanded *Camillo Capizucchi* with his *Tertia*, ſeconded by that of *Alfonſo Idiaques*, to attempt the recovery of that Poſt. *Camillo*, out of his own fierceneſs, and the emulation that was between the Italian and Walloon Infantry, ruſhing on boldly to aſſault the Trench, entered it with ſo much violence, that the King's Foot, after a ſhort reſiſtance, were conſtrained to quit the place, and in their retreat, being ſurrounded by the Carabines, would have had much ado to get back ſafe to the Camp, if the D. of *Montpenſier*, the D. of *Nevers*, and the Count *de St Paul* with three ſeveral Squadrons of Gentlemen had not advanced to diſingage them. The Italians wrought all that night, poſſeſſing all the paſſage of the high-way, and having made a great Redoubt with Flankers and Trenches on all ſides, they planted four

The Kings ſoldiers make themſelves maſters of the Trench, made by them of the League before the Wood. *Camillo Capizucchi* with his *Tertia*, recovers the Trench again, and ſecures it with fortifications.

four pieces of Cannon there; ſo that the King was deprived of all hope of being able to beat them out any more; and ſo the Wood remained in the power of the Army of the League, which ſtood them in great ſtead for hutting, and for the ſecurity of their quarters; and alſo was of great uſe for cutting wood, and to feed the Carabines horſes, that were accuſtomed to live upon what is daily found in the field. 1592.

The Army of the League being in the *Peninſula* of *Caux*, the King ſtrives to ſhut up their paſſage out, being but one, and that very narrow.

But the King (though the paſſage out of the *Peninſula* was already made good) having a deſire to ſtraiten the enemies Camp more cloſely; that he might the ſooner effect his enterpriſe, turned his quarters upon the right hand by the wood-ſide, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a hill, from whence he could batter *Yvetot*, in which Bourg the Duke of *Guiſe* lay with the Van-guard; and having planted ſeven pieces of Cannon behind a Trench, which was brought to perfection in a very few hours, he began to play upon the enemies in the flank, in ſuch manner, that the Duke of *Guiſe* was forced to quit the Bourg, and retire into the quarter of the Battel. In his retreat, the Duke of *Bouillon* with the *Reiters*, and the Baron *de Biron* with a ſtrong party of French Cavalry, followed him in the Rere; but he bringing up the laſt rank himſelf in perſon, and ſtill valiantly facing about, retired with his Baggage ſafe and entire, and with his men in order, though in the skirmiſh ſome were taken priſoners, among which were the Barons *de Coutenan* and *de la Maiſon*. But the King, not only out of a deſire, the more to ſtraiten the Enemy, but to the end that continual action, and the hope of fighting, might from hour to hour keep the French Gentry from being weary, did not ſuffer ſo much as a minutes reſt; and at laſt, upon the Twelfth of *May*, would needs attempt to ſhut them up more cloſely, by poſſeſſing himſelf of an hill that lay more forward beyond the Fortifications of the Wood, and about the diſtance of Cannon ſhot from the Camp of the League, which was guarded by three Companies of Walloons under *Octavio Manſfelt*, and three others of Spaniards under *Ludovico Velaſco*. To that end, about break of day he ſent forth Count *Philip* of *Naſſau* with his Troops; who marching on ſecretly by the Wood-ſide, and afterward having left it upon his right hand, aſſaulted that Guard ſo unexpectedly, that within half an hour the defendants were beaten from it, and the Count began to intrench himſelf, and to give ſign that Cannon ſhould be brought up thither: but they of the League, conſidering the great inconvenience which they were like to receive from that Poſt, preſently ſent the Walloon and Italian Infantry to recover it; the Swiſſers, with the French and Spaniſh Foot, ſtanding in Battalia to keep the field; and likewiſe the Cavalry in Arms ſtood ready without the Trenches to back the Foot. The King, on the other ſide, had drawn up his whole Army out of their quarters, and cauſed his Light-horſe to ſcowr the Plain, thereby to hinder the Hollanders (who had gained that Poſt) from being encompaſſed; for which purpoſe alſo, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, with Eight hundred Horſe on the one ſide, and the Duke of *Bouillon* with One thouſand *Reiters* on the other, being upon the wings of the Battel, ſtood ready to reinforce them. There was a ſharp fight about the recovery of that Poſt, and they laboured at it with much blood, for the ſpace of two hours; but at laſt the Italians overcoming all obſtacles, regained the Hill, and with great execution drove back the Hollanders; the Cavalry of both Armies running on each ſide, to ſuppreſs, and defend them, which made it generally thought, that they ſhould fight that day with all their Forces: but neither would the Duke of *Mayenne* hazard the whole ſum of affairs without the preſence and conſent of the Duke of *Parma*, nor did the King deſire to put it then to a Battel, being confident that within a few dayes he ſhould overcome the enemy by want of Victual. Yet fought they ſtill, with great and redoubled encounters, for the ſpace of ten hours; the Cannon thundred on all ſides, and the Commanders engaged themſelves more than once; particularly Prince *Ranuccio*, who (his horſe being ſhot under him) was in great danger to remain a priſoner to the Engliſh; and the D. of *Parma* cauſing himſelf to be taken out of his Bed, and to be ſet on horſ-back, advanced to the Front of his Army, doubting, that either opportunity or neceſſity might draw the Army to a Battel. Night put an end to theſe encounters. But the next day the K. who could neither take nor give reſt, having intelligence that the Light-horſe of the League was lodged in a quarter very aſſaultable, and that might be beaten up before the reſt of the Army could ſtir to relieve it (an error alwayes pernicious in all occaſions of War) fetching a great compaſs, went thither himſelf in perſon; and having found them in no very good order, by reaſon of *Baſti*'s abſence, (who being ſick of a Flux, was retired to *Caudebec* to recover his health) he put them in ſo great confuſion, that having loſt their quarter, two Captains, and their Carriages, they had

The Kings ſoldiers take a Poſt from thoſe of the League, which after a long diſpute is recovered by the Italians and Walloons.

The King beats up the quarters of the Light-horſe of the League.

1592. had much ado to get to the main Body of their Army, which though it was diligently making ready to give relief, yet the busines having been very soon dispatched, the King had time, after he had beaten and driven away the Enemy, to retire to his own quarters.

But the Duke of *Parma* being so ill, that he was often troubled with long tedious swoundings, had great need to take some rest; and having already begun to think of the means of getting out of that dangerous place wherein he found himself, he judged it very fit to draw back his Army nearer the Walls of *Caudebec*, along the Bank of the River, whereby he might make use of the conveniency of the Town; and the Army changing quarters, might avoid the cause of diseases, and be more opportune for his design: Wherefore, upon the 16th of *May*, the weather being dark by reason of a thick mist, which afterward turned into a very great Rain, he caused the Camp to rise in the morning by break of day, without noise of either Drum or Trumpet; and the Cannon and all the Baggage going before, he led the Army to quarter in a place half a League from the Town, between two Hills, before which there was a large Plain. Now to deceive the King, that he might not discover the moving of his Camp, (besides the advantage of the weather, and the silence and order wherewithal his Soldiers marched) Prince *Ranuccio* advanced as far as the entrance of the Wood before any thing stirred, and fell upon the Kings out-guards, making as if his design were to enlarge himself, and to that end he would have beaten them from their Post; which whilst they of the King's party are intent upon with their utmost endeavours, whilst their mindes are wholly taken up there, and while thick volleys of shot rattle on all sides, there was no noise at all heard of the moving of the Camp; and the Prince, after a continued skirmish of three hours together, lessening his Forces by little and little, and sending off the Squadrons one by one to joyn with the Rereguard brought up by the Duke of *Aumale*, at last himself also, with only Two hundred horse, followed the rest of the Camp at a round trot, leaving the King astonished, when after the air was grown clear, he saw what an artificial retreat the Army of the League had made. But the Prince being come to the place where the Army had been encamped, found three pieces of Cannon left there, either by the negligence or fear of him that had the charge of drawing them off; wherefore, not to leave them, to the lessening of his reputation, in the enemies power, he was constrained to recal his fleeing Squadron to disingage them, and to bring them off safe: which, though it were done with great celerity, yet would it have spoiled and frustrated the admirable art of this retreat, if the King had been more ready to follow them: so subject oftentimes, in the affairs of War, are the greatest actions to miscarry by the least disorders.

The Duke of *Parma* sends Prince *Ranuccio* to assault the Kings out-guards; and while they are fighting there, being favoured by a mist, he removes his Camp without noise of either Drum or Trumpet.

But the King being come to quarter that night in the place which they of the League had quitted, advanced the next day to discover them; and having considered the situation of the Country with no less sagacity than they, marched to the opposite hills, and there prudently disposed his whole Army into quarters, persisting still to straiten and shut them up, as his design had been from the beginning. The Duke of *Montpensier* with the Vanguard very strong in Horse, lay upon the right hand, and spread himself so far toward *Diepe*, that the Garrison of those places which obstructed all the ways, met mutually with his parties that scowred the field. The King with the Battel, in which was the greatest strength of Infantry, lay encamped upon the foot of the hills upon the great Road of *Picardy*. The Duke of *Bouillon* with the Rere, wherein were the *Reitors*, kept the left hand, possessing that pass which leads from the Country of *Caux* towards *Rouen*; so that all passages being stopt, there was no part of the way that remained free. The Army being encamped in its several Posts, the King (contrary to his ordinary custom) strove to secure himself, that the Enemy might not force him to a Battel; and therefore he strengthened and fortified all his quarters, spoiled and blocked up all the wayes, and laboured with all industry, that the Enemies Commanders, by making some brisk attempt, might not be able to force his Quarters.

The Army of the League shut up in the *Peninsula*, is reduced unto necessity of Victual, and is in a great strait.

The Camp of the League was already reduced to such want of Victual, that it could subsist no longer; for neither did the River (obstructed by the Holland Fleet) furnish it with Provisions, nor did the Country longer afford any conveniency to feed it, that Corn being spent which was found at the taking of *Caudebec*, all the Country eaten up, and all that wasted which industry had been able to supply; and not only of other things, but even of water there was very great want; for that of the River being spoiled by the flowing of the Sea, was not only very ill tasted, but also wonderfully unwholsome

wholſome. To this was added the ſufferings of their Horſes, which, beſides the ſcarcity of forrage, being harraſſed in the fields with continual Rains, died every hour in great abundance; and the Foot being many dayes behind, and without money to relieve themſelves in their preſent neceſſity, was afflicted and conſumed with the many tedious ſufferings. On the other ſide, the King having *Diepe* and *St. Valery* near him, and behind the way open into the moſt fertill Provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*, though no better ſtored with Money than the Enemy was, did yet abound in Proviſions, and his Soldiers ſpreading themſelves far abroad to forrage, ſupplyed the want of their pay with plundring the Country. 1592.

Wherefore, the Duke of *Parma* ſeeing himſelf reduced to ſo ſtrait and ſo neceſſitous a condition, thought there was no other remedy for it but to paſs over to the other ſide of the River *Seine*, and getting out of the *Peninſula*, to remove into the ſpacious Plain of lower *Normandy*, and ſo diſ-intangle himſelf from the King's deſigns, who already believed that he had him ſure in the net. But as this was the only wholſom reſolution for the ſafety of his Army, ſo was it moſt difficult to be effected: for it was not to be doubted, but if the King were aware of it, he might eaſily deſtroy him in croſſing the River, and they were ſo near Neighbors, that it could not in reaſon be hoped that paſſage could be concealed. He communicated his thought to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Sieur *de la Motte*; but it ſeemed to them not only dangerous, but impoſſible, knowing how hard it is to paſs a little Ditch, when the oppoſition of the Enemy is near; much leſs was a good event to be hoped for in paſſing a mighty broad River, ſwelled in that place by the Salt-waters, with an entire Army, full of Baggage, hindred with Ammunition, and great ſtore of Cannon, a fierce and powerful Enemy being at their back; yet neceſſity urged, and the ſafety of that Army could no other way be provided for: Wherefore the Duke being ſtraitned within himſelf, reſolved to try if by dexterity he could bring that thought to paſs. To which purpoſe, having made Eight Enſigns of *Berlotte's* Regiment, by little and little, to croſs the River in certain ſmall Boats, he cauſed a Fort to be raiſed upon the other Bank, which, in the form of a Star, had three ſpurs toward the River, to command and ſecure it; and made another to be raiſed over againſt that upon the Bank, where the Army was, but with the Redout toward the River, and the Front oppoſite to the place from whence the Enemy might appear, and in it, beſides the Count *de Boſſu* with a Thouſand Foot, whereof moſt were Muſkettiers, he planted four pieces of Cannon that might command a great way off, and keep the paſſage of the field open. At the ſame time many great Boats were making ready at *Rouen*, with wonderful ſecrecy, whereof in that place there were a great number, which were wont to carry Merchandize upon the River, and they faſtned pieces of Timber and Planks together, after the manner thoſe Bridges are made, whereby great Rivers are commonly wont to be paſſed. Other little Boats likewiſe were prepared with ſix Oars in each, to help and tow the greater with more facility, and ſome great floating-Bridges like Rafts were made of exceeding thick Beams, ſufficient to ſuſtain and carry the Artillery. Theſe Boats (which with the benefit of the ſtream of the River, and the ebbing of the Sea, were come from *Rouen* in a few hours) being arrived (the evening before the One and twentieth of *May*) without loſing a moment of time, the ſame night the weather being clear, the French Cavalry and Infantry paſſed over with the Duke of *Aumale*, then the Artillery, and all the Baggage of the Army, after them the Swiſs-Infantry, and about peep of day, the Walloon, Spaniſh, and Itallian Foot; Prince *Rannuccio* remaining on this ſide the River, with *Appio Conti*, who (the Duke of *Montemarciano* being gone for *Italy*) commanded the Forces of the Church, and with them a Thouſand Italian Foot of *Capizucchies*, and Two hundred Horſe; with which turning in Arms towards the Enemy, they made as if they would skirmiſh in the field.

The Duke of *Parma*, to free the Army, which was in a manner impriſoned in the Country of *Caux*, reſolves to paſs the River *Seine*, and his attempt ſucceeds.

The King ſeeing a ſmall number of men upon the Hills, and that they ſtirred not, though his Light-horſe ran up and down the Plain, began to ſuſpect, that (as the time before) the Enemies were changing their quarters, but not at all that they were paſſing the River, which enlarged, by the flowing of the tide, is in that place more like a Sea than a River. To aſſure himſelf of the truth, he ſent forth the Baron *de Biron* to diſcover what they were doing, who having got up to the top of a Hill, upon which no body appeared, returned galloping with great ſpeed, and related how the Enemies were paſſing the River; at which news, the King, without further thought, haſted that way with all the Cavalry, and left the Foot to follow him. But the Cavalry could

1592. The King perceiving the Enemies design (though too late) goes to hinder their passage over the River; but they were past already.

could not hinder the Enemies passage, unless first the Count *de Bossu*'s Fort were taken, which with Cannon and Musket-shot scoured the whole Plain on every side, and was a shelter to protect those that passed the River; which the King having at last taken notice of, and thinking that enterprise too difficult, and of too great delay, possessed himself of another Hill that commanded the river, and gave order, that with all possible speed, the Artillery should be brought thither, to play upon and sink the Boats that were passing. But while they were making ready, and drawing thither in a confused haste, the whole Army was already past over; whereupon, the King almost transported with despair, not being able to do any thing else, ran to charge Prince *Ranuccio*, who last of all, retiring by little and little, was gotten under the protection of the Fort. The King advanced precipitately within reach of the Cannon and Musket, further than was fitting, but he was quickly forced to retreat with some loss, but with no effect; so that the Count *de Bossu*'s Regiment, and *Capizucchi*'s Thousand Foot, did also pass the river one after another, and the Cannon that were in the Fort being drawn off, piece by piece, were put upon one of the great Floating-bridges; and last of all, Prince *Ranuccio* imbarked with his Horse, at which time, the Kings Artillery were come up to the Hill, and began to fire upon the Boats that passed over, and likewise upon the Fort *de la Berlotte*; but the Cannon shooting under-metall, did but little harm in all places.

Greater was the danger, in regard of the Kings Men of War, which at that very time appeared upon the river from *Quillebœuf*, and went to fall upon that Raft that carried the Artillery, which were taken last out of the Fort, for being but slenderly guarded, it was doubted, they might easily fall into the Enemies power; but Prince *Ranuccio*, who in this whole action gained infinite praises, not being able to suffer the loss of his Artillery before his eyes, in the safety of which consisted the greatest reputation of that enterprise, getting out of the Boat, in which he was passing aboard a little Bark, made haste in person to relieve them, which the Sieur *de la Motte*, *Camillo Capizucchi*, Colonel St. *Paul*, and many other Gentlemen and Officers, having likewise done with other little Barks, and the Fort *de la Berlotte*, playing with great violence cross the River, the Kings Ships desisted, and the Artillery coming at last safe to the shore, were landed in a moment by two Spanish *Tertiaes*, commanded to receive and accompany them, though the Kings Artillry, no less than the other, thundred with infinite violence upon the place. The whole Army, Cannon, and Carriages being past, without leaving any thing that was of moment, Prince *Ranuccio* would not stir from the river till all the Bridges and Boats were burned in every place, to the end they might not serve the King to pass over and follow them, and having entirely perfected all he intended, without any show of disturbance, he came up towards evening to the rest of the Army that was marched off from the river.

But neither could the passage of the River (which had been effected with so much industry, and (which imported most of all) without having received any loss at all) quiet the mind of the Duke of *Parma*, doubting, that the King might pass over his Army at *Pont de l' Arche*, and resolve to follow him; which, if it had come to pass, in the condition he was in (the weariness of his Forces being considered, and principally his not having money to maintain his Camp) he doubted he should incur very great dangers and troubles: wherefore, having quartered at *Neubourg* (which place was sacked and burnt by his Army) he marched with so great speed toward *Paris*, that he came to *St. Cloud* in four dayes; and not willing to pass through the City, lest he should give his Forces occasion to disband, he caused a Bridge of Boats to be made, and having repassed the *Seine*, never slackned his haste till he came to the Wall of *Chasteau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, far from the enemy, and upon the way to return straight into *Flanders*.

The King dissolves his forces, and sends the Lords to their Governments, and with a quick fleeing Army follows the march of the enemy.

In the mean time the King, who was unexpectedly fallen from a certain hope of suppressing his enemies, to a certain assurance that he had lost his pains, labours, and expences, and the blood shed from his own Person and his Subjects in the space of so many moneths, seeing the City of *Rouen* relieved, the Army of the League gotten away safe to another place, his Gentry wearied and wasted, the Germans diminished in number, and tired out with their late sufferings, after he had been two dayes, not only afflicted in mind, but also perplexed and ambiguous in his thoughts, resolved to lessen his Army, as he had likewise done after the siege of *Paris*, and freeing himself and those of his party from trouble and expence, to expect, with a fleeing Army, what resolution

resolution the Commanders of the League would take. The Nobility departed, the Lords returned to their Governments, and the King having muſtered the Germans, and reformed their Companies one into another, with Three thouſand Horſe, and between five and 6000 Foot, marched after the Enemy to the confines of *Champagne* and *Picardy*. 1592.

But the ſufferings of all the winter paſt bred ſuch grievous diſeaſes among thoſe that had been in the Camp, that a wonderful great number of Gentlemen and valiant Commanders either died or lay long ſick; among which, *Francois de Bourbon* Duke of *Montpenſier*, being ſick of a Fever, in his return to his Government of *Normandy*, was ſtayed at *Liſieux* by the violence of his diſeaſe, where he departed this life upon the third of *June*. A Prince of infinite high courage, and ineſtimable goodneſs, and for thoſe qualities very worthy of the moſt eminent Command whatſoever, if nature had afforded him more vivacity, and a more perſpicuous underſtanding. About the ſame time, not far from *Beauvais*, died Monſieur *de Giutry*, a man of exceeding great valour, and who, for prudence and experience, had lived in a ſingular reputation among the Hugonots, who, next to the D. of *Bouillon*, had placed all their hopes in him and Monſieur *de la Noue*.

*Francois de Bourbon* Duke of *Montpenſier*, as he was returning to his Government of *Normandy*, dies at *Liſieux* the third of *June*, 1592.

At the departure of the Army of the League from the River *Seine*, the diſcords and diſcontents between the Generals were diſcovered to burn more than ever: for the D. of *Mayenne*, who was not pleaſed with the drawing off ſo ſoon from the King, and leaving matters again to his diſcretion, did publickly attribute unto himſelf the honor of having relieved *Rouen* without ſtriking a blow, and of having by patience and induſtry cauſed the King's Army to diſſolve, without having remitted the ſum of affairs to the uncertain event of a Battel: That likewiſe as the removing of the impediment of *Caudebec*, and the clearing of the paſſage of the *Seine*, was neceſſary; ſo it had been propounded and obtained by him: That if afterward the Duke of *Parma*, not truſting any body, would needs, without occaſion, put his perſon in danger, in a place and in an action that was not worth the coſt, and if his wound had given the King time to recruit; and to ſhut them up in a corner (from whence quickly diſingaging themſelves, they had found conveniency to retire) it was no fault of his counſel, which was very good and wholeſome, but a defect of the execution, which had not been remitted to him: That the induſtry of paſſing over the River, could not but be praiſed; but if it had been employed in making a Bridge to come and go freely over the River, the paſſage of Victuals would thereby have been opened on that ſide; whereupon the King, being without money, and his Army wearied and conſumed, would have been conſtrained to march off with ſhame, and to leave the Field open to them, to effect profitable and ſignal enterpriſes: but becauſe the Spaniards would ſpend but ſparingly, and becauſe they would afford but petty ſupplies, and yet were obſtinate to rule, command, and govern all things their own way, it was come to paſs, that now all the paſt toils and expences were thrown away, and the King recovering ſtrength, would again make himſelf ſuperior, both in force and reputation.

The Duke of *Mayenne* murmurs againſt the Duke of *Parma*, aſcribing the glory of all the actions to himſelf.

On the other ſide, the D. of *Parma* ſaid publickly, that with the Arms of the Catholick King alone, he had two ſeveral times happily delivered the League, and redeemed the two principal Cities of *France* out of the enemies hands: That he had taken away the victory and reputation from the King of *Navar*, who oppreſſing the French in all places, had been opportunely bridled onely by the power of his Army: and that now alſo, though the Count *de Vaudemont* with the Forces of *Lorain* had left him, and though the chief French who were intereſſed had come but ſlowly to the Army, he would have made an end of ſuppreſſing the King, if they would have agreed to follow him, and if by imprudently thruſting themſelves into a net ſhut up on all ſides, they had not ſpoiled the fruits of the Victory, and loſt the opportunity which preſented it ſelf of ending the War victoriouſly at the laſt: That the Catholick King poured out the gold and blood of his Kingdoms prodigally for their benefit; and they on the contrary, having no other aim but to grow rich in particular, cared but little for the publick good, and much leſs for the ſafety of the Kingdom: and finally, That he would not ſtay unprofitably and without fruit at *Rouen*, and ſuffer not onely the affairs of *Flanders*, but even alſo thoſe of *France*, to go to ruine without remedy.

The Duke of *Parma* ſhewing that he had twice delivered the League, attributes the cauſe unto the French, why the King of *Navarre* was not utterly ſuppreſſed.

From theſe words their actions were not different: for the Duke of *Mayenne* pretending a neceſſity to take Phyſick, would needs ſtay at *Rouen*, and not follow the Army that marched away; and the Duke of *Parma*, vext that he would not go with him, would not leave him any Forces at all; but on the other ſide, taking with him the

The Duke of *Mayenne* upon excuſe of taking Phyſick, ſtayes at *Rouen*.

1592. the Duke of *Guiſe*, gave out, that he would leave the Command to him of thoſe Spaniſh Forces that ſhould ſtay in *France*; which more than any thing elſe nettled the Duke of *Mayenne*, who (the Cardinal-Legat departing alſo with the Army) remained alone and forſaken, being ſcarce able to obtain, that the Pope's Swiſſers and Commiſſary *Matteucci* ſhould ſtay with him at *Rouen*: and yet even this alſo was a ſtone of exceeding great ſcandal; for *Matteucci*, a man of a harſh carriage, and moſt wilful in his opinions, either having ſuch orders from *Rome*, or becauſe he had not money to pay them, would needs diſmiſs the Swiſſes within a while after; neither was it poſſible, by any kind of reaſons, perſwaſions, or threatnings, to alter his determination; but the Duke of *Mayenne* having earneſtly deſired him to ſtay them yet a moneth longer, offering to pay them himſelf, if he would not keep them in his own pay, could not prevail any thing at all: whereat highly incenſed, and grieved that he was ill dealt with by them all, he gave order that *Matteucci* ſhould be ſeized upon; which, though it were not effected, becauſe he hid himſelf in the habit of a Soldier, and departed with the ſame Swiſſes, and becauſe the Duke, the firſt fury of his wrath being over, diſſembled the buſineſs, and did not care to have his order put in execution; yet notwithſtanding the Legat complained grievouſly about it, and the thing was very ill taken at *Rome*; whereupon, the Duke's diſcontents multiplied on all ſides; which had ſo much power on him, that he began afreſh to lend his ear to a Treaty of Peace, which Monſieur *de Villeroy* had never given over to manage, out of a deſire to conclude an Agreement with the King, and by that means to free themſelves from the miſchief (as he ſaid) of forraign Forces.

Monſieur *de Villeroy* had kept the Treaty alive, ſometimes with one, ſometimes with another of the King's party; and as either ſide had the better, ſo did the Treaty vary accordingly: for when the King felt himſelf much ſtraitned by the Enemy, he fell into a thought of ſatisfying the party of the League, and of freeing himſelf from danger and trouble; and when the Duke of *Mayenne* found himſelf either ill dealt with all, or ſlenderly aſſiſted by the Confederates, he alſo inclined towards the hopes of an Accommodation: but the inſuperable difficulty that was in the King's converſion, becauſe he would not do it at the requeſt of his enemies, and the Duke's not being willing to conclude the Treaty, unleſs he were firſt a Catholick, had alwayes cut off the practices, and put the buſineſs in a total deſperation. But about this time, Monſieur *de Villeroy* having treated long and freely about it with Monſieur *de l' Ominie* one of the King's Secretaries of State, who had been taken priſoner, and was at *Pontoiſe*; he, after he had his liberty, treated of it with the King, juſt at the time when, by reaſon of the Duke of *Parma*'s drawing near, he was both in danger and trouble: wherefore he gave order to the Sieur *du Pleſſis Mornay*, who formerly had treated about it (being a man in whom, by reaſon of his wiſdom and learning, he confided very much) that he ſhould renew the diſcourſe of it again with Monſieur *de Villeroy*, who having written ſeveral times to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to Preſident *Jeannin* concerning it, at laſt, after much treating, the Duke, who had never been willing to condeſcend to any particular, had, at this time, declared himſelf by *Villeroy*, That if the King would give ſecurity of his converſion, and ſatisfaction to him, and the other Lords of his party, he would agree to acknowledge and ſubmit himſelf unto him. *Du Pleſſis* and *Villeroy* treated together with mutual promiſes of ſecrecy; but no evaſion could be found, whereby, the King not turning his Religion at the preſent, they of the League could be ſecure, that he would do it for the future, ſince they alledged, that the King had from the beginning promiſed thoſe very Catholicks that followed him that he would do it, and yet had never performed it to them; whereupon, it could not be hoped, that he would aſſuredly do it at the importunity of his Enemies: Beſides, that the King would make that promiſe with uncertain and ambiguous words, and with a reſervation of being taught and inſtructed, which, as they were like to afford ſufficient matter of excuſe, to whatſoever reſolution he ſhould take, ſo did they not quiet the Duke of *Mayenne*; and the Conditions that were propounded in his particular, and in that of the other Princes and Lords of his party, did not abſolutely ſatisfie them: Wherefore, after much treating, and after much writing and replying, in the end, Preſident *Jeannin* wrote by the Dukes order to *Villeroy*, and gave him Commiſſion to propound for the laſt Conditions: That the buſineſs of the Kings Converſion ſhould be referred to the Popes arbitrement, to whom the King ſhould ſend the Marquiſs *de Piſani*, accompanied with Cardinal *Gondi*, to know his pleaſure; and to receive thoſe Conditions in that matter

The Sieur *du Pleſſis Mornay* Secretary of State to the King, and the Sieur *de Villeroy* for the Duke of *Mayenne*, Treat of an Accommodation, with mutual promiſes of Secrecy. Preſident *Jeannin*, by order from the D. of *Mayenne* ſignifies thoſe Conditions to Monſieur *de Villeroy* (who was in Treaty) which the Duke deſires for the effecting an Accommodation.

matter which the Apoſtolick See ſhould judge convenient; and that he himſelf would ſend a perſon expreſly, and would give order to his Agents at *Rome* to promote the buſineſs, and help to overcome the difficulties, that the Pope might be brought to ſome reaſonable determination: That for ſecurity, that the King ſhould perſevere in the Catholick Religion, and maintain the Peace, the Places, Cities, and Fortreſſes, ſhould for the ſpace of ſix years remain in the hands of thoſe that poſſeſſed them at that preſent, to reſtore them to the King, and to his free diſpoſing within that time, if they ſaw the Peace go on ſincerely: That the Government of *Bourgogne*, with all the places alſo, that held for the King, ſhould be left to the Duke of *Mayenne*, which Government ſhould be hereditary to his Sons, with authority of diſpoſing and diſtributing the Benefices, Offices, Governments, and Places, which ſhould become void in that Province for the time to come: That the King ſhould give him an Office of the Crown, ſuperiour to the reſt, as it might be of Conſtable, or of his Lieutenant-General: That he ſhould give him ſuch a ſum of money as ſhould be ſufficient to pay thoſe debts which he was run into upon that preſent occaſion: That to the Government of *Bourgogne*, that of *Lyons* and *Lyonois* ſhould be added: That the King ſhould provide another Government for the Duke of *Nemours*, which ſhould be equivalent to it: That the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould have the Government of *Champagne*, and two ſtrong Holds for his ſecurity, the Duke of *Mercœur* that of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Joyeuſe* that of *Languedoc*, the Duke of *Aumale* that of *Picardy*, and for his ſecurity *St. Eſprit de Rue*: That all the Lords of the League ſhould be maintained in their Places, Offices, Dignities, and Governments, which they had poſſeſſed before the beginning of the War: That the Catholick King ſhould be comprehended in the Peace, and reaſonable ſatisfaction given to him for his pretenſions: That there ſhould be an Act of Oblivion concerning all things that had befaln in the War, and that the Narrative and Preamble of the Accommodation ſhould be written in ſuch manner, as it might clearly appear, the Duke of *Mayenne* had not acknowledged the King till then in reſpect of Religion, and that now he did it by reaſon of his Converſion with the Popes conſent, and that alſo it might expreſly appear, he had no hand in the death of the late King *Henry* his laſt Predeceſſor. 1592.

Theſe Conditions the Sieur *de Villeroy* imparted to Monſieur *du Pleſſis*, and gave him an extract of them, they being ſet down at large, with their Cauſes and Reaſons in the Preſidents Letter. *Du Pleſſis* firſt made ſmall ſhow to approve of them; but *Villeroy* replied, That this was not an Agreement with the Hugonots, who by all Laws Divine and Humane, were obliged to acknowledge their King eſtabliſhed; but a Capitulation, whereby the Lords of the Union were contented to acknowledge, or, to ſay better, upon certain conditions to make one King, who was not Poſſeſſor of the Kingdom; that, that acknowledgment of theirs coming to paſs, the King would thereby attain the Crown of *France*, which he poſſeſſed not; and that therefore the Conditions ought not to ſeem ſtrange unto him: That the Lords of the League did now require all which they thought fit for their ſecurity, becauſe when the acknowledgment was once made, they ſhould be then no longer able to treat or demand any thing, but as Subjects ſimply to beſeech their Sovereign Lord: That it was no wonder they ſhould demand much at one time, being very certain, that after that they ſhould never obtain any thing more during his Reign, nor perchance in that of his Sons neither: That the Duke of *Mayenne* had ſhewed himſelf ſo good a French-man, that he would rather acknowledge a French King, though an Enemy, upon theſe conditions, than a Stranger, though a Friend and a Confident, upon much greater ones: That the King had always ſaid he would content and ſecure the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*, and all the others of their party; and lately, while the War was in the heat before *Caudebec* had affirmed as much with his own mouth to the Baron *de Luz*, with whom he had diſcourſed long about it, in the field, telling him, That if the Lords of the Union would acknowledge and follow him, he would not refuſe any conditions; and particularly, that to his power he would give worthy ſatisfaction to the Duke of *Mayenne*, whom he knew to be a good Prince, and a good French-man: That the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* had by his orders repeated the ſame to the ſame Baron, and therefore that ought not to appear ſtrange now, which he himſelf had proffered but a few days before. But the Sieur *du Pleſſis* conſidered, that to refer the buſineſs of the Kings Converſion to the Pope, from whom, by reaſon of the Spaniards power, nothing at all would be obtained, replied, That it was not a thing to be expected from any

1592. other means, but from Gods Divine Inſpiration, after ſuch Inſtructions as ſhould make him know himſelf to be in an errour; for otherwiſe it was an unlawful thing to demand it, and much worſe to grant it, the Soul being firſt to be thought of, and then the affairs of the World: And as for the other conditions, repeating them one by one, he ſhewed, that if all the Governments, and all the Places and Benefices ſhould remain in the gift of the Lords of the Union, the King would neither have any thing to reſerve, nor to grant to thoſe of his own party; and that it would be a monſtrous thing to ſee all the Provinces in the hand of one only Family, and the Princes of the Blood, and ſo many other Lords excluded, who had laboured, and endangered their lives for the Kings Crown. And yet after having again promiſed ſecrecy, (which the Duke of *Mayenne* required above all other things) he ſaid he would ſpeak with the King himſelf concerning it, and refer the reſolution to his pleaſure.

But being come into the Kings Council at *Buſſy* where they were, he was ſo far from favouring the Treaty of Peace, and the Conditions propounded, or from obſerving that ſecreſie he had promiſed, that publickly in the preſence of all the Council, he demanded pardon for having till then, not any way out of an evil intention, but through inadvertency deceived His Majeſty, ſince ſuch Conditions had been propounded to him, that he was aſhamed of them, and did much diſdain to publiſh them: He confeſſed, that he had believed too much, out of his deſire of Peace, and out of a will to ſerve the Publick Cauſe, but the Conditions that were propounded, were ſo unjuſt and diſhonourable for the King, and ſo pernicious for the whole Kingdom, that they plainly ſhewed the Duke of *Mayenne*, and thoſe of his party, had no thought of Peace; but that they ſought to hold the King in hand, and to work a jealouſie in the Spaniards, to draw money and ſatisfactions from them: That the things propounded, were ſuch as did not deſerve any anſwer, nor did he think them worthy to be heard by that Council; and yet having propoſed them with this Preamble, not only the whole Council, but even the King himſelf thought them not ſo exorbitant, as he repreſented them; and ſo much the rather, becauſe every one knew that demands are high in the beginning, but afterwards in the courſe of a Treaty, they fall by little and little; ſo that they were all ſcandalized at *du Pleſſis:* Nor was there any one who was not of opinion, that he as being an Hugonot, abhorred the Kings Converſion, and therefore deſired not, but rather croſſed the Peace. The King being of the ſame mind, gave the Sieur *de Villeroy* to underſtand, that he would willingly treat with him by word of mouth; and the Mareſchal *de Byron*, and the Duke *de Boüillon*, deſired to confer with him, though both of them were little enclined to Peace; *Boüillon*, becauſe he was an Hugonot; and *Byron*, becauſe his whole fortune depended upon the Wars, whereupon by the continuation of them he hoped to riſe to the heighth of Power and Honour, and thoſe Offices and Titles which the Duke of *Mayenne* demanded, he grounding himſelf upon his own merits, aſpired and pretended to for himſelf.

The Treaty of Agreement divulged by the Sieur *du Pleſſis*, comes to the ears of the Princeſſes and Spaniſh Miniſters, working a contrary effect to what he that publiſhed them deſired.

*Du Pleſſis* continuing his intention, and publiſhing his ſecret thoughts to men of underſtanding, divulged the whole Treaty, contrary to his Faith given to *Villeroy*, and to many perſons ſhewed Copies of the Articles propounded; whereby they were not only known to all the Kings party, but alſo the Princeſſes who were in *Paris* ſaw them, and believed them; ſo that they made grievous complaints that the Duke ſhould go about to eſtabliſh a Peace, without making it known to them, and to the Lords of his party: and, which was much worſe, they came alſo to the knowledge of the Spaniſh Miniſters, who though they believed not the buſineſs could ſo eaſily be eſtabliſhed, were yet filled with jealouſie and ſuſpition. *Du Pleſſis* believed that at one time he ſhould work two good effects for his own intentions; one, to croſs and totally break all Treaty of Peace, becauſe he thought he had diſcovered that the King, to obtain it, enclined to change his Religion, which the Hugonots feared above all things; the other, to make the Duke of *Mayenne* be diſtruſted of his own party, and particularly by the Spaniards, whereupon the diſunion and ruine of the League would more eaſily follow. But as counſels that have too much of a mans particular intereſt, have often (either by the will of God, who is not pleaſed with them, or by reaſon of their own deceitfulneſs) very different events from what the Intenders of them confidently deſign unto themſelves, this divulging produced an effect very diverſe from what *du Pleſſis* did aſſuredly expect: for it wrought no ill effect in the party of the League, and on the Kings ſide it made an exceeding great ſtir and confuſion.

It

It hurt not the Duke of *Mayenne*, becauſe the Pope was much ſatisfied with his candour, ſeeing that without the Kings Converſion he refuſed all other particular greatneſs and advantage, and that he referred the whole buſineſs of Religion to the Apoſtolick See; and the Spaniards being faln into ſome fear that Peace might eaſily enſue, forbore to give the Duke of *Mayenne* further cauſe of diſcontent; and the Duke of *Parma* neceſſarily departing by reaſon of his health, and in reſpect of the affairs of *Flanders*, left ſome Forces in *Champagne*, and gave not the command of them to the Duke of *Guiſe*, as he had intended, but left the charge of them to Monſieur *de Roſne* with the title of Camp-Maſter-General, he being to obey the Duke of *Mayenne* without contradiction; and *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis* going to him, endeavoured by his dexterity to remedy the late diſguſts, *Diego d' Ivarra* continuing with the Army, becauſe he knew his preſence was not pleaſing to him. To this was added, that the Duke, who had entred into that Treaty, out of the deſpair which he was brought unto, ſeeing that he had already recovered his authority and reputation, which he had in great part loſt with the Popes Miniſters, and with the Spaniards, was afterward more backward in lending an ear to Peace: But thinking that his having been deceived by the revealing of that ſecret, contrary to promiſe, afforded him not only excuſe, but a lawful occaſion for him, alſo to make uſe of the Treaty for his own profit, he continued it in ſuch manner, that it ſerved to keep ſometimes one, ſometimes another faithful, according as need required. 1592.

The Duke of *Parma* leaves Forces in *France* under the Sieur *de Roſne* depending upon the Duke of *Mayenne*, to whom alſo the other Spaniſh Miniſters forbear to give further diſcontents.

On the other ſide, the Catholicks of the Kings party, wakened by the noiſe of this Treaty, and highly diſdaining, that the Peace ſhould be negotiated by the means of a Hugonot, and that the Kings Converſion ſhould be promiſed to the League, which they by many reiterated inſtances had not been able to obtain, began a freſh to contrive a third Party, and more boldly than before, to aſſemble themſelves ſeverally, and diſcourſe of forſaking the King, or to make an agreement with thoſe of the League, in ſuch manner, that the buſineſs having often been conſulted of between the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Count *de Soiſſons*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *de St. Paul*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, Monſieur *d' O*, Monſieur *de Lavardin*, the Count *de Lude*, and many other Lords, they gave the Duke of *Mayenne* to underſtand, that it would be profitable for the common ſafety and ſecurity, to unite all the Catholicks, and deſire the King, that within the term of a certain, prefixed, reaſonable time, he would turn Catholick, and give ſecurity for the maintenance of Religion; which if he would do, he ſhould be acknowledged and eſtabliſhed; and if he would not, they all together ſhould elect a Catholick King, who ſhould be acknowledged and obeyed by all. This practice beginning to grow warm, the King ſeeing that the event would be, either a forced diſhonourable Converſion, or the utter ruine of his affairs, ſince from ſecret conſultations that matter was come to open murmurings, he cauſed *Villeroy* to be very earneſtly ſollicited (by the means of Monſieur *de Fleury*, his Brother-in-law) to come perſonally to confer with him, and reſolved to apply himſelf of his own accord to a reconciliation with *Rome*.

The Catholicks of the Kings party diſpleaſed, that the Peace ſhould be treated by the Sieur *de Pleſſis*, a Hugonot, renew the Treaty of a third party.

*Innocent* the Ninth, after a long and troubleſom Conclave, was ſucceeded in the Apoſtolick See by *Hippolito*, Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, a man not weakned with age, being not above fifty and ſix years old, but endowed with mature prudence, and ſingular dexterity in affairs of State, which he had gotten by continual practice in the Court, and by the management of the moſt important buſineſſes of his time. He having aſſumed the name of *Clement* the Eighth, though he had been favoured by the Spaniards in his Election, and was therefore full of kind grateful demonſtrations toward them, was not yet totally diſpoſed to let himſelf be ruled by their deſigns, but would depend upon himſelf, and after the chief intereſt of Religion, would have an aim at the general ſafety and equality. He held a great correſpondence with the Commonwealth of *Venice*, and with the Great Duke of *Thuſcany*, judging that State to be not only the Foundation-ſtone of the Liberty of *Italy*, but alſo a wary Reconciler of the Peace of Chriſtendom; and him, by reaſon of his great prudence, to be intent to follow the ſame way; and therefore he ſtraitly confirmed that confidence with the Senate, which his Anceſtors had in that State, having taken refuge there in their adverſities: And with the Great Duke (forgetting thoſe ancient factions for which his Father had been baniſhed out of the City of *Florence*) he contracted a new confident correſpondency, to advance (by the aſſiſtance and advice of theſe) the Government of the Church to the common benefit and ſafety of Chriſtians.

*Innocent* the Ninth is ſucceeded in the Papacy by Cardinal *Hippolito Aldobrandino*, with the name of *Clement* the Eighth, being aged Fifty ſix years.

1592. The firſt and moſt important buſineſs that repreſented it ſelf unto him, was that of *France*; in which, as matter of Religion was chiefly conſidered by him, ſo the private emulations, the ancient diſcords, and the preſent ambition of the Great Ones were very well known unto him. But becauſe time and opportunity were to adminiſter thoſe overtures that were neceſſary for the Peace and Union of that Kingdom, he determined in himſelf, in the mean time, to ſuſtain the League with convenient relief, but not with that intereſſed fervour his Predeceſſors had profuſely done, deſiring things ſhould be in ſuch a condition as might not tend towards the diviſion and deſtruction, but to the ſafety and reſtauration of ſo great a Kingdom; which he thought would follow, if a King were elected and eſtabliſhed who was not only a Catholick, and obedient to the Apoſtolick See, but alſo a French-man, and of ſuch a condition as might draw along with him the general peace and ſatisfaction. He therefore confirmed the Cardinal of *Piacenza* in his Legation, judging him, by reaſon of his long employment there, not only to be well informed, but alſo more fit to manage that buſineſs than any other: and though he in times paſt had ſhewn himſelf very partial to the Spaniards, yet the Pope thought that his Maſter being changed, and his Commiſſions altered, he would, as a prudent experienced man, endeavour rather to ſatisfie his intention, than to follow the intereſts of *Spain*, the ends whereof could not always run united with thoſe of the See of *Rome*: but having, by the confirmation of the Legat, ſhewed (as much as was ſufficient) his intentions to be well inclined towards the League, in other matters, under colour of the preſent diſabilities of the Apoſtolick See, he freely declared that he could not aſſiſt the Confederates with more than fifteen thouſand Ducats by the month; ſhewing that the exceſſive expences formerly made, to the waſting of the Treaſury, and to the burdening of the people, had not produced any fruit equivalent to ſo vaſt a charge, and to ſo great preparations; and inſiſting upon that remedy which he eſteemed convenient, he gave the Legat order to endeavour the aſſembling of the Free-States, to the end that a King being choſen with a common conſent, all machinations might be cut off, the way lockt up againſt ambition, and that as a certain end, and a viſible apparent mark, they might aim at the good of Religion, and the reſtoring of Peace in the Kingdom.

*Clement* the Eighth gives ſupplies unto the League with more moderate expences and reſolutions than his Predeceſſors had done.

Theſe thoughts (which by many conjectures were known unto both parties) as they put the Duke of *Mayenne* in good hope that the Pope was inclined to acknowledge his merits, and his ſo great labours, and would favour his deſigns; ſo did they not diſpleaſe the King, who deſpaired not in that moderation to find ſome temper to ſettle his own affairs; wherefore being forced by the Commotion of the Catholicks, who all were already determined to ſee ſome reſolution, he diſcourſed at *Vernon* with *Giovanni Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambaſſador, and told him, that having a purpoſe to find ſome way whereby an overture concerning his affairs might be made unto the Pope, he deſired that the Republick, which he knew had a very near correſpondence with him, would either by an expreſs Ambaſſador, or by the means of the ordinary Reſident at *Rome*, aſſiſt that his juſt intention, having determined to procure that Cardinal *Gondi*, in whoſe prudence and candour he confided very much, ſhould go into *Italy*, and with him the Marquiſs *de Piſani*, in the name of the Catholick Nobility of his party, to treat of the means of attaining to a Peace and Reconciliation; but that this Treaty being in appearance very difficult, by reaſon of the Conſiderations at *Rome*, and of the extraordinary power of the Spaniards, he believed the interceſſion, counſel, authority, and endeavours of that Republick would ſerve as a Pole-ſtar in ſo important a buſineſs. He found the Ambaſſador ready to give notice of it at *Venice*, who knowing the good intentions of the Senate toward the conſervation of the Kingdom, aſſured him, that he ſhould have all manner of aſſiſtance he could deſire. The ſame did he cauſe to be treated of with the Grand Duke, by *Girolamo Gondi*, requeſting him not only to uſe his endeavours with the Pope, (wherein he more eſteemed the power of the Venetian Senate) but alſo to deal with the Cardinals, to the end, that the buſineſs coming into debate, it might be croſſed as little as was poſſible.

The King, by the means of *Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambaſſador, prays that Republick to treat with the Pope concerning his reconciliation with the Church.

The King deſires *Ferdinando de Medici*, Grand Duke of *Thuſcany*, to uſe his endeavors alſo with the Pope, and the Colledge of Cardinals, in favour of his buſineſs.

Theſe Foundations being laid, he ſollicited Monſieur *de Villeroy*'s coming; for he deſigned to ſet things right with the Duke of *Mayenne* in ſuch manner, that he alſo might favour his affairs in the Court of *Rome*, ſince his reconciliation with the Apoſtolick See coming to paſs, the ſcruple of Religion would be taken away, and the Duke of *Mayenne* might with his honour embrace thoſe large advantageous offers which he would make him. But the Duke, who had taken a diſtruſt by reaſon of the trick put upon

upon him by *du Pleſſis*, and who hoped to ſettle his own affairs with the Spaniards, ſuffered the Treaty to run on, that he might make uſe of it for his own profit, but without any deſire to conclude, thoſe thoughts being again revived in his mind, which deſpair had before diſordered and deſtroyed. Wherefore, though *Villeroy* went to *Rouen* to him, and afterwards had a conference with the King himſelf by night at *Giſors*, yet went they not on to treat of any conditions; but the Duke conſented, that the King ſhould ſend to *Rome*, leaving the Treaty to go on, and be concluded when the buſineſs was ſettled with the Pope; and the King was content that the Duke ſhould aſſemble the States of his party, to treat with them concerning the preſent reſolution. 1592.

The Spaniards had never intermitted to preſs for the aſſembling of the States, and jointly with the Cardinal Legat, had made both publick and private inſtances about it, and the Duke had always interpoſed difficulties and delays; ſometimes alledging the urgency of following the management of the War; ſometimes ſaying, it was fit firſt to treat and conclude with the Princes of the party; and ſometimes the difficulties of aſſembling the Deputies, becauſe of the general combuſtion of the War, by reaſon whereof they would very unwillingly forſake their own Houſes and Cities in the preſent diſtractions, and that they would not venture to take ſo great journeys with the danger of their lives; but at laſt his backwardneſs was aſcribed to an irregular ambition, and to a deſire of continuing in the power he held at that preſent; neither could he without grievous complaints, nor without danger of diſcord and diſunion refuſe any longer to call the Aſſembly; wherefore turning his thought to remove that ſcandal, from whence aroſe all the diſcontents with the Spaniſh Miniſters, he conſidered, that as to deny the meeting was dangerous, and now at length odious to every one, ſo the difficulties that would ſpring up, and thoſe which he would artificially interpoſe, ſhould be ſo many, that the States ſhould diſſolve and end of themſelves, without coming to any determination; and in the mean time, they might afford him conveniency and opportunity either to revive his authority, or elſe to find means of reconciliation with the King, if ſo be he could not bring to paſs, that the Kingdom ſhould fall to his poſterity: Wherefore, as the Spaniards did now ſhow a deſire to ſatisfie and honour him, and the ſame did the Legat by Commiſſion from *Rome*; ſo he ſhowing, that he would grant that in courteſie, which he would not yield to for fear, nor for threatnings, wrote to the Legat, and to the Duke of *Parma*, that now the time to aſſemble the States was ripe, he would give ſatisfaction to the Princes who had ſollicited him with ſo much earneſtneſs, and would come at laſt to a reſolution; and therefore they ſhould endeavour to get Commiſſions from *Rome* and *Spain*, becauſe within a few months the Deputies ſhould be convened; for which effect, he diſpatched Letters to every Province, and every Bailiage, to the end they might chuſe Deputies to meet in the place that ſhould be appointed for the holding of the States-General.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who had ſtill deferred the Convocation of the States, writes to the Cardinal Legat, and to the Duke of *Parma*, that the time of aſſembling them was now preſent.

At the ſame time, the King had cauſed Cardinal *Gondi* to treat concerning his paſſage into *Italy*, and had required the Catholicks of his party, to appoint an Ambaſſador to the Pope, which though ſome oppoſed, alledging, That the Parliament had decreed that for the time to come, none ſhould ſend to *Rome* upon any emergent occaſion, yet the King anſwered, That the Decree was made in the Papacy of *Gregory* the Fourteenth, but that he granted leave to ſend to the preſent Pope; ſo the Marquiſs of *Piſani* was choſen, and Cardinal *Gondi* was contented to take that journey to ſatisfie the King, and to procure the general repoſe of the Kingdom.

Cardinal *Gondi* and the Marquiſs *de Piſani* are choſen to be ſent to *Rome*.

This determination did in great part ſtop the reſolution of the Catholicks, who were attentive to ſee what that Embaſſie would produce, being partly ſatisfied in that the King began already to treat of reconciling himſelf to the Pope and the Apoſtolick See. The Decree which the King made about this time concerning the diſpoſing of the Benefices of the Kingdom, did help much to appeaſe them; for after that the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons* had decreed, that for the conferring and confirmation of them, none ſhould go any more to *Rome*; and after that the Congregation of the ſame Prelats had made the Declaration in favour of the King, thoſe Benefices that became void, were diſpoſed of to all kind of perſons without regard, in reward of their expences, in requital of their labours, and for particular inclination; and the adminiſtration of Spiritual Matters was by the Grand Council, aſſigned to one of the Prieſts of the Dioceſs, with title of *Spiritual Oeconome*: Which was not only againſt the Decrees of the Cannons, but ſcandalous and dangerous, contrary to the good of the people,

The Decree of the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons*, that none ſhould run to *Rome* for the procuring of Benefices.

1592. The pretenſions of *Renaud de Beaune*, Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, upon the Spiritual Superiority of the *Galliæ*.

people, and very near the cuſtom of the Hugonots. *Renaud de Beaune* Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, a man of exceeding great learning and ſingular eloquence, had thought, that he having the name of *Patriarch*, (that title they uſe to give to the Archbiſhop of that City) it was very eaſie, and no leſs reaſonable, that the authority of diſpoſing the Benefices of the Kingdom ſhould be conferred upon him, as Spiritual Superiour of the *Galliæ*, and that he ſhould hold that degree thorowout all *France*, which the Pope holds over the Univerſal Church; and as this thought had long been nouriſhed in his mind, ſo had he attempted all thoſe means which he thought proper to effect his deſign; to this end, at his exhortation, the Popes Bulls had been ſo ſharply handled; to this end, thoſe that repreſented the Apoſtolick See had been ſo hotly proceeded againſt; and to this end, the diſorder in conferring of Benefices being now repreſented, and the abuſe of thoſe *Oeconomes* choſen by the great Council, (a Temporal Magiſtracy whom it concerned not to judge of Spiritual ſufficiency) it was endeavoured in that heat of mens minds, that a reſolution might be taken, and that a Prelate might be conſtituted in the *Galliæ*, Superiour to all the reſt in power and dignity, to whom that election ſhould be committed. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the other Catholick Lords, exclaiming that this was an expreſs way to alienate themſelves from the Apoſtolick See, to make the Kingdom Schiſmatical, and for ever to cut off all hopes of an Accommodation; that they would never endure it, and that as ſoon as ever that Decree ſhould be made, they would take ſome courſe to ſecure their own affairs: The King declared publickly, That he would not take away the obedience from the Apoſtolick See, and that if (not to foment the evil) it had been decreed, That Money ſhould not be carried to *Rome*, to the end, War might not be made upon the Kingdom with its own blood and ſubſtance, that had been eſtabliſhed by way of proviſion, as long as the Popes ſhould perſiſt to oppoſe the lawful Succeſſors of the Crown: That he did not intend, nor mean, there ſhould be any innovation; but to maintain Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and the Religion and Priviledges of the Gallique Church, in the ſame being he had found them at his coming to the Crown: And finally, he cauſed the Council to decree, That the Biſhops every one in his own Dioceſs ſhould create the Adminiſtrators of Spiritual Matters, and that where the Biſhopricks were vacant, the Metropolitan ſhould ſupply that defect; and for want of him, the neareſt Biſhop; which did exceedingly quiet the minds of the Catholicks, and did alſo for ſome time ſtop their reſolutions.

A Decree made by *Henry* the Fourth, in favour of the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, and of the Catholick Religion.

The Duke of *Mayenne* beſieges *Ponteau de Mer*.

In this interim Matters of War went not on more ſlowly than the Councils and Treaties of Peace; for the Duke of *Mayenne*, being cured of his indiſpoſition at *Rouen*, was come forth with part of his Forces to lay ſiege to *Ponteau de Mer*, a place, which becauſe it was near, did incommodate and ſtraiten the Commerce of that City; and on the other ſide, Monſieur *de Villars* was likewiſe gone to beſiege the new Fortreſs of *Quillebœuf*, to open totally the paſſage and navigation of the *Seine*, being diſpleaſed (beſides the impediment and inconvenience of it) that the Hollanders and Engliſh ſhould neſt themſelves in that place, very opportune to receive their Ships, and ſeated in the midſt between his Governments of *Havre de Grace* and *Rouen*, moleſting and endamaging both of them.

The Sieur *de Villars* goes to beſiege *Quillebœuf*, a Fort not yet brought to perfection.

The King, who was yet in the confines of *Normandy*, diſpatched Colonel *Grillon* thither with one thouſand and five hundred French Foot, and the Sieur *de Bouquetaut* with an hundred Gentlemen of that Country, deſiring no leſs to keep that place, than his Enemies did to drive them out of it. The Fortifications of it were yet imperfect: for though the *Holland*-Fleet had wrought diligently at them, yet the time had not ſerved to bring them to perfection; ſo that the Bulwarks were not faced with Stone, and the Ramparts not only of ſimple Earth not well ſetled, but were hardly above a mans height, though they were moſt skilfully drawn out, and diligently deſigned by expert Artiſts.

*Villars* preſently planted five Pieces of Cannon to batter an Half-Moon, which defended the Gate that ſtood toward the Land; and having got together a great number of Country-people, who followed his name voluntarily thorow the whole Country, he approached with a Trench, and began to ſap in ſuch manner, that he got under the Half-Moon, and brought it into ſuch a condition, that it was eaſie to be aſſaulted. The beſiegers fell on exceeding fiercely at the firſt; but the number of the Defendents was ſo great, that the reſiſtance proved no leſs fierce within: and the aſſault being renewed the next day, *Grillon* having left the charge of the defence to Colonel

lonel *Rebours*, and to the Sieur *de Bellebat* Governour of the place, ſallied out ſo furiouſly on the other ſide with *Bouquetaut*, that having found no reſiſtance in the Trench, he did a great deal of miſchief, deſtroyed part of the Redoubts, nailed two Pieces of Artillery; and if *Villars* his Cavalry, with Captain *Boroſey*, and Captain *Perdriel* being alighted from their horſes, had not run unto the danger, the Trenches would have been utterly taken, and the Infantry defeated: ſo *Grillon* after many hours being got in again with much ado, Monſieur *de Villars* knowing the weakneſs of his Forces, and deſpairing of doing any good, raiſed the ſiege the next day, and returned to *Rouen*. *Matteucci* was the principal cauſe of this diſorder: for if he had not diſmiſſed the Swiſſers, there would have been ſuch a Body of an Army before *Quillebœuf*, that perhaps the ſiege would have ended another way. 1592.

The Sieur *de Villars* is forced to riſe from *Quillebœuf*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* had better ſucceſs at *Ponteau de Mer*: for having laid ſiege unto it, and fortified his Trenches well with Redoubts equally diſtant, he ſecured the weakneſs of his Forces in ſuch manner, that the Artillery being planted, and having begun to batter, the Governour, who had not ſo great a ſtrength as thoſe of *Quillebœuf*, took a reſolution to ſurrender, ſaving their goods and perſons; and on that ſide the paſſage remained free to bring Victual into *Rouen*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* takes *Ponteau de Mer*.

In this time the Duke of *Parma*, not only troubled with his wound, but alſo with another wonted indiſpoſition, by which he was going apace into a Dropſie, reſolved to go to the Baths of *Spaw* in *Flanders*, and to carry back with him the greater part of the Army, to provide for the affairs of thoſe Countries, and particularly of *Friſeland*, where the States of *Holland* daily made great progreſs. Yet he left ſix hundred Foot more than ordinary in *Paris*, being intreated ſo to do (againſt the Duke of *Mayenne*'s will) by the Legat and the Spaniſh Miniſters, and three thouſand Foot more, Italians and Walloons, with ſix hundred Horſe, which were to aſſiſt in the quarters about *Paris*, at *Soiſſons* and in *Champagne*; the Command of which (though the Duke of *Guiſe* aſpired to it, and ſued for it very earneſtly) he gave to the Sieur *de Roſne*, with the title of Camp-Maſter-General, and with order expreſly to obey the Duke of *Mayenne*, being reſolved at this time to give him all poſſible ſatisfactions that might keep him firm to the party, and alienate him from all practices of Peace.

The Duke of *Parma* goes into *Flanders* to the Baths of Spaw, to be cured of the Dropſie.

With theſe Forces and thoſe of the Province, Monſieur *de Roſney* went before *Eſpernay*, a Town ſeven leagues from *Chalons*, of a moderate circuit, but of an ancient form, and in the condition it then was, not fit to make reſiſtance againſt any reaſonable ſiege; thinking that it being taken, he might, by filling it with men, much ſtraiten and incommodate *Chalons*, where the Parliament reſided, with a greater number of perſons, eſpecially that Town being ſituate upon the current of the River *Marne*. The ſiege was ſhort: For being violently battered, and a great breach being made in the Walls, which were very old, and fell without much trouble, the Sieur *de St. Eſtienne*, who had not a Gariſon ſufficient to defend the weakneſs of the place, yielded it up without ſtaying for the laſt experiments.

Monſieur *de Roſne* takes *Eſpernay*.

The King, who having left *Normandy* was come to the confines of that Province, not having had time to relieve that place, aſſoon as he knew it was taken, reſolved, that he would recover it, more to ſhew that he regarded the conveniencies of the Parliament, than for any other reſpect: Wherefore having ſent the Duke of *Nevers*, and the Mareſchal *de Byron* before, he, according to his cuſtom, running at large over the neighbouring places, came even to the Walls of *Chalons*. The Sieur *de Roſne* had with wonderful great diligence made up the Walls that had been broken down by the late Battery, and had carefully cauſed Trenches and Ravelines to be made, conſidering well that the King would ſet himſelf without delay to recover what was loſt. There were in the Town ſix hundred French Foot, and as many Walloons of the Count *de Boſſu*'s Tertia, and about ſixty Horſe, many ſmall Pieces of Artillery, and a convenient quantity of Ammunition; and the Country people of thoſe quarters being gathered together, laboured continually to better the Works. The Kings Infantry came before the Town upon the Six and twentieth of *July*; and being ſuddenly quartered, the Mareſchal *de Byron* would needs advance with twenty Horſe to view the ſituation, and the Works which the Enemy had made for their defence: But he was ſcarcely come upon the way that leads to the Town upon the South-ſide, when a Cannon-ſhot (among many which the defendents fired at random) taking him at the rebound in the midſt of his body ſhattered him in ſuch manner, that without ſpeaking one word, he fell ſuddenly from his horſe dead upon the ground. The loſs of this Commander was unſpeakable: for

The King ſends his Forces to recover *Eſpernay*.

The Mareſchal *de Byron*, a Commander of great valour, is killed with a Cannon-ſhot, *July* 26. in the Sixty fifth year of his age.

1592. for all the Kings affairs depended upon his prudence, experience, diſcipline and valour; and not only the charge of the Armies reſted wholly upon his ſhoulders, but matters of Government, counſels of State, Treaties with Princes, and the particular affairs of the Kingdom, were all ordered by his advice, in ſuch manner, that thoſe who were partial to him, attributed all that had ſucceeded proſperouſly, either in War or in other affairs, to his endeavours; and thoſe that flattered him more boldly, publickly called him *The King's Foſter-father.* And truly it cannot be denied by whoſoever was preſent at thoſe affairs that happened ſucceſſively from the Kings coming to the Crown, to the time of *Byron*'s death, (which were the moſt difficult, moſt important, and, as a man may ſay, the Foundations of his Reign) but that in the prudence and vigilance of this man, conſiſted all the life and ſpirit, not only of counſels, but alſo of enterpriſes and action. But yet thoſe that emulated him, forbore not to attribute many diſorders to his fault; and particularly, that not deſiring for his own ends, that diſcords ſhould be quieted, but that the Wars ſhould continue, becauſe, while they laſted, he governed the Kings mind, and all the affairs of the Kingdom, and not ſtirring much for matters of Religion, (for which from his youth he had ſhewed himſelf to care but little) he was the occaſion that not only the Civil Wars continued, with ſo great a both publick and private ruine, but that the King with arts and promiſes deferred the ſo neceſſary effect of his Converſion. He was ſlain in the beginning of the ſixty and fifth year of his age, being entire in mind, ſtrong in body, full of careful diligence, and indefatigable in Military exerciſes.

The King wept for the Mareſchal *de Byron.*

After his death, the whole charge of the Army remaining to the Duke of *Nevers*, the ſiege of that Town began to be ſet in order; and the King having received the news of what had happened, after he had ſpent many hours in tears and publick condolings, with great celerity moved to return to the Camp. There were alſo three hundred Walloon-Foot of *Berlotte*'s *Tertia* come from *Rheimes* to enter into the Town, for the relief of the beſieged, the conſervation of that place ſeeming to be of great concernment to the Confederates. Theſe marching that way, and being already near their entrance, were overtaken by the Baron *de Byron*, who, to revenge his Fathers death, had ſet forward to the Camp before all the reſt; and not willing to pretermit that occaſion of cutting thoſe Foot in pieces which he found in the field without any convoy of Horſe, ran furiouſly to aſſault them. The Foot were not at all diſmayed, being part of them Pike-men, and the reſt Musketiers and Fire-locks; and getting into a hollow way, ſhut up on both ſides by two high Banks of Earth, as it were by two Ramparts, made an halt, and facing about, fiercely received the charge of the Horſe with their Pikes, and in the mean time their Companions mingled among them with their ſhot, failed not to fire inceſſantly upon them; ſo that two Captains of Horſe, and many Gentlemen being killed, it ſeemed very difficult to force them: Monſieur *de St. Luc* came up with another Squadron of the Kings Cavalry, which marched toward the Camp, who thinking it a great ſhame that ſo few Foot ſhould make reſiſtance in the field, ruſhed forward to make the ſame attempt; but being received with the ſame conſtancy, he was repulſed no leſs than the others: And much worſe did it happen to Monſieur *de Givry*, who came up laſt with the Light-Horſe; for going to make the ſame charge, he left his own Lieutenant dead upon the place, with above ſixty of his men; ſo that the Foot being no longer moleſted with the Cavalry, came out of the hollow way, and went up an Hill all full of Vines; from whence, without delay, they were to march down to the Moat of the Town towards the Weſt corner: But in this time, the King himſelf coming coming up with the reſt of his Forces, and ſeeing the affront his Horſe received from ſo ſmall a party of Foot, ran forward galloping to the very edge of the Moat; and though the Town ceaſed not to play both with their Artillery and Muskets, yet paſſing ſwiftly by, he went to charge the Foot, who being come down from the Hill, were already gotten into the Plain, whereby their way being ſo cut off, that they could not get under the Walls, they were ſurrounded on every ſide, and after a long and valiant reſiſtance, were at laſt cut in pieces, though with the loſs of above two hundred of the Kings ſide, and above two hundred more wounded.

The ſame day he ſtraitned the ſiege on all ſides, and without loſing time, began to haſten the taking of the place; and becauſe the beſieged had laboured all thoſe days that were paſt to fill their Moat with Water, that they might gain more time to bring their Works to perfection, he imployed his firſt ſtudy to divert the Water another way,

way, which ſpent three days time; but the paſſage was no ſooner opened to drain the Moat, when the Baron *de Byron*, impatient to ſtay for the effect of the Artillery, which nevertheleſs were planting by the induſtry of Monſieur *de St. Luc*, gave a ſcalado to a great Tower, newly made defenſible by thoſe within, and being come up cloſe together, ſo that they fought only with their Swords, he renewed the aſſault ſo obſtinately, twice or thrice, that at laſt he carried it with great ſlaughter on both ſides; but whilſt in lodging his men there, the Earth was throwing up to ſhelter them from the Town, he was ſore wounded with a ſhot in the ſhoulder. That Tower, and the other defences being taken one after another, the Artillery having made an open breach in the old Wall, the defendents began to remember that they had not ſufficient Forces to ſuſtain the aſſault; and therefore having ſent to capitulate the ſecond day, they concluded to march out free with their Baggage, but to leave their Colours, which the King by all means would have, in reſpect of the Spaniſh Enſigns of the Count *de Boſſu*, which for reputation the King deſired to have in his power. The Town was delivered up into the hand of the Duke of *Nevers*, Governour of that Province, upon the Ninth day of *Auguſt*.

1592. The Baron *de Byron*, to revenge the death of his Father, ſcales a great Tower at *Eſpernay*, and takes it, but is ſorely wounded.

*Eſpernay* yieldeth it ſelf, with condition to leave their colours, which were much deſired by the King, becauſe there were ſome Spaniſh Enſigns among them.

From *Eſpernay* the Army went to take in *Provins*, a City of *Brie*; which for the unequalneſs of the ſituation, and the greatneſs of its circuit, was not very defenſible, being full of Gardens and Vineyards, very thinly peopled, and very ill provided of Souldiers; and yet things proceeding ſlowly, and the ſiege not preſſing, all the reſt of the month was ſpent about it, and it came not into the Kings power before the ſecond of *September*.

The next thing that lay fit for the Army to beſiege, was *Meaux*; whereof, as being nearer to *Paris*, and opportune to ſtraiten that City, not only the Pariſians were exceeding jealous, but even the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf, who being come to *Beauvais*, diſpatched the Sieur *de Vitry* thither with Eight hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horſe, who together with the Sieur *de Rantilly*, Governour of the Town, and with the ordinary Gariſon, laboured in ſuch manner, that it was made very defenſible; which the King conſidering, and judging, that the taking of it would be difficult, and a work of time, reſolved (paſſing beyond *Meaux* along the bank of the River *Marne*, which leads to *Paris*) to raiſe a Fort in the middle of the River, in an Iſland called *Gournay*, to the end, that ſtanding between both, it might hinder their commerce and the navigation of the River, whereby without loſs of time in beſieging *Meaux*, he might reap the ſame, or perhaps greater fruit. This was the thought of the Duke of *Nevers*, who having had the care of executing it, applied himſelf to it ſo diligently, that within a few days the work began to riſe apace, the Fortification being made in the likeneſs of a Star with five acute Angles, and an high Platform raiſed in the midſt. The King with his whole Army was quartered upon the Bank of the River, where forcing the Peaſants of all that Country round about, and making his Foot Souldiers work by Companies in their turns, he endeavoured to have the Fort made defenſible.

On the other ſide, the Pariſians anxious becauſe of that impediment, which would bring them into a worſe condition for matter of victual, and increaſe that dearth to extremity wherewith the City was already much afflicted, ceaſed not to ſtir up the Duke of *Mayenne* to oppoſe the raiſing of that Fort, ſo prejudicial to the common intereſts; nor did the Duke deſire leſs than they, to be able to oppoſe it; but the ſmall Forces he had with him conſtrained him to proceed ſlowly: For it was neceſſary firſt to ſtay till the neighbouring Gariſons were drawn together; and after they were met, the Count *de Colalto*'s Germans, who were many Pays behind, mutinied againſt him, and without them he could not move with any hope of good ſucceſs. The Germans at laſt were quieted, a certain ſum of money being paid them; but in the mean time, many days were paſt, whereby the Duke of *Nevers* had ſo much the more leiſure to bring the Fort into a poſture of defence; and ſo much the more difficult became the attempt of hindering it; and yet the Duke advanced on the other ſide of the River, intending to fight and to poſſeſs an Abby, which ſtanding over the River, he might afterward batter the Fort from thence as from a Cavalier; but the Sieur *de Praſlin*, and the Count *de Brienne*, being in it with a very great number, both of Horſe and Foot, they skirmiſhed hotly for the ſpace of two whole days together, before the Duke could ſeat himſelf in a convenient place to oppugn it, and as ſoon as the Artillery was brought and planted, the King appeared (who had been indiſpoſed ſome days at St. *Denis*) at whoſe coming a Bridge of Boats being put over, the Gariſon

1592. in the Abby was ſo re-inforced, that thoſe that defended it, were not content to ſally fiercely every hour to skirmiſh with the Army of the League, but had alſo lodged themſelves with many trenches in the field, and with them had brought themſelves even under the Dukes Redoubts, and to the ſame Poſt where the Artillery were placed; wherefore it appearing not only difficult, but in a manner altogether impoſſible to gain the Abby defended by ſo numerous a Gariſon, and relieved, and ſuſtained from the Kings Camp by the conveniency of the Bridge of Boats, the Duke not perſiſting obſtinately, retired to quarter in the Village of *Conde*, there to expect the Sieur *de Roſne*, and Colonel St. *Paul*, whom he had ſent for with the Foreign Forces, and with thoſe of the Province of *Champagne*, judging it impoſſible to oppoſe the Kings Army, if his own were not much encreaſed by the arrival of thoſe Supplies; but having expected them in vain, from the *16.* till the 22 of *September*, he retired at laſt to *Meaux*, without being able to hinder the perfecting of the Fort; from whence (that he might not loſe his time unprofitably, and that he might give ſome eaſe to the afflicted Pariſians) he went after not many days to beſiege *Creſpy*, a place of the County of *Valois*, and having taken it without more diſpute, he made the paſſage more eaſie and more ſecure for ſome quantity of victual, which might be carried into *Paris* from that fertil Country round about.

The King deſires a reconciliation with the Catholick Church, by way of Agreement, not by way of Pardon

While the Heads of the Parties entertain themſelves with theſe petty actions, one to ſtraiten the City, the other to enlarge it from want of proviſions, the Treaties of each ſide went on with more heat than matters of War. The Kings mind was intent upon the affairs of *Rome*, having from the Popes Equity and Prudence conceived great hopes that he might reconcile himſelf to the Church; but he wiſhed rather, that the buſineſs ſhould paſs by way of Compoſition and Agreement, than by means of Humiliation and Pardon; and therefore deſired, That the Venetian Senate and the great Duke of *Thuſcany* ſhould interpoſe as Mediators, to negotiate that Reconciliation with the Apoſtolick See: The treaty whereof ſtanding thus in ſuſpence, withheld the minds of the Catholicks, till the end were ſeen, and did not alienate the Hugonots, who were not yet ſure that the agreement would be effected, but were rather full of a reaſonable hope, that that manner of treating at *Rome* would not bring forth any fruit at all. Cardinal *Gondi* having conferred with the King in his paſſage, and having with his paſport taken his voyage thorow the places that were of his party, had made ſome ſtay at *Florence*, deſiring that ſome of the Cardinals might firſt be gained by the Great Duke.

The Marquiſs *de Piſany* took his journey at the ſame time, and having paſſed the Alps, was come to *Deſenzano* upon the lake of *Garda*, a place belonging to the Republick of *Venice*, to procure that the Senate, by means of their Ambaſſador, might firſt break the yce in introducing the Treaty with the Pope. But theſe attempts were yet very unſeaſonable: for the things that were ſtill acted in *France* by the Kings Council and the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons*, (where they had damned the Popes Bulls, and the Commiſſion given concerning the Legation of the Cardinal of *Piacenza*, and many other Declarations of ſuch-like nature) gave ſmall ſign of the Kings Repentance and Converſion, and had put the Pope as it were in a neceſſity of protecting the League, and of reſenting thoſe injurious demonſtrations which had been attempted againſt him with ſo little reſpect, as well for the ſecurity of Religion, as for the reputation of his own perſon: nor could he yet ſecure himſelf that the King, who for the time paſt had been ſo obſtinate in his belief, could ſo all of a ſudden ſincerely turn Catholick; but he doubted that it was a meer fiction, to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom; and therefore he judged it to be his office, by length of time, and by many Arguments and Conjectures, to make himſelf certain of his inward Converſion, that he might not compleat the deſtruction of Religion by a precipitate determination, and ſuch a one as was little ſeemly for the dignity of his Perſon, and that opinion the World had conceived of him. To this was added the power of the Spaniard, who poſſeſſed the greater part of the Cardinals; the obligation the Pope himſelf had to that party, which had brought him to the Papacy: whereupon he was neceſſitated to carry himſelf very dexterouſly with them: the humour of that Court, which cannot endure thoſe things that ſeem to it prejudicial to the Eccleſiaſtical authority, and to the Majeſty of the Church, and beſides theſe, the Kings misfortunes before *Rouen*, which were then freſh, and divulged with the additions of fame, made the Treaty unproper, and by no means opportune at that preſent. And the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had given *Villeroy* ſome

Cauſes that make the Pope backward in determining about the affairs of the Crown of *France*.

some liberty to favour the Kings Conversion with the Pope, thinking it as lawful for him to deceive his Enemy, as it had been lawful for his Enemy to break his word with him, and to divulge the secret of those Treaties that had passed in confidence of privacy, being now more than ever entered again upon his old design by the means of *Des Portes* and the Bishop of *Lisieux*, his Agents in that Court, he did both by deeds and words, to his power, oppose those things that were treated in favour of that Conversion. Wherefore the Pope being resolved not to give any scandal concerning himself in the beginning of his Papacy; and not finding things in such a condition, that with the security of Religion, and the decency of the Apostolick See, he might lend an ear to what was propounded, having shewed his reasons to the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, he wrote unto the Legat to give the Cardinal of *Gondi* notice that he should not stir out of *France*: which Commission being arrived late, found him already departed: whereupon, having afterwards heard that he had past the mountains, he dispatched Father *Alessandro Franceschi* of the Order of Preachers, his Chaplain, to meet him, and to forbid him in his name to come any further; for he was resolved, he being a malignant Cardinal, and an adherent to Hereticks, neither to see him, nor hearken unto him: and by the means of his Nuncio residing in *Venice*, he caused the Marquis of *Pisani* to be resolutely advertised, that he being suspected of Heresie, having followed and fought for an Heretick, should by no means enter into the State of the Church; for if he did, he should be forced to proceed against him. The Cardinal, who was at *Ambrogiana*, a place of the Grand Duke's near *Florence*, not at all dismayed at the Popes so resolute advertisement, desired the Frier to give it him at length in writing, and with him dispatched his Secretary to *Rome*, to clear himself of those things that were objected against him: He shewed that from the beginning he had not been willing to subscribe unto the League as he had been desired, because, being an eye-witness, he saw, and by long practice in the customs of *France*, knew that Union was not set on foot by true zeal and sincere affection to Religion, but to palliate the ambition of the Great Ones, and to cover the interests of State, which it was not fit for him, being a Clergy-man, to give his assent unto, nor to make himself minister of other mens passions and affections: That he had made his excuse about it to Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, who being made acquainted with the truth, had taken his determination in good part: That if he had treated with the King of *Navarre* during the siege of *Paris*, to free the City from the extream misery of hunger, he had done it with the consent and leave of the Apostolick Legat: That if he at that present had treated personally with the King himself, he had done it that he might not put himself in danger of being made a prisoner in his journey, and of being obliged afterwards, to the disreputation of his quality, to meet and treat with him by force: That he had obeyed the intimation which the Legat *Sega* had sent after him to the confines of *Lorain*; for he had given him notice, that if he meant to treat any thing in favour of Hereticks, or of the King of *Navarre*, he should not come to *Rome*; whereupon, he having no such intention, had continued his journey: That he marvelled the Pope should refuse him leave to come and prostrate himself at his feet, to render him due obedience; where, if he were guilty, he might not only reprehend, but also punish him: That he was ready to give a particular true account of his actions; and if he were found in a fault, he refused not to undergo such chastisement as he deserved: That his intention was to come to *Rome*, to make the Pope acquainted with the calamities and miseries of *France*, which perchance were not sincerely represented to him: That as a Prelat and Bishop of *France*, and as a Cardinal, he came to let him know, there were above forty Bishopricks vacant, the revenues whereof were enjoyed by Women, Courtiers, Souldiers, and persons far from the Episcopal profession; and that in the mean time, the poor Souls were dispersed without a Pastor: That he thought himself obliged to represent unto him, that the Curates of Parishes, Priests and other Clergy-men, having abandoned their proper Function and the care of Souls, were busied in bloodying their hands, and living in the profession of Arms: That he should feel his Conscience burdened, if he did not let him know the danger so noble, so great a Kingdom was in, of becoming schismatical, unless some course were taken for the safety and union of it: That this seemed to him to be the duty of a good Christian and a good Catholick, not of an Heretick, nor of a favourer and promoter of Heresies: That if his Holiness had been pleased to hear his opinions concerning the discords and calamities of *France*, he would have told them, and submitted them to his most grave and prudent judgment; and if he would have imposed him silence, he would have

1592. The Duke of *Mayenne* gives *Villeroy* liberty to favour the Kings Conversion at *Rome*, and at the same time opposes it with all his power.

Pope *Clem.* 8. gives notice to Cardinal *Gondi* and to the Marquis *de Pisani*, that they should not enter into the Ecclesiastical State.

Cardinal *Gondi* sends his Secretary to *Rome*, to excuse himself to the Pope.

The unhappy condition of Ecclesiastical affairs in the Kingdom of *France*.

1592. have held his peace, ſince for his part, when his Conſcience was once diſcharged, he intended not to paſs any further.

Theſe reaſons boldly propoſed by the Secretary, who was brought in by the Florentine Ambaſſador, made a deep impreſſion in the Pope, who having from this man, and from the diſcourſes of the Venetian Ambaſſador, comprehended many particulars, was confirmed in his opinion, either with the full conſent of every one, to raiſe one of the Princes of the Blood unto the Crown, or elſe that perhaps one day he might with the honour of the Apoſtolick See, and the reſtauration of all the Orders of *France*, ſee the King of *Navarre* reconciled ſincerely to the Church, and all the diſcords of the Kingdom compoſed in that point. But becauſe this hope was yet weak and obſcure in the uncertainty of the future, nor did he think it fit either to precipitate the natural courſe of things, or utterly to forſake the League, (which, if for nothing elſe, ſerved at leaſt for a ſpur and neceſſary inſtrument of the Kings Converſion) he reſolved to perſiſt yet in that manner of appearance he had begun, in the mean time dexterouſly and with convenient patience promoted the ſecret of his thoughts. Therefore, though in a ſhort writing to the Cardinal of *Piacenza* divulged in print, he declared that he deſired a Catholick King and an Enemy to Hereſie ſhould be elected, and that he abhorred that one who ſtill perſevered in his errours ſhould be admitted to the poſſeſſion of the Crown, and therefore made ſhew to conſent alſo to the aſſembling of the States, to come in the end to a good and wholſom election; yet he diſpatched his Nephew the Pronotary *Agucchi* to the Legat himſelf, giving him ſecret advice to carry himſelf very dexterouſly and very cautiouſly, and not to ſuffer that in the Aſſembly of the States, Votes ſhould either be forced or corrupted, but that mens wills ſhould be free, and their voices not intereſſed: That he ſhould not permit the election of a King, who was more like to kindle diſcords, than to put an end to the War: That he ſhould endeavour no wrong might be done to any one: That that courſe ſhould be taken, which by the moſt eaſie, moſt ſecure way, and with the leaſt novelty that could be poſſible, might produce Peace; and that he ſhould not be over-ſcrupulous, but yield what he handſomly might, to time, and the nature of affairs; and provided Religion were ſecure, he ſhould paſs by many other conſiderations in the order and manner of treating: Admoniſhing him finally, That this was a buſineſs of ſo great importance, as could never be ſufficiently pondered and examined; and that therefore he ſhould keep himſelf from haſty reſolutions, and from ſpecious counſels, and that without other reſpect, he ſhould aim only at the quiet of Souls, and at the ſervice of God. The Pope believed theſe Inſtructions, without any further Declaration, would be ſufficient to the prudence of the Legat, to cauſe moderate proceedings in the States, and to make him underſtand, that he ſhould not carry the election for a Foreign King, about whoſe eſtabliſhment, longer and more ruinous Wars would neceſſarily enſue, than ever yet had been; but that, if with the honour of the Apoſtolick See, and the Security of Religion, he could either eſtabliſh a King of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, or compoſe the diſcords with the King of *Navarre*, it would be a much better and more expedient determination. But the Legat giving himſelf wholly over to the will of the Spaniards, by whom he hoped to be raiſed to the dignity of being Pope, (ſince the favourable endeavours of the Catholick King, being in good earneſt added to the merit of his labours, he thought himſelf in a condition to attain it) and having by his long reſidence in *France*, and by converſation with the Pariſians already contracted a partiality to the League, and an enmity to the King, was either ſo blinded by affection, that he could not, or ſo drawn by his own deſigns, that he would not underſtand the Popes meaning, and therefore ſet himſelf with all his power to advance the enterpriſes of the Spaniards.

The Pope ſends Monſignor *Agucchi* to Cardinal *Sega* Legat in *France* with prudent Inſtructions concerning the affairs of that Kingdom.

Cardinal *Sega* affectionate to the Lords of the League, and perſwaded by hope, being become partial to the Spaniards, doth not execute his orders according to the Popes intentions.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* being by his Secretary *des Portes*, and by the Biſhop of *Liſieux*, advertiſed in part of the Popes moderate Commiſſions, judged, that his mind inclined to favour him, and that thoſe words of cauſing a Catholick King to be elected, who might be a Defender of the Church, and an Enemy to Hereticks, but ſuch a one as might be eſtabliſhed with the general approbation, without commotion or ſubverſion, pointed at his perſon; and therefore firmly hoping he ſhould have the Popes favour, and by conſequence the Legats; and that the attempts of the Spaniards were not fomented by them, having looſened himſelf from the Treaty of Peace, he turned his mind wholly upon the aſſembling of the States, being intent to do it in ſuch manner, that it might ſucceed to the advantage, and ſecure eſtabliſhment of his Affairs. For this purpoſe he had with exceeding great diligence laboured, that the Deputies who were ſelected,

The Duke of *Mayenne* interpreting the Popes manner of proceeding to be in favour of him, applies himſelf to the Convocation of the States, with hope to be choſen King of *France*.

ſelected, might not be of thoſe that were taken with the gold or promiſes of the Spaniſh Miniſters, but of his dependents; and where thoſe could not be had, he at leaſt obtained, that they ſhould be for the moſt part men of good underſtanding, affectionate to their Country, and the general good, thinking, that ſuch would hardly condeſcend to a Foreign King, and one that was not of their own Blood. The place where this Aſſembly of the States was to be held remained to be reſolved on; and the Spaniards, who deſigned at the ſame time when it ſhould be convened, to make the Duke of *Parma* enter into *France*, and draw near with the Army to back and colour the Catholick Kings pretenſions, deſired principally, that it might be the City of *Soiſſons*. The Duke of *Lorain* propoſed the City of *Rheims*, (as neareſt to him) from which the Spaniards did not much diſſent. But Preſident *Jeannin*, and the Sieur *de Villeroy* counſelled the Duke of *Mayenne* to reduce the Aſſembly into the City of *Paris*, without having regard to the length of the journey, the danger of the Deputies, or to the incommodiouſneſs and dearth of victual, to give content and ſatisfaction to the inhabitants thereof, who were wonderful earneſt to have it ſo; and had need after ſo many calamities to be comforted and kept faithful: And moreover to make the Congregation of the States more publick and more famous by the quality of the place, and not to put the Cities of *Rheims* or *Soiſſons* in danger; for it was conſidered, that the Duke of *Parma* coming thither, accompanied according to his cuſtom, with ſtrong Forces, might eaſily force the Aſſembly to his will, and make himſelf Maſter of thoſe places, which would be hard for him to obtain in *Paris*, as well by reaſon of the greatneſs of it, and the number of the people, as becauſe it was further from the Frontiers, and all ſurrounded and encompaſſed with the Kings Fortreſſes, full of ſtrong Gariſons, which upon all occaſions might be called to hinder any violence that ſhould be offered to the City, or to the States. Beſides this, the City was better inclined than ever it had been in former times; for the pernicious power of the *Sixteen* being weakned, the Government remained in the hands of the wonted Magiſtrates, elected with great care by the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf, and the Incendiaries not being there, they quieted the minds of the people without thoſe inſurrections that were wont to diſturb all buſineſſes: Moreover, the Parliament reſiding in the City, might ſerve as a fit inſtrument to treat and hinder many things. 1592.

This determination did very much diſpleaſe the Spaniſh Miniſters, and they oppoſed it at the firſt, ſhewing the neceſſity of the Duke of *Parma*'s being there, who could not advance ſo far into the Kingdom, and withdraw himſelf ſo far from the Frontiers; and arguing alſo, that the great number of the Deputies would increaſe the dearth and neceſſity of the Pariſians. But the objection concerning the Duke of *Parma* was removed by his death; and the intereſts of the Pariſians was not put into conſideration, for they themſelves perſwaded the Spaniards to deſiſt from interpoſing any hindrance, becauſe the City eſteemed it to be for its advantage and profit, and much more for its honour and reputation, that ſo famous an Aſſembly ſhould be made in their City, they intervening and aſſiſting in it. The Cardinal Legat aſſented alſo to this opinion, as well not to incommodate himſelf with the expence of new journeys, as becauſe he thought by the heat of the Pariſians to bring the Aſſembly to make election of that King, who ſhould be of greateſt ſatisfaction to the Apoſtolick See, and to the intentions of the King of *Spain*. Wherefore the Duke of *Mayenne* having left the Government of the Army to the Sieur *de Roſne*, by him created Mareſchal and Governour of the Iſle of *France*, went to *Paris* with a ſmall retinue, and there with his preſence, and with his words laboured to comfort the afflicted people for the dearth of victual, and the interruption of commerce and trading in the City, ſhewing them, that within a few days there would be ſome courſe taken in the Aſſembly of the States, and convenient order ſetled totally to free the City, and eaſe it of its preſent neceſſities; ſtriving with liberal promiſes, and by honouring and cheriſhing every one, (eſpecially the Magiſtrates of the City, and the Preachers) to gain the good will of the people, which by his late ſeverity he feared he had wholly loſt.

The City of *Paris* is appointed for the Convocation of the States.

The Duke of *Mayenne* leaves the command of the Army to the Sieur *de Roſne*, and goes himſelf to *Paris*.

It was not without great reaſon that the Duke of *Mayenne* hoped at laſt to tranſfer the Crown upon himſelf and his Poſterity; for conſidering the preſent eſtate with due regard, it was clear, that neither the Union of the Crowns, nor the Election of *Infanta Iſabella* (things laboured for by the Spaniards) would ever be endured by the French, who by no kind of intereſt, by no kind of practice, could ever be brought to ſubmit themſelves to the Empire of their natural Enemies; and though ſome particular men,

Cauſes that move the Duke of *Mayenne* to hope to be choſen King of *France*.

1592. men, corrupted with money, or by the expectation of places and honours, had accommodated their guſt unto it; yet the general, which was more powerful, would never have been perſwaded by any means: Wherefore theſe pretenſions failing, and being excluded, he thought (and reaſon told him ſo) that the Catholick King could not concur more willingly to the election of any other than his own perſon; ſince, if either the Duke of *Lorain*, or the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould be elected (as the report went) by the party that they ſhould make, new States and power would be added to the Crown of *France*, with the augmentation whereof, it was likely the Catholick King would not be well pleaſed, but rather that it ſhould decreaſe in ſtrength and greatneſs; he did not ſee that the Catholick King could expect to draw greater fruit from his paſt labours and expences, than in chuſing him; who by reaſon of the need he ſhould have of him to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom, would be conſtrained by neceſſity to content him, and to condeſcend to many things which the reſt perhaps would not ſo eaſily conſent to. The ſame he judged of the Pope; who, as far from intereſts, and full of that moderation which he made ſhew of, would more willingly yield to him than any other, not to deprive him of the fruit of his ſo great labours, conſidering that he alone had ſuſtained the Catholick party, and the Cauſe of Religion, which no other, either by authority or prudence could have been able to ſuſtain. He ſaw the French generally inclined and diſpoſed in favour of him, by reaſon of his authority in the party, whereof he had ſo long been the Chief; and that between the Dignity and Office he now poſſeſſed, and the full power of King, there was no other difference but the title, he already holding the adminiſtration of affairs as Lieutenant of the Crown: He knew that not one of the reſt of his Family could equal himſelf to him, either for valour, merit, experience or authority, and that the ſole ſhadow of his will would confound and terrifie them all. To this was added the diligence wherewith the Deputies had been elected to his advantage, the inclination of the Parliament, newly (by the puniſhment of the *Sixteen*) by him reſtored to its being, the dependence of the Council of State, and the art of managing this deſign, in which Conditions all the reſt were incomparably inferiour to him.

The ſame conceit had the Duke of *Parma*, who (after that his counſel of overcoming things with patience, and drawing matters out in length, was no longer hearkned to in *Spain*) thought the election of the Duke of *Mayenne* more profitable for the Catholick Kings affairs than that of any other man, becauſe he might be eſtabliſhed with more facility, leſs charge, and more advantageous Conditions: wherefore he writ into *Spain* about it, and it appeared that in the courſe of the buſineſs he would have favoured his affairs, either becauſe he ſo judged it profitable for King *Philip* as he demonſtrated, or (as the other Miniſters ſaid) becauſe he deſired not that the Spaniſh Monarchy ſhould increaſe to ſuch a height, and come to the only one in Chriſtendom, without counterpoiſe or oppoſition. But his death, which happened upon the ſecond day of *December*, in the City of *Arras*, after a long painful ſickneſs, did ſomething vary the ſtate of things, as the Spaniards then ſaid, to the advantage of the Catholick Kings affairs; but, as it appeared afterwards by the effects, to their notable damage: for the reputation of his name being removed, which had already brought the humour of the French as it were into obedience, they neither much eſteemed the other Spaniſh Commanders and Miniſters; nor were the Miniſters themſelves equal to him either in knowledge or authority; and having conceits and opinions different from thoſe which he prudently nouriſhed in his mind, and wherewith he had managed the buſineſs till then, they went on afterwards with ſuch a precipice, that the Catholick Kings affairs took an impreſſion very different from what they held at that preſent. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, with the loſs of him, loſt alſo much of his hopes; and ſeeing the other Miniſters, particularly *Diego d' Ivarra*, utterly averſe from him, he began to doubt he ſhould be forced to take another reſolution, and thought to guide his buſineſſes with more art and caution than he had formerly done. Nevertheleſs the Convocation of the States was advanced ſo far, that it could no longer be deferred: and it was neceſſary to aſſemble it, as well not to break abſolutely with the Spaniards, as to ſatisfie the Popes importunities; but moſt of all, becauſe the Deputies were already elected, and many of them upon their way to *Paris*.

The Duke of *Parma*'s death was hurtful to the intereſts of the King of *Spain*.

Theſe things happened *Anno* 1592, in which year various fortune had with divers accidents troubled the other Provinces of the Kingdom. Monſieur *de la Valette* Governour of *Provence*, had in the beginning of the year laid ſiege to *Rochebrune*, a place held in

in that Province by the Duke of *Savoy*; and after he had in vain battered it many days, being reſolved to remove his Artillery, and plant them in another place, where he had diſcovered the wall to be weaker, and the paſſage to go on to the aſſault more eaſie, began new Trenches to plant his Cannon there; about which Work whilſt he laboured in perſon to haſten the perfecting of it, he received a Musket-ſhot in the head, and being carried into his Tent, died within a few hours. A Cavalier who (having ſagacity of wit, joined to valour and undauntedneſs of mind) had with ſlender Forces, honourably, without loſs, ſuſtained the much ſuperiour power of the Duke of *Savoy*. When he was dead, *Provence* remaining without a Governour on the Kings part, Monſieur *Les Diguieres*, who was wont to help in thoſe neceſſities, left the care of *Dauphine* to Colonel *Ornano*, and haſted thither with his uſual diligence, and having joined the Forces of that Province to his own, with infinite expedition made himſelf Maſter of all the Towns and Caſtles ſeated upon the banks of the River *Vare*, which divides *Italy* from *France*; and then having ſuddenly paſt the River, and thrown down the Fortifications raiſed by the Duke, to hinder the entrance into his Territories, he with wonderful terrour to the people pillaged all the Country to the very Walls of *Nizza*; and having repaſſed the River, ſet himſelf with proſperous ſucceſs to take in the neighbouring Caſtles; yet not thinking it fit to aſſault either *Aix*, *Marſeilles*, or the principal Cities, becauſe he had neither Army nor preparations ſufficient to undertake any of thoſe enterpriſes.

1592.

Monſieur *de la Valette* is ſlain with a Musket ſhot at the ſiege of *Rochebrune*.

The River *Vare* is the confine that ſeparates *Italy* from *France*.

The Sieur *de Les Diguieres* makes great incurſions againſt the Duke of *Savoy*

But while he ſtays in *Provence*, the Kings affairs received exceeding great damage in *Dauphine*: for Monſieur *de Maugiron* Governour of *Valence* (whatſoever the occaſion was) agreed to put that City into the hands of the Duke of *Nemours*, and of his Brother the Marquiſs *de St. Sorlin* Governour for the League in thoſe parts; which being executed without impediment, the Duke of *Nemours*, intent to follow the proſperity of his fortune, battered and took St. *Marcellin*, and after that, many other places, which being diligently fortified, had hindered the Forces of the Leagues from joining on that ſide with the Duke of *Savoy*. Wherefore *Les Diguieres* being by this diverſion conſtrained to depart out of *Provence*, left the field open to the Duke of *Savoy*, who having paſt the *Vare*, and recovered all the places that had been taken from him, advanced to lay ſiege to *Antibo*; which Town ſtanding upon the Sea, and for the famouſneſs of the Port being very conſiderable, was taken by him, though with difficulty and length of time.

Monſieur *de Maugiron* Governour of *Valence* for the King, gives up the place to the Lords of the League.

The Duke of *Savoy* recovers the places taken by *Les Diguieres*, and takes *Antibo*.

But *Les Diguieres* being returned into *Dauphine*, removed him out of *Provence* by diverſion, as he by the means of the Duke of *Nemours* had been diverted before: for having rallied an Army rather good and expert than numerous, he reſolved to paſs the Alps, and carry the War into *Piedmont*; and having overcome *Mount Geneure*, the ordinary Paſs to conduct Armies on that ſide of the mountains, he enlarged himſelf along the valley of *Peroſa* and the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, with ſo much noiſe and terrour to the people, that the Duke leaving the charge of *Provence* to Count *Franceſco Martinengo*, was forced to come to remedy the deſtruction of his Country. The quality of the place ſteep and mountainous, begirt with rocks and clifts, and encompaſſed round about with the Alps, eſpecially in a ſeaſon when Winter in thoſe parts was already growing on, (for it was about the end of *September*) hindered the progreſs of Arms, and did not ſuffer the Armies to encounter with all their Forces: and yet the French having taken *Peroſa*, and the Tower of *Luſerne*, advanced as far as *Briqueras*; and having had intelligence that the Dukes Commanders gathered part of their Army at *Vigone*, reſolved to aſſault the Camp before all their Forces were drawn together: ſo having advanced by marching all night, upon the fourth of *October* in the morning they ſuddenly aſſaulted the Town; where, by reaſon of the difficulty of the ſituation, and the reſiſtance of the defendents, the toil was long, and the conflict dangerous; yet the Savoyards being but few, and the place of it ſelf but weak, they were defeated, ſix hundred Souldiers ſlain, many Commanders taken, and ten Colours of Foot; and the French being returned victorious to *Briqueras*, began with wonderful diligence to fortifie that place, which being made defenſible by the forcing all the men of thoſe quarters to work, they left a good Gariſon in it, and advanced toward *Saluzzo*, (at ſuch time as the Duke was already come with his whole Army to *Villa Franca*) and having no more important enterpriſe to attempt, applied themſelves to take *Cavors*, a mountainous place defended by a very ſtrong Tower, ſituated juſt above it: but while they with art and induſtry ſtrive to get near it, and to plant the Artillery, the Duke paſſing another

way,

1592. way, marched by night to assault *Briqueras*, judging that the Works not being yet finished, it would not be very hard to get it from the Enemy; and it being taken, they remained invironed in such manner, that in the narrow Passes of that Valley they might easily be defeated: but he found a brisker resistance than he expected; wherefore, after a most fierce assault of four hours, he resolved to retire, knowing that the French were so near, that it could not be long before they came to relieve their men; which proved very true: for Monsieur *Les Dignieres*, leaving the place besieged, which was but little, and might be blocked up with a few, went with the rest of the Army whither he was guided by the noise of the shot, which ratled aloud among the mountains: but having found the Duke was departed from *Briqueras*, he resolved to follow him speedily; and having overtaken his Reer-guard near a Village, as they were passing a certain Rivulet, assaulted it so violently, that he disordered the last Squadrons of Cavalry. The rest of the Army made a halt, and skirmished furiously for many hours, till being all tired out, and the night drawing on, the Duke retreated to *Vigone*, and *Les Dignieres* returned to *Cavors*, where the Tower and Castle being extreamly battered, at last surrendered; and he having over-run and pillaged those Valleys, being hindered by the Snow and the coldness of the weather from proceeding to other enterprises, marched back into *Dauphine* about the end of *December*.

The Duke of *Espernon* going into *Provence* recovers *Antibo*, and all the towns held by the Duke of *Savoy* as far as the River *Vare*

But the Duke of *Espernon* was come into *Provence*; who having heard of his Brothers death, and being desirous to keep that Province, the Government whereof had been given him by King *Henry* the Third, in which he had substituted the Sieur *de la Valette*, went thither with all his Forces, and without much dispute recovered *Antibo*, and reduced into his power all the Towns as far as the River *Vare*, which by reason of their weakness were a prey sometimes to the one side, sometimes to the other; and though many in the Province, even of those that were of the Kings party, did not follow him; yet he trusting to the Forces he had brought, applied himself diligently to subject all the Towns to the obedience of his Government.

*Antoine Scipion*, Duke of *Joyeuse*, lays siege to *Villemur* Fortress near *Montauban*.

The Kings affairs went on also prosperously in the Provinces of *Guascogne* and *Languedoc*; for *Antoine Scipion*, Duke of *Joyeuse*, Brother to *Anne*, who was slain in the Battel of *Coutras*, and chief Commander for the League in that Province, having obtained many Victories, taken many places, and made his name formidable in those quarters, had at last besieged *Villemur*, a Fortress not far from *Montauban*, with a design as soon as he had taken it, and spoiled all the Country about, to strengthen also *Montauban* it self, the secure receptacle, and for many late years the setled standing quarter of the Hugonots. But the Duke of *Espernon* passing at the same time with his Army to go into *Provence*, and having stept a little out of his way to relieve that place, *Joyeuse* knowing himself inferiour in strength, arose from the siege, and went to the Towns of his own party, till the Duke of *Espernon* being gone on his journey, he thought he might opportunely venture to *Villemur*, and prosecute his begun design.

Monsieur *de Temines* enters with men into *Villemur*.

There were in *Villemur* Three hundred Foot, a very weak Garison to sustain so sharp a siege; wherefore Monsieur *de Temines* who was in *Montauban*, being resolved not to suffer the besieged to perish without relief, went from thence with Two hundred Fire-locks, an hundred and twenty Cuirassiers, and a select number of Gentlemen, by ways that were not ordinary, and thorow secret uneven passages got into the place, desiring rather to labour in the defence of *Villemur*, than when it was lost to be put to defend the Walls of *Montauban*. The Duke of *Joyeuse* having taken the Outworks, and made his approaches to the Moat, planted Eight pieces of Cannon, and with them battered the Wall very furiously, and not failing in any thing that was the part of a valiant diligent Commander, being abundantly furnished from *Tholouse* with those things that belong unto a siege, straitned it in such manner, that the danger was already urgent, and a speedy resolution was necessary, either to relieve the besieged, or let them perish: Whereupon *Henry d' Anville*, Duke of *Momorancy*, Governour for the King in that Province, not willing to receive that affront before his own face, gathered the Forces he had together, and having called to his assistance the Gentry of *Auvergne* which were near, dispatched Monsieur *de Lacques*, and with him the Sieurs *de Chambaut* and *Montoyson*, to the end, they might endeavour either to raise the siege, or to relieve the Town with powerful assistance some other way. These made their Rendezvous at *Bellegarde*; which the Duke of *Joyeuse* having heard, left his Infantry to continue the siege, and he himself with the Cavalry, and a certain number of Fire-locks, ran fiercely to assault them. The encounter at the first was hot and furious, where-

whereupon they of the King's ſide began to be put in diſorder; but *Lecques* having cauſed two Culverins to give fire, as alſo two other leſſer Pieces, which they had taken out of *Montauban*, ſtopt the aſſailants in ſuch ſort, that at laſt they drew off without having wrought any further effect, and the Duke of *Joyeuſe* returned to his quarter, continuing the ſiege with ſo much ſecurity, and ſo much contempt, that he quartered his Cavalry ſcatteringly in the Villages about, to the end, that in the ſterility of that Country, they might be more commodiouſly furniſhed. But the Viſcount *de Gordon* being come to aſſiſt them of the King's party, they being increaſed in courage and in ſtrength, (for they had One thouſand eight hundred Horſe, and little leſs than four thouſand Foot) reſolved ſuddenly to fall upon the Dukes Trenches, judging, that if the beſieged (as they promiſed themſelves from the valor of Monſieur *de Temines*) ſhould ſally upon them on the other ſide, they might eaſily paſs through the Trenches, and put relief into the place. With this deſign, being (upon the Nineteenth of *December* at night) entered into a Wood, which largely ſpreading it ſelf, reaches near to *Villemur*, they arrived ſo unexpectedly the next morning to aſſault the Duke of *Joyeuſe* his Camp, that they entered the firſt Trenches, before thoſe that negligently guarded them, had time to ſtand to their Arms. The Duke having heard of the enemies coming, and the flight of his Guards, ſent Two hundred Harquebuſiers on horſe-back before, to hold the enemy in play, and giving ſign by Three Cannon-ſhot to his Cavalry to haſten to the Camp, ſtood firm with his Forces in Battalia between the firſt and ſecond Trench, to receive the aſſault of the Royaliſts, who encouraged by the proſperity of that beginning, charged them valiantly, and were no leſs fiercely received. The conflict laſted with great uncertainty of the Victory for the ſpace of an hour and an half; but in the mean time, Monſieur *de Temines* with the greater part of the Garriſon, ſallying at the Skirgates of the Fortreſs, and having drawn up a ſmall, but a valiant Squadron, fell upon the Rere of the Dukes main Body, which hardly made any reſiſtance; ſo that not being able to ſuſtain the violence on both ſides, the Infantry took flight, and ran without ſtop, to paſs over a Bridge, which for the conveniency of the Camp they had cauſed to be made of Boats over the River *Tar*: But the Bridge being weak, and the croud exceeding great, it broke under ſo great a weight and the men upon it in a miſerable confuſion were all drowned. The Duke, who being got upon a Pad-nag, had uſed all the endeavors of a good Commander to ſtop his men, made his retreat with a few Gentlemen, ſtill fighting till he came to the bank of the River, where he found the Bridge already broken, and his men drowned; whereupon, being neſſitated to paſs the River upon the ſame Nag, he was carried away by the Water, by reaſon of the weakneſs of his Horſe, and for haſte to get over, fell into the midſt of the ſtream, and was drowned with no leſs misfortune, than his Forces had periſhed in their flight. In the mean time the Cavalry was got together at the warning of the three Cannon ſhot; but the General being dead, and their Trenches taken every where, they endeavoured to ſave the relicks of them that fled, and retired without troubling the Enemy. Thus the Camp of the League being routed, with the loſs of a Thouſand men, Two and twenty Enſigns, and all their Artillery, *Villemur* remained free from the ſiege, and the Kings Forces much ſuperior in that Province. 1592.

The Kings Forces ſent to relieve *Villemur*, aſſault the Duke of *Joyeuſe*'s Camp, and make themſelves maſters of the firſt Trench.

While the Royaliſts fight with the Leaguers with equal fortune, *Temines* ſallies with moſt of the Garriſon of *Villemur*, and catching the Enemy in the midſt, routs them, and puts them to flight.

But matters proceeded very differently in *Bretagne*. The Prince of *Conty*, Commander in chief of the Army in *Poiſtou*, and the Country of *Maine*, was joyned for the defence of the Kings party with the Prince of *Dombes*, Governor of *Bretagne*, and they had joyntly reſolved to beſiege *Craon*, a great ſtrong Town ſeated upon the Confine that divides *Bretagne* from the other Neighbouring Provinces; in which, there being a very great Garriſon, it over-ran and pillaged all the Country about. Wherefore, having gathered together all their Forces, they ſet themſelves about this enterpriſe; one on the one ſide, and the other on the other ſide of the River, which running through the midſt of the City, divides it into two parts; but as it commonly comes to paſs, that where more than one General commands in Armies, things alwayes go on, not onely ſlow and coldly, but alſo diſorderly and confuſedly, the ſiege very hopefully begun, was delaid and protracted ſo long, that the Duke of *Mercœur* had time to draw his Forces together to relieve that place, as he much deſired: For which purpoſe, having ſent for the Spaniards from *Blavet*, and gathered together all his Horſe and the Gentry of the Country, having alſo raiſed Two thouſand Breton Firelocks, he marched with ſpeed toward *Craon*, at the time when the Prince of *Conti* having diverted the water out of the Moat on his ſide, and the Prince of *Dombes* battering fiercely on the other,

*Craon* a great ſtrong Town that held for the League, is beſieged by the Princes of *Conty* and *Dombes*.

1592. other, the beſieged were brought in danger of not being able to make good the firſt aſſaults. At the Dukes advancing, the Princes not judging it good for their Armies to be divided, with the River between them, reſolved, That the Prince of *Dombes* ſhould repaſs the River, and joyn with the Prince of *Conti* in the ſame quarter, which was done before the Enemies arrival; but with ſo little circumſpection, that not to deprive themſelves of the conveniency of repaſſing the River, either through inadvertency, careleſneſs, and ſomething elſe, they left the Bridge ſtanding, and very weakly guarded, which they had made upon Boats over the River about a League below the Town. The Prince being paſt over, and the Armies reunited, they deſired to free themſelves from the incumbrance of their great Artillery; wherefore having without loſs of time drawn them off from the Wall, they ſent them before to *Chaſteau Gontier*, whither they had deſigned to retire, and their great ſhot, which by reaſon of the number of them, and their haſte, they could not carry away, they buried in divers places to hide them from the Enemy. But the Duke *de Mercœur*, who finding the Bridge entire, had ſpeedily paſt the River without reſiſtance, marching in gallant order, advanced ſo quickly, that the Princes had ſcarcely raiſed their Camp, and ſet the Army in Battalia to draw off, when the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin*, who led the Vanguard of the League, appeared in the Field, and began to ſend forth his Light-horſe toward them. Many of the moſt expert Commanders, and particularly *Charles* of *Montmorancy*, Lord *d' Anville*, condemned the Counſel of retiring in ſight of the Enemy, arguing, that there was no example of any ſuch reſolution, but had ever been pernicious to Armies; it not being poſſible but that the one ſhould retire with terror and diſorder, and the other advance with violence and boldneſs: wherefore they were of opinion, that ſtanding firm in the Poſt they held, and drawing, (if they had ſo much time) a Trench before the front of the Army, they ſhould ſtoutly expect the enemies aſſault; and that recalling the Artillery, which was not gone very far, they ſhould turn furiouſly againſt them. The Prince of *Dombes* did in great part aſſent to this advice; but the Prince of *Conty*, ſuperiour in authority and years, and who commanded in chief, becauſe he was upon the confines of his own Government, ſent to tell him that he ſhould retire, according to the order already appointed, becauſe, being inferiour in Force, he would not endanger that Army and all the neighbouring Countries: wherefore marching before with the Vanguard led by *Hercule de Roban* Duke of *Monbaſon*, and with the Battel which he himſelf commanded, he left order that the Prince of *Dombes* ſhould come after with the Rere-guard: but he, ſtraitened and followed at the heels by the Enemies Cavalry (for, not onely their Van-guard preſſed him, but alſo the Duke of *Mercœur* with the whole Forces had overtaken him) was at laſt conſtrained to ſtand, and facing about, to cloſe up againſt the Enemy, whoſe boldneſs he repreſſed for a while, till, being ſurrounded with ſo much a greater number, and being forſaken by his men, after he had ſhewed all the proofs of a valiant reſolute Commander, he was fain (being in a manner left alone) to retire, quitting the paſſage to the Enemy, who fiercely proſecuting the courſe of their Victory, fell upon the Infantry, which retired very diſorderly, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the wayes: whereupon, without ſo much as making the leaſt ſhew of defending themſelves, they were deſtroyed and diſſipated in a very ſhort ſpace, there being an exceeding great ſlaughter made of them by the Light-horſe and the Spaniſh Foot. The Prince of *Conty*, without ever turning his face, came with his Cavalry untouched to *Chaſteau Gontier* in the evening, whither the Prince of *Dombes* came up to him a while after, with no more but Eleven Horſe. The Artillery left upon the way by thoſe that had the charge of conducting it, fell all into the Enemies hands; and the Gentry, as ſoon as they were come ſafe into a place where they could not be purſued, diſbanded of themſelves, and every one ſeverally betook himſelf to the ſecurity of his own houſe. This defeat, which happened the Three and twentieth of *May*, weakned the King's Forces in thoſe parts ſo much, that not onely *Chaſteau Gontier* being quitted by the Princes who retired further into the Country, but alſo *Maine* and *Laval*, with all the neighbouring places, came into the power of the League. The Prince of *Conty* retired into the Country of *Maine*, and the Prince of *Dombes* by a different way went back to *Rennes*; and the Engliſh, wounded and diſarmed, got into the Suburbs of *Vitre*, leaving the poſſeſſion of the field for many dayes to the Duke *de Mercœur*.

The Royaliſts raiſe their ſiege at *Craon*, by reaſon of the Duke of *Mercœurs* arrival with relief.

The Kings Forces deſiring to make their retreat in ſight of the enemy, loſe almoſt all their Foot, who are cut in pieces. The Prince of *Conty*, without ever turning his face, ſaves himſelf with all the Horſe at *Chaſteau-Gontier*.

The Mareſcal *d' Aumont* was already appointed by the King to be Governor of *Bretagne*: for the Prince (whom from henceforth we will call Duke of *Montpenſier*) had

had already ſucceeded his father in the Government of *Normandy*, and for his Lieutenant had choſen *François de Eſpinay* Sieur *de St Luc*, a man, who, by the readineſs of his wit, the ornaments of learning, and his valour in Arms, was riſen to a very high eſtimation; who, having gathered Forces from all parts, and made a levy of Foot in the Country of *Brouage*, of which place *St. Luc* was Governor, haſtened their coming, becauſe the Duke of *Mercœur* having taken the Caſtle of *Maleſtroit*, prepared himſelf to beſiege *Vitre*, a conſiderable Town, in the conſervation whereof the ſum of affairs conſiſted. The King's Commanders having drawn their Forces together, at their firſt coming beſieged *Mayne*, a City more great than ſtrong; and having gotten it upon conditions, ſtood doubtful whether they ſhould paſs forward to meet the D. of *Mercœur*, or ſtay to attempt *Rochefort*, a wonderful ſtrong place, which did incommodate all the places thereabout, and particularly the City of *Angiers*. At laſt, at the importunity of the people, and of the Gentlemen that followed them, they reſolved to try what they could do upon that place: but the taking of it proved ſo difficult, being defended by the Sieur *de St Offange*, that after Two thouſand and five hundred Cannon-ſhot, and the loſs of much time, and the beſt Soldiers of the Army, the rains of Autumne falling, and the Duke of *Mercœur*'s relief drawing near, they were at laſt conſtrained to riſe without having obtained their intent. But the Duke having held the Enemy in ſuſpence, by taking ſeveral ways, and by making ſhew of turning, ſometimes to one place, ſometimes to another, came ſuddenly to *Quintin*, whither 700 Germans were gotten, who were under the command of the D. of *Montpenſier* in thoſe parts; and having found them unprovided of thoſe things which were requiſite to make a long defence, he forced them to yield, with expreſs conditions to go out of the Province, and not to ſerve any more againſt him; a thing which proved very hurtful to the King's affairs; for he had no Foot that were more forward, more expert, nor better diſciplined than they. 1592.

The loſs of the King's party was augmented by the defeat of the Engliſh who being (as they ſtill are wont) afflicted with grievous diſeaſes, and brought to a very weak eſtate, had obtained leave of the Duke of *Montpenſier* to go to *Danfront* in lower *Normandy*, to change the air, and to recover their ſtrength by reſt: but being ſet upon in the way by the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin*, with the Garriſons of *Laval*, *Craon*, *Fougeres*, and of the near adjacent places, they were ſo ſhattered, that of ſo great a number, hardly 200 remained alive.

On the contrary, the affairs of the League in *Lorain* went on unſucceſsfully: for, while the Duke of *Bouillon*, who had taken *Stenay* with a *Petard*, and poſſeſſed ſome leſſer places, at laſt went to relieve *Beaumont*, beſieged by Monſieur *d'Ambliſe* General for the Duke of *Lorain*: the Armies encountred fiercely, and the Lorainers loſing their Trenches and Artillery, were utterly routed and diſperſed: after which buſineſs, the Duke of *Bouillon* took *Dun* ſuddenly, by having likewiſe faſtened a Petard to the gate; and overrunning all the Country without hinderance, had put the Forces of the League in very great confuſion.

In this condition of affairs began the year 1593, the general diſpoſitions of mens mindes, as well of the one ſide as the other, being more inclined to the ſetling of affairs, than to the management of Armes. The firſt novelty of this year, was the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Declaration, made from the *December* before, but not publiſhed before the fifth of *January*; in which, making known his intention in aſſembling the States of his party, he prayed and exhorted the Catholicks that followed the King's party to unite themſelves to the ſame end with him, and to take ſome courſe for the ſafety and peace of the Kingdom. It was of the tenour following.

The Declaration made by the Duke of *Mayenne* for the congregation of the States, publiſhed the fifth of *January*, 1593.

CHarles of *Loraine*, Duke of *Mayenne*, Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, To all perſons preſent and to come, Greeting. The inviolable and perpetual obſervance which this Kingdom hath had of Religion and piety, hath been that, which hath made it flouriſh above all others in Chriſtendome, and which hath cauſed our Kings to be honoured with the name of *Moſt-Chriſtian*, and *Firſt Sons of the Church*; ſome of them having, to obtain that ſo glorious Title, paſt the Seas, and gone as far as the utmoſt bounds of the earth, with moſt powerful Armies, to make War againſt the Infidels; and others of them, fought often againſt thoſe that ſought to introduce new Sects and Errors contrary to the faith and belief of our fore-fathers: in all which Expeditions, they were alwayes accompanied by the Nobility, who voluntarily expoſed their lives and fortunes to all dangers, to have

1593. part in that onely true and ſolid glory of having helped to conſerve Religion in their Country, or to eſtabliſh it in places far remote, where the Name and Worſhip of our Lord was not yet known: from whence not onely the fame of the valour and zeal of the whole Nation reſounds in all parts, but by the example of it, other Potentates have been ſtirred up to follow in the honour and danger of ſo worthy enterpriſes, and of ſo laudable atchievements. After this ardor, the holy intention of our Kings, and of their Subjects, was not at all cooled nor changed, till theſe laſt dayes that Hereſie hath been ſecretly introduced into this Kingdom, and increaſed in ſuch manner, by the means which every one knows, that there is now no more need to ſet before our eyes, that we are at laſt fallen into ſo lamentable a misfortune, that the Catholicks themſelves, whom the Union of the Church ought inſeparably to joyn together, have, by a new prodigious example taken Arms againſt one another, and diſunited themſelves in ſtead of joyning together for the defence of their Religion: Which we judge to be come to paſs by the wicked impreſſions and wonted artifices Hereticks have made uſe of, to perſuade them, that this War is not for Religion, but to deſtroy and uſurp the State; though we have taken Arms, being moved thereunto by ſo juſt a grief, or rather being conſtrained by ſo great a neceſſity, that the cauſe thereof cannot be aſcribed to any others, than the authors of the moſt wicked, diſloyal and pernicious counſel that was ever given to a Prince; though the King's death happened by a blow from Heaven, and by the hand of one man alone, without the help or knowledge of thoſe that had but too much cauſe to deſire it; and notwithſtanding we had made proteſtation that all our aim and deſire tended onely to preſerve the State, to follow the Laws of the Kingdom, by acknowledging for King the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the neareſt and firſt Prince of the Blood, declared ſo to be in the life-time of the late King, by his Letters-Patents, verified in all the Parliaments, and in that quality deſigned his Succeſſor, in caſe he ſhould die without male-children, which obliged us to confer that honor upon him, and yield him all kind of obedience, fidelity, and ſervice, as our intention was to do, if it had pleaſed God to free him from the captivity he was in: And if the King of *Navarre*, from whom alone he could hope for that good, had been pleaſed (obliging all Catholicks) to ſet him at liberty, to acknowledge himſelf as King, and to ſtay till Nature had brought his dayes to an end, making uſe of that occaſion to cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed, and to reconcile himſelf to the Holy Church, he ſhould have found all the Catholicks united, and diſpoſed to yield him the ſame obedience and fidelity, after the death of the King his Uncle. But he perſevering in his Errors, it was not poſſible to do it, if he would remain under the obedience of the Apoſtolick Roman Church, which had excommunicated him, and deprived him of all the rights he could pretend to the Crown: Beſides that, by ſo doing, we ſhould have broken and violated that antient cuſtom, ſo religiouſly kept for ſo many ages, and through the ſucceſſion of ſo many Kings, from *Clouis* till this preſent, not to acknowledge any King in the Royal Throne, who was not a Catholick, and Obedient Son of the Church, and who had not promiſed and ſworn at his Conſecration, and at his receiving the Crown and Scepter, that he would live and die in it, defend and maintain it, and extirpate Hereſie with his utmoſt Forces; the firſt Oath of our Kings, whereupon that of the obedience and fidelity of their Subjects is grounded, and without which (ſo zealous they were in Religion) they would never have acknowledged that Prince, who pretended by the Laws, to be called unto the Crown. A Cuſtom judged ſo holy and neceſſary for the welfare and good of the Kingdom, by the States held at *Blois* in the year 1566, when the Catholicks were not yet divided in the defence of their Religion, that it was by them held as the principal and fundamental Law of the State, and it was eſtabliſhed by the Kings will and authority, that two of every Order ſhould be deputed and ſent to the K. of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, to repreſent unto them from the States, the danger they put themſelves in, by forſaking the Holy Church, and to exhort them to reconcile themſelves unto it, and to denounce unto them, that in caſe they did not, if they ſhould chance to ſucceed unto the Crown, they ſhould be perpetually excluded as incapable. Nor is the Declaration which was afterward made at *Rouen* in the year 1588. confirmed in the Convocation of the States laſt held at *Blois*, that this antient Law and Cuſtom ſhould be inviolably obſerved, as a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, any thing elſe but a ſimple approbation of the judgment given upon that point by the foregoing States, againſt which he cannot object any juſt ſuſpicion to condemn or reject their opinion and authority. So the late King received it for

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a Law, and promiſed and ſwore to the obſerving of it in his Church, and upon the precious Body of our Lord; as likewiſe all the Deputies of the States did in the laſt Aſſembly, not onely before thoſe inhumane murthers which made it infamous and fatal; but alſo afterward, when he no longer feared thoſe that were dead, and when he deſpiſed thoſe that remained, whom he held for loſt, and in deſpair of all ſafety, having done it, becauſe he knew himſelf to be bound and obliged to it by right, as all ſuperiors are to follow and conſerve the Laws, which are as the principal Pillars, or rather the Foundations of their State. Therefore the Catholicks of the *Union* cannot be juſtly blamed, who have followed the Decrees of the holy Church, the example of their Anceſtors, and the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, which do require the profeſſion of the Catholick Faith, as an eſſential and neceſſary quality in that Prince that aſpires to the Crown by being next of blood, becauſe he is King of a Kingdom which is gained to *Jeſus Chriſt* by the power of the Goſpel, which it hath received ſo many ages ſince, and in the form as it is Preached in the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Church. 1592.

Theſe reaſons have made us hope (though ſome appearance of duty retained many Catholicks with the late King) that after his death, Religion, the ſtrongeſt bond of all other to joyn men together, would unite them all for the defence of that, which ought to be more dear to them than life: But againſt all humane belief, we ſee the contrary is come to paſs; for it was eaſie in that ſudden moment to perſwade them, That we were guilty of his death, of which we never ſo much as thought; That honor obliged them to aſſiſt the King of *Navar*, who publiſhed, that he would revenge it, and promiſed them that he would turn Catholick within ſix months; and being once engaged in it, the injuries which Civil War produces, the proſperous ſucceſſes which he hath had, and the ſame calumnies which the Hereticks have continued to publiſh againſt us, are the true cauſes that have kept him in it till this preſent, and that have given the Hereticks means to proceed ſo far, that Religion and the State are in manifeſt danger thereby. And though we long foreſaw the miſchief this diviſion would bring, that it would be the cauſe of eſtabliſhing Hereſie with the Blood and Arms of the Catholicks, and that this could onely be hindered by our Reconciliation, which we for this end have ſought with ſo much earneſtneſs; yet hath it never been in our power to attain it; ſo much have mens mindes been tranſported and poſſeſſed with paſſion, that they have hindered us from uſing the means of our own ſafety. We have often cauſed them to be entreated, that they would enter into conferences with us, as we offered to do with them, to take ſome courſe in the buſineſs. We have cauſed to be declared, both to them, and to the King of *Navar* himſelf, upon ſome propoſition made for the quiet of the Kingdom, That if leaving his error, he would reconcile himſelf to the Church, to his Holineſs, and to the moſt holy See, by a true unfeigned converſion, and by actions that might give teſtimony of his zeal toward our Religion, we would moſt willingly have added our obedience, and all that is in our power, to help to put an end to our miſeries, and would have proceeded with ſuch candor and ſincerity, that none ſhould juſtly have been able to doubt, but that ſuch was our true intention. Theſe overtures and Declarations have been made at ſuch times, when we were in greateſt proſperity, and had means to undertake greater matters, if we had had ſuch a thought in our mind, rather than to ſerve the publick, and ſeek the general quiet. To which he anſwered (as it is known to every one) that he would not be forced by his Subjects, calling the Prayers that were made unto him to return into the Church, by the name of force, which he ought rather to have taken in good part, and as a wholeſome admonition which repreſented to him his duty, to which the greateſt Kings are no leſs obliged, than the meaneſt perſons of all the Earth; for when a man hath once received Chriſtianity in the true Church (which is ours, whoſe authority we will not put in doubt with any whoſoever) he can no more go out of it, than a Soldier enrolled can depart from the Fidelity which he hath promiſed and ſworn to, without being held for a deſertor and violator of the Laws of God and the Church. He likewiſe added to the ſaid Anſwer, That when once he ſhould be obeyed and acknowledged by all his Subjects, he would cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed in a free general Council; as if Councils were neceſſary to condemn an error ſo often reprobated by the Church, eſpecially by the laſt Council of *Trent*, as ſolemn and authentick as any other that hath been celebrated theſe many ages. And God having permitted that he ſhould have the advantage, after the winning of a Battel the

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1593. the ſame Prayer was reiterated, not by us who were not then in a condition to do it; but by perſons of honor, deſirous of the publick good and repoſe of the Kingdom, as it hapned likewiſe in the ſiege of *Paris*, by Prelates of great authority, who moved by the Prayers of the beſieged, diſpoſed themſelves to go unto him to find ſome remedy for their miſeries. At which time, if it had been reſolved, or rather, if the Holy Ghoſt, without whom none can enter into his Church, had ſo put into his mind, he might have cauſed the Catholicks to hope much better of his converſion, who juſtly do ſuſpect a ſudden change, and are ſenſible in a thing that ſo nearly touches the honor of God, their lives and conſciences, which can never be ſecure under the dominion of Hereticks. But, the hope he then was in, to ſubdue *Paris*, and by conſequence with the terror of his Arms, and the means which he promiſed to himſelf he ſhould find in it, to poſſeſs the reſt of the Kingdom by force, made him reject that Counſel of reconciling himſelf to the Church, which might have united the Catholicks, and preſerved Religion. But after that the City was freed, by the help of the Princes and Lords, of a good number of the Gentry of the Kingdom, and of the Army of the Catholick King (who hath alwayes with his Forces upheld this Cauſe (for which we are moſt obliged to him) ſent under the Command of the Duke of *Parma*, a Prince of happy memory, ſufficiently known by the reputation of his name, and of his great deſerts, he ceaſed not nevertheleſs to enter into his firſt hopes, becauſe this forraign Army, aſſoon as it had raiſed the ſiege, went out of the Kingdom; and he having commanded his own party, drew together a great Army, wherewith he made himſelf Maſter of the field, and then cauſed openly to be publiſhed without diſſembling it, that it was a crime for any to intreat him, or ſpeak to him about Converſion, before they had acknowledged him, and taken the Oath of obedience and fidelity to him; that we were obliged to lay down our Arms, to preſent our ſelves before him ſo naked, ſo diſarmed, to beſeech him, and to give him abſolute power upon our lives and fortunes, and upon Religion it ſelf, to uſe it or abuſe it as he pleaſed, by our baſeneſs putting it in eminent danger; whereas by the authority and means of the holy See, the help of the Catholick King and other Potentates, who aſſiſt and favour this cauſe, we have alwayes hoped that God would be ſo merciful to us, as to preſerve it; who all would have had nothing more to do in our affairs, if we had once acknowledged him; and this quarrel of Religion would have been decided with two much advantage to Hereticks, between him the Head and Protector of Hereſie, armed with our obedience, and the whole Forces of the Kingdom; and us, who ſhould have had nothing to reſiſt him, but bare weak ſupplications, addreſſed to a Prince, more deſirous to hear them, than to provide for them.

But how unjuſt ſoever this will is, and though the following of it is the true means to ruine Religion; yet among thoſe Catholicks that aſſiſt him, many have ſuffered themſelves to be perſwaded, that it is rebellion to oppoſe him, and that we ought rather to obey his Commands, and the Laws of that temporal policy, which he would eſtabliſh anew againſt the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, than the Decrees of the holy Church, and the Laws of his Predeceſſors, from the ſucceſſion of whom he pretends to the Crown, who never taught us to acknowledge Hereticks, but on the contrary to reject them, and make War againſt them, and not to hold any to be more juſt and neceſſary than it, though it be exceeding dangerous. Here let * us remember, that he himſelf often took Arms againſt our Kings, to introduce a new Doctrine into the Kingdom: That many defamatory Books and Writings were made and publiſhed againſt thoſe that oppoſed it, and counſelled to extinguiſh the growing evil betimes, while it was yet weak: That then, he would needs have his Arms to be believed juſt, becauſe for matter of Religion and Conſcience; and that we defend an ancient Religion received into this Kingdom aſſoon as it began, and with which this Crown grew till it became the firſt and moſt potent of all Chriſtendom; which we know very well cannot be kept pure, inviolable, and without danger under a Heretick King, though at firſt, to make us lay down our Arms, and make him abſolute Maſter, he diſſemble and promiſe the contrary. Late examples, reaſon, and that which we find every day, ought to make us wiſe, and teach us, that Subjects willingly follow the life, cuſtoms, nay and even the Religion of their Kings, to maintain themſelves in their favour, and to have ſhare in the Honors and Benefits which they alone can diſtribute; and that after they have corrupted ſome with their favours, they have alwayes means to conſtrain the reſt by their power and authority. We are all men, and that which hath once been accounted lawful,

* *Mem. de la Ligue*, Him.

lawful, though it were not, ſhall afterwards be ſo again for another cauſe which ſhall appear to us no leſs juſt than the firſt that made us erre. Many Catholicks have thought, that for ſome conſideration they might follow an Heretick Prince, and aſſiſt to eſtabliſh him; nor hath the ſight of the ruine of Churches, of Altars, and of the Monuments of their fathers, whereof many died fighting to deſtroy the Hereſie which they maintain) nor the preſent nor future danger of Religion, been able to divert them. How much more ſuſpected ought his Forces and adherents be to us, if he already were eſtabliſhed King and abſolute Maſter? ſince that in ſuch a caſe, every one would be ſo afflicted and tired, or rather ruined with the late unhappy War, that, provided they might but live ſecure in repoſe, and alſo with ſome hope of reward, they would chuſe rather to ſuffer any kind of trouble, than make oppoſition with danger. Some are of opinion, that in a ſuch caſe all the Catholicks would unite themſelves unanimouſly to conſerve Religion, and that therefore it would be an eaſie matter to interrupt the deſign of whoſoever ſhould attempt Innovations. Certainly we ought to deſire that happineſs; but yet we dare not hope it on ſuch a ſudden: but admit that, the fire being extinguiſhed, there ſhould in one inſtant remain no heat in the embers; and that, Arms being laid down, all our hatred likewiſe ſhould be quite extinct; yet it is moſt certain, we ſhould not therefore be exempt from all other paſſions which ſometimes make us run into errors; and that the danger would always hang over our heads, of being (in ſpite of us) ſubject to the motions and paſſions of Hereticks, who finding that they had the advantage of having a King of their own Religion, which is as much as they deſire, would, by force or art, do whatſoever they had a minde to. And if the Catholicks at this preſent would well conſider the actions that proceed from their advice, they might ſee it clearly enough: for the beſt Cities and Fortreſſes that are taken, are put into their power, and into the hands of perſons who have at all times ſhewed themſelves favourers of them. The Catholicks that reſide in them, are every day accuſed and convicted of ſuppoſed crimes, the ſole, but concealed cauſe thereof being onely the oppoſition which hitherto they have made againſt their deſigns, which they by a falſe name call Rebellion. The principal Offices fall into their hands, and it is already come even unto the Crown. The Bulls of our Lord *Gregory* the Fourteenth, and *Clement* the Eighth, full of holy Precepts, and fatherly admonitions given to the Catholicks, to ſeparate them from Hereticks, have not onely been rejected, but with all contempt trampled upon by Magiſtrates, who unjuſtly give themſelves the name of Catholicks: for if they were ſuch indeed, they would never abuſe the ſimplicity of thoſe that are ſo. For to make uſe of the example of things done in this Kingdom, at ſuch a time when the buſineſs was about introducing matters that were againſt the liberty and priviledge of the Gallique-Church, is very different from our caſe, the Kingdom never having been reduced to ſo great an unhappineſs (ſince it received the Faith) as to endure an Heretick-Prince, or to ſee any of that quality pretend right unto it: and if they thought thoſe Bulls had any difficulties in them, they, being Catholicks, ought to have proceeded by Remonſtrances, and with that reſpect and modeſty which is due unto the Holy See, and not with ſo much contempt, and ſo many blaſphemies and impieties as they did: but perchance they thereby intended to ſhew thoſe, who know how to be better Catholicks, that ſmall reckoning is to be made of the Head of the Holy Church, to the end that they may afterward be ſo much the more eaſily excluded. In evil, men proceed by degrees; they alwayes begin with that which either is not evil, or at leaſt is evil in a lower degree; the next day they riſe higher, and at laſt arrive at the top of all. Thence it is that we know God to be highly incenſed againſt this poor deſolate Kingdom, and that he will yet puniſh us for our ſins, ſince that ſo many actions, which tend to the ruine of our Religion, have not been able to bend them, nor the many and often repeated Declarations made by us (eſpecially within theſe few dayes) that we will refer our ſelves in all things to what it ſhould pleaſe his Holineſs and the holy See to determine concerning the King of *Navarr*'s Converſion, if God gave him the grace to leave his errors; which Declarations ought certainly to give undoubted teſtimony of our innocency and ſincerity, and juſtifie our Arms as neceſſary for our own ſafety. Yet they forbear not to publiſh, that the Princes united for the defence of Religion, tend onely to the ruine and deſtruction of the State; though their actions, and the Propoſitions made by the common conſent of them all, eſpecially of the greateſt that aſſiſt us, be the true and moſt ſecure means to take away the cauſe and means from whoſoever ſhould aſpire to it. The Hereticks have nothing elſe to lay hold of, but the

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1593. the Catholick King's relief, which they complain of, and look upon with an evil eye, and would take us to be better Frenchmen, if we would forbear making uſe of it; or to ſay better, more eaſie to be overcome, if we were diſarmed. To which it ſhall ſuffice us to anſwer them, that Religion afflicted and put into exceeding great danger in this Kingdom, had need to find out that ſupport, that we are bound to publiſh this obligation, and to remember it for ever; and that imploring the aid of ſo great a King, an Ally and Confederate of this Crown, he hath not required any thing from us; and we likewiſe on our parts have not made any Treaty with any whoſoever within or without the Kingdom, in diminution of the Greatneſs and Majeſty of the State, for the conſervation whereof we would precipitate our ſelves willingly into all kind of dangers, ſo it were not to make an Hereticke maſter of it; a wickedneſs which we abhor, as the greateſt and moſt abominable of all others. And if the Catholicks who aſſiſt them could but lay aſide this paſſion, depart from Hereticks, and joyn themſelves, not with us, but with the Cauſe of our Religion, and in common ſeek remedies to preſerve it, and to provide for the ſafety of the State, we ſhould without doubt, find the conſervation of both, and it would not be in the power of him that had an ill intention, thereby to prejudice the State, nor to make uſe of ſo holy a Cauſe, as of a ſpecious, but unjuſt pretence, to gain honor and authority. We therefore beſeech and conjure them in the name of God, and of this very Church (wherein we proteſt we will alwayes live and die) to ſeparate themſelves from Hereticks, and conſider, that while we are oppoſit to one another, we cannot take any remedy that will not be dangerous, and ſuch as will make this whole State ſuffer very much before it can do any good at all: Whereas on the contrary, our reconciliation will make every thing eaſie, and will quickly make an end of our miſeries. And to the end, that as well the Princes of the Blood, as the Officers of the Crown, and others, may not at all be kept back or hindered from applying themſelves to ſo good a work, out of a doubt that they ſhall not be reſpected, acknowledged, and honoured by us, and the other Princes and Lords of this party according to their merit; We promiſe upon our faith and honor, provided they ſeparate themſelves from the Hereticks, that we will do it ſincerely, aſſuring them, that they ſhall find the ſame reſpect and reverence from us and them that follow us. But we beſeech them to do it ſpeedily, and cut the knots of ſo many difficulties which cannot be diſentangled, if they forſake not all things to ſerve God and his holy Church, and if they lay not before their eyes, that Religion ought to paſs before all other reſpects and conſiderations, and that prudence is no longer to be ſo called, when it makes us forget our firſt obligation. And, to proceed with more mature advice, we give them to underſtand, that we have prayed the Princes, Peers of *France*, Prelates, Lords, and Deputies of the Parliaments, and of the Cities and Towns of this party, that they would be at the City of *Paris* upon the Seventeenth day of the moneth of *January* next, to chuſe joyntly, without paſſion or regard of the intereſt of any whoſoever, the Remedy which we ſhall judge in Conſcience to be moſt profitable for the conſervation of Religion and the State. To which place, if they ſhall think fit to ſend any body to make overtures there, which may conduce to ſo great a good, they ſhall find all ſecurity, ſhall be heard with attention, and with a deſire to content them. But if our earneſt requeſt made unto them, that they ſhould lend an hand to this reconciliation, and the near and inevitable danger of the ruine of this State, have not power ſufficient over them, to excite them to have a care of the common ſafety, and that we be conſtrained, becauſe of our being abandoned by them, to have recourſe to extraordinary remedies againſt our intention and deſire; We proteſt before God and Men, that the blame ſhall be attributed to them, and not to the United Catholicks, who have laboured with all their power to preſerve this common Cauſe with good intelligence, and agreeing minds, and with the counſel of themſelves, wherein if they would labour with good affections, the hope of a compleat quiet would be near, and we all ſecure that the Catholicks united together againſt the Hereticks, their ancient enemies, (whom they have been accuſtomed to overcome) would quickly ſee an end of the War. We alſo pray the Gentlemen of the Parliaments of this Kingdom to cauſe theſe preſents to be publiſhed and regiſtred, to the end they may be known to all, and that the perpetual remembrance of them may remain to after times, for the diſcharge of us, and of the Princes, Peers of *France*, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, Cities and Corporations, who have united themſelves together for the conſervation of their Religion.

With

With this form of Declaration, though the Duke of *Mayenne* ſtrengthned his pretenſions very much, and wonderfully defended the cauſe of his party, yet did he not engage himſelf to the election of a new King, but holding things in equal balance, left himſelf a way open, that upon opportunity he might take any reſolution whatſoever time ſhould adviſe, and the quality of affairs permit; for being much diminiſhed in his hopes by the Duke of *Parma*'s death, by the Union which he ſaw between the Legat and the Spaniſh Miniſters, who he knew hated his perſon, and by the concurrence of the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Nemours*, who were not likely to be faulty to themſelves, he intended not to attempt the election of himſelf, and of his poſterity, except in caſe it ſhould ſeem to him not only that he might be able to effect it, by the number of Votes, and with the general conſent; but alſo, that he ſhould have ſuch, and ſo ſecure Forces and Dependents, that he might not need to fear, being able to eſtabliſh himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the Crown; otherwiſe he was reſolved, either to ſettle himſelf in the full authority of Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, and to follow the War, if by the means of the States he could bring matters to paſs, that he might be able to uphold the enterpriſe with ſmall foreign dependents; or elſe, if he proved not able to attain to theſe, rather to bring the States to agree with the King by means of his Converſion, than ſuffer the Kingdom to come to any other body; ſtill firm to his principle, of neither ſuffering the Union of the Crowns, nor the diſunion of the Kingdom: Which reſolution of his, full of integrity and ſincerity towards his Country, did not only pleaſe many of his party, but even the King himſelf (to whom it was known by many conjectures) could not ſometimes forbear commending it. 1593.

But the Cardinal-Legat and the Spaniſh Miniſters, not well ſatisfied with his ſo ambiguous Declaration, wherein he ſeemed rather to aim at an Accommodation with the Catholicks of the contrary party, than at the election of a new King, reſolved to agree together, and declare their intention perfectly; and therefore the Cardinal-Legat publiſhed a Writing in the form of a Letter, of the tenor following.

The Tenor of another Declaration publiſhed by the Cardinal Legat, wherein he exhorts the Catholicks of the Kings party to forſake the Heretick, and unite themſelves with the States, to elect a Catholick King.

PHILIP by the Grace of GOD, Cardinal of *Piacenza*, of the Title of St. *Onofrio*, Legat *a Latere* of our Lord, Pope *Clement* the Eighth, by Divine Providence Pope, and of the Apoſtolick See in this Kingdom: To all Catholicks, of what preeminence, ſtate or condition ſoever they be, who follow the party of the Heretick, and adhere unto him, or favour him in any manner whatſoever; Health, Peace, Love, and the Spirit of better counſel in him who is the true Peace, only Wiſdom, only King, only Governour, JESUS CHRIST our Saviour and Redeemer. The performance of ſo holy and neceſſary a Work as is that which concerns the charge and dignity which it hath pleaſed his Holineſs to give us in this Kingdom, is ſo dear unto us, that we ſhould account our Blood and Life well employed, if they could be helpful to it; and would it pleaſed God, that it were permitted to us to go in perſon, not only from City to City, or from Province to Province, but even from Houſe to Houſe, as well to give a moſt ceatain proof to all the World of our Affection, which is known to God, as by word of mouth to awaken in you a generous deſire, with the ſingular piety of your Anceſtors, that is, with the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion, to make that proſperous flouriſhing State ſpring up again in *France*, from whence Hereſie hath miſerably cauſed it to fall. But ſince that by reaſon of the unhappineſs of the times, and the impediments which are but too well known, we cannot (as it would be the intention of his Holineſs, and our deſire) communicate familiarly with you, we have thought it our duty to ſupply that want with this Letter, in the beſt manner that is poſſible for us. But if you pleaſe to accept of it, and read it with the ſpirit of true Chriſtians and Catholicks, free from all paſſion, as it is naked from all artifice which is averſe from truth, you will excite in us a moſt pleaſing and firm hope, of being within a ſhort time able to offer our preſence to you in all parts of this Kingdom, not to exhort you any more to what is fit, but to congratulate with you for what you ſhall ſo valiantly have performed, to the conſolation of all good men. Making no doubt at all, but that if entring again into your ſelves, you will take care to examine your ſelves as you ought, you will need neither Word nor Letter, nor any other exteriour remedy, to ſettle you again in your former ſanctity: For then every one of you will ſee, that from Hereſie alone, as from the Fountain of all Evils, this blindneſs of underſtanding and dazling of ſpirits is ſprung up in you, which hinders you from making ſo ſound a judgment as you were wont, of your own and other mens actions. Then

1593. for certain you will diſcover the various Artifices wherewith the Hereticks continually labour to withdraw you from the devotion and obedience, which, as true Sons of the Church, you have ſo religiouſly yielded, till theſe laſt days, to its chief Head and the Apoſtolick See, whoſe Name and Authority they by all means attempt to render odious and contemptible unto you, knowing, that this point alone, by neceſſary conſequence, draws after it the ruine of the Catholick Religion in *France*, and the eſtabliſhment of their impiety, which could not take footing where the Throne of St. *Peter* is reverenced as it ought to be. And not to touch any thing here, but what is moſt to our purpoſe, What likelihood is there to think that the Head of the Chriſtian Church, would in part aſſiſt or conſent to the ruine and deſtruction of this moſt Chriſtian Crown? What good could he expect, and what misfortune ought he not to fear from thence? Although this is the principal calumny wherewith they have laboured to make you abhor the name and holy memory of the late Popes, howbeit they ſwerved not at all from the ſootſteps of their Predeceſſors, whoſe ſollicitouſneſs for this Kingdom you were wont not long ſince with reaſon to commend, as alſo the acknowledgment which they rendred for ſo many, ſo ſignal enterpriſes, atchieved by the moſt Chriſtian Kings, with moſt ſingular piety, liberality and valour, for the benefit of the holy See; and, to omit more ancient examples, you cannot ſo ſoon have forgotten with what applauſe and thanks you received the notable ſupplies which were ſent againſt the Hereticks, from *Pius Quintus* of happy memory, to *Charles* the Ninth then your King: Can you then now accuſe that in his Succeſſor, which you approved in him? Hereſie is ſtill the ſame, ſtill pernicious, curſed, execrable; and it is againſt that Infernal Monſter, that the Vicars of Chriſt, and the Succeſſors of St. *Peter*, (not to tranſgreſs in the duty of their Office) do wage mortal War, and not againſt the Catholick Kings and Kingdoms, to whom they are Fathers and Paſtors. It is againſt it that without exception of perſons they do no leſs juſtly than wholſomly employ the Sword of Supreme Juriſdiction which our Lord Jeſus hath put into their hand, to cut off the feſtred putrified Members from the body of the Church, to the end that their contagion might not be peſtiferous and mortal to the reſt: which nevertheleſs they do as late as they can, mildneſs and fatherly pity ſtill going before in the Office of Sovereign Judge; ſo that their rigour never chaſtiſeth any but thoſe that are incorrigible. But if you pleaſe to turn your eyes upon other Countries, or rather, without going out of your own Kingdom, to conſider what uſage it hath ever received from the holy Apoſtolick See, you will find, that ſince the combuſtion kindled in it by Hereſie, which ſtill continues to conſume it, no Pope hath omitted any thing that he ought or could do to help to quench it. The good intelligence which they have ever held with your Kings, and the continual aſſiſtance which they have always given them of men and other means, and the frequent ſending of Legats hither, do ſufficiently ſhew the zeal they have ever had, for the tranquillity, repoſe and conſervation of this moſt noble State. Nor were their actions ever ſuſpected or ill interpreted by you, while, as true Catholicks and Frenchmen, you deſired rather to give the Law to Hereticks, than to take it from their hand. You have always found them to be ſuch as need required, till theſe late days, that by your diſcords and connivence you have ſuffered Hereſie to gather ſuch footing upon you, that now it no longer demands favour of impunity from you as it was wont, but begins it ſelf now (as every one knows) to puniſh thoſe, who, more careful of their Salvation, refuſe to ſubmit themſelves unto their yoke. A ſtrange unhappy revolution, which makes you deteſt that as a moſt hainous crime, which you your ſelves have taught others to be a rare and excellent vertue, and which on the contrary makes you to crown vice, which you ought ſtill (as in former times you have done) to condemn unto the fire. See what the deadly poiſon of Hereſie can do, from whoſe touch, ſo many other abſurdities and contradictions are bred, which you would not deny to be ſpread amongſt you, if you would lay your hands upon your hearts. For, to go about to maintain that the priviledges of the *Gallique Church* extend ſo far, as to permit that a relapſed Heretick, and one excluded from the Body of the Univerſal Church, ſhould be acknowledged King, is the dream of a mad-man, which proceeds from nothing elſe but heretical contagion. And from the ſame original we may likewiſe ſay have ſprung all the ſiniſter interpretations which have been made of the actions and intentions of our holy Fathers. But let us ſee a little whether thoſe of the late Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, which are expreſly declared by his Bulls concerning the buſineſs of the moſt illuſtrious Cardinal *Gaetano*'s Legation, can, in any part, be calumniated.

That

That Cardinal was ſent by the aforeſaid Pope, of happy memory, into this Kingdom, not as a Herald or King at Arms, but as an Angel of Peace; not to ſhake the foundations of this State, nor to alter or innovate any thing in its Laws or Policy, but to help to maintain the true, ancient, Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion; to the end that all Catholicks being united together for the ſervice of God, the publick good, and the conſervation of the Crown, with a mutual unanimous conſent, might with ſecurity and repoſe, obey, and yield themſelves ſubject to one only Catholick and lawful King. Now as theſe intentions were pious, and directed toward the common ſafety; ſo can it not be denied but that the effect and execution of them hath been endeavoured, as well by the ſaid Pope *Sixtus*, as by Cardinal *Gaetano*; not perhaps with that ſeverity which according to ſome mens judgments had been neceſſary, but with all the mildneſs, clemency and charity that could be deſired from a moſt loving Father towards his deareſt Children. No ſooner was that wiſe Legat entred into the Kingdom, but, to begin to lay his hand in good earneſt to the work, he addreſſed himſelf at his firſt arrival to all thoſe whom he believed he ſhould find ſo much the more diſpoſed to ſhew him all favour in the adminiſtration of his Charge, by how much greater were their obligations and means to do it: he ſent ſome Prelats purpoſely unto them, to confer particularly about what might concern the fruit of his Legation: thoſe men, as alſo all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelats, Lords, Gentlemen, and others, (with whom he treated, or cauſed to be treated during his Legation, and to whom he wrote about this matter) can give teſtimony whether he ever exceeded the limits of his Commiſſion, and how much he always proteſted that his Holineſs had no other aim nor deſign, than to maintain and defend the Catholick Religion, and to conſerve this Crown entire for the lawful Catholick Succeſſors that were capable of it. But if by the ſame means he complained that having as it were forgotten, not only the ſingular Piety and Religion of your Anceſtors, but the conſervation, and together with it, the reputation of your Country, and, which is worſe, the ſafety of your Souls, you had joyned your ſelves to the party of him who you could not but know was deſervedly cut off from the body of the Church; of him whom as ſuch you had long ago, and alſo a few months before, moſt juſtly pronounced, in a full Congregation of the States, to be incapable of this moſt Chriſtian Crown; of him whoſe Arms never knew how to ſhed any other blood than that of the Catholicks; and who finally, by an example altogether barbarous, had in the perſon of one man alone, violated all Laws both divine and humane, having ſuffered his Uncle, a Cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Prince of the Blood, a man of ſo pious and holy a life as the moſt eminent Cardinal of *Bourbon* was always known to be, to die in captivity, under the cuſtody, and in the ſacrilegious hands of an Heretick. Theſe complaints were not without great ground and reaſon, nor ought you to have been diſpleaſed with them who made ſuch-like demonſtrations to you. And in effect, experience hath certainly made you ſufficiently know, that they were wholſom and charitable; and from how many adverſities you might have freed this Kingdom, if lending your ears to him, and to his holy Exhortations, you had readily ſeparated your ſelves from the Heretick, to apply your ſelves with the reſt of the Catholicks to any good or quiet. But the ſame unhappineſs which then made you to reject them, rendered vain alſo the Interviews and Conferences which followed many times after between the Legat and his Prelats, and ſome principal Lords that are amongſt you. Whilſt things here were in theſe terms, and that at *Rome* *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, deſirous to withdraw you from the Heretick, and to win you to *Jeſus Chriſt*, gave free acceſs and audience to thoſe whom you ſent unto him, while every thing (to ſhorten it) ſeemed to be done to your hands, in ſtead of embracing the fair occaſion that God offered you, of being able to free your ſelves and your Country from the infamous yoke of Hereticks, you ſuffered your ſelves to be tranſported with the wind of an unhappy proſperity to thoſe deſigns and hopes that have reduced this poor State to the deſperation you now ſee it in. The death of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* of glorious memory, and that of *Urban* the Seventh who ſucceeded him, having given place to the ſucceſſion of *Gregory* the Fourteenth, he began preſently to let you ſee, that a particular care and ſollicitouſneſs for your Salvation, and the preſervation of this moſt Chriſtian Monarchy, is inſeparably joined unto the Papacy. The *Breve* which he was pleaſed to ſend us in the month of *January* 1591, which was publiſhed; the Bulls and other *Breves* which in the month of *March* following were repreſented to you by *Manſigno Landriano* the ſaid Popes *Nuncio*, (whatſoever the Hereticks can 1593.

1593. ſay to the contrary) could not, nor ought not by you to have been taken in another ſenſe. Well did the good Pope judge, (as being a man endowed with ſingular piety and prudence) that while you were mingled among Hereticks, (the known plague of this Kingdom) your Salvation was deſperate; that therefore it was neceſſary you ſhould quickly withdraw your ſelves far from them, otherwiſe you would within a ſhort time miſerably loſe your own Souls, together with theirs, and expoſe your bodies and eſtates to thoſe troubles and ruines which you have ſince ſuffered and continued to prove every day. To theſe moſt urgent and lively reaſons which he alledged to you in this matter, he added his Remonſtrances full of charity, and to them his fatherly Exhortations: certainly it was a very great fault that you would not lend an ear unto them, and yet a greater to go about to calumniate them; but ſo injuriouſly to uſe, not the inſenſible Paper which contained his will, but in it the name and authority of the Head of the Church, and by conſequence of the holy Apoſtolick See it ſelf, this is a wickedneſs which comprehends in it as many new kinds of crimes, as there are words in the pretended Decrees which were publiſhed thereupon in *Tours* and *Chalons*; and yet the enormity and greatneſs of theſe miſdeeds, and of thoſe likewiſe which in this buſineſs were committed by them of the Clergy that were preſent in the Council at *Chartres*, hath till now been diſſembled by them who might have made ſome juſt reſentment of it. Nor did Pope *Innocent* the Ninth, of happy memory, who ſucceeded him, carry himſelf otherwiſe towards you, whoſe ſudden death would yet be more lamented by good men, if Divine Providence, which never forſakes the holy Church in time of need, had not by the election of the moſt bleſſed Father *Clement* the Eighth, provided us of ſuch a Paſtor, as the neceſſity of the times requires, being one who comes not behind his Predeceſſors in any kind of rare vertue; but rather in what concerns the particular care which they have always had of the ſafety and ſecure repoſe of this Kingdom, ſeems to go before them all. Nor was he ſooner raiſed to the Supreme Degree of Apoſtleſhip, but all the faithful tranſported with joy, turned both their eyes and minds upon him, as upon a clear Sun, which God the Father of Light, and Giver of all Conſolations, ſeems to have made ſhine in theſe our days to diſſipate the darkneſs of ſo calamitous an Age. And when every one began to have certain hope, that each of you opening his heart to receive the beams of ſo clear, ſo gracious a Light, would draw near in the obedience and union of the holy Church, under the authority and conduct of ſo great an Head: Behold, that to our infinite grief, another pretended Decree brought forth by Hereſie at *Chalons*, is publiſhed againſt the Bulls of his Holineſs concerning our Legation, whereby they ſtill make tryal to baniſh all hopes from us, of that which ought to be moſt dear to all perſons, jealous of Gods glory, and of the honour, repoſe, and conſervation of this Kingdom. For, (let them ſay what they will to the contrary, whom the true and lawful Parliament of *Paris* (which hath ſtill retained its ancient equity and conſtancy) hath grievouſly condemned as men, who by their carriage manifeſt themſelves to be rather ſlaves to Hereſie, than Miniſters of Juſtice) it is impoſſible ever to ſee *France* enjoy a durable peace and tranquillity, nor any other kind of proſperity, whiles it groans under the yoke of an Heretick. This is no leſs true than known to every one of you, whoſe Conſciences are ſufficient to bear witneſs of it, beſides many of your outward actions, which clearly enough do let us ſee what you think among your ſelves; ſince by your wonted Proteſtations and Remonſtrances, wherein you declare, That the obedience you yield to the Heretick hath no other foundation but a vain hope of his converſion, and of his again becoming capable of the Crown; it clearly appears, that the fault of acknowledging a relapſed obſtinate Heretick for the King of a moſt Chriſtian Kingdom, ſeems too heinous to you to confeſs your ſelves guilty of it. But ſince his obſtinacy hath already deprived him of all the rights which he could pretend to, it likewiſe takes from you all pretences and excuſes, that you can alledge in his favour and your own diſcharge. It is now time, that you diſcover boldly all that you have in your hearts; and if there be nothing in them that is not Catholick, as your former actions have made known, when the ſorcery of Hereticks had not yet bewitched you, declare for Gods ſake with the reſt of the Catholicks, that you deſire not any thing ſo much as to ſee your ſelves united under the obedience of a moſt Chriſtian King, both in name and actions: It will be a prudent thing to have ſuch thoughts, a magnanimous one to endeavour the execution of them, and a vertue every way moſt perfect to do both. Now as at this preſent

preſent there is no more juſt, nor more lawful means to compaſs this end, than the holding of the States General, to which you are invited by the Duke of *Mayenne*, who following the duty of his Office and Authority, hath ever ſought, and doth now more than ever ſeek (with a piety, conſtancy, and magnanimity, worthy of eternal praiſe) the moſt certain and ſecure means to defend and ſecure this State and Crown in its integrity, and to maintain the Catholick Religion, and the Gallique Church in its true liberty, which conſiſts principally in not yielding obedience to an Heretick Head: So we have thought fit in this place, to proteſt unto you, that containing our ſelves, as our intention is, within the limits of the charge it hath pleaſed his Holineſs to give us, we neither could, nor would in any way aſſiſt or favour the deſigns and enterpriſes of the Duke of *Mayenne*, nor of any other Prince or Potentate in the World, be he who he will, but rather with all our Forces would oppoſe them, if we ſhould know that they were in any part contrary to the common votes and deſires of all good men, true Catholicks, and good Frenchmen, and in particular, to the holy, pious intention of our Lord; which moreover by theſe preſents, we deſire to declare to have no other aim nor object but the glory of God, the conſervation of our holy Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Faith and Religion, with the utter extirpation of Hereſies and Schiſms, which have reduced this poor Kingdom of *France* to ſo miſerable a condition, which his Holineſs deſires to ſee principally crowned with its ancient ſplendor and majeſty by the eſtabliſhment of a King truly moſt Chriſtian; ſuch an one God in mercy grant the States General may name; and ſuch an one no Heretick ever was, nor ever can be. Thither then in the name of his Holineſs do I invite you, to the end, that ſeparating your ſelves totally from the company and dominion of the Heretick, you may with minds free from all paſſion, and full of an holy zeal and piety toward God and your Country, aſſiſt in all that you ſhall judge may ſerve to extinguiſh the general combuſtion, which hath even almoſt burnt it to aſhes. It is no longer time to propoſe vain excuſes and new difficulties, you ſhall find no others but thoſe that proceed from your ſelves: For if you pleaſe to come to the ſaid Aſſembly for the effect you ought, we can aſſure you in the name of all the Catholicks, who by Gods Grace have ſtill perſevered in obedience and devotion to the holy Apoſtolick See, that you ſhall find them moſt ready to receive you, and to imbrace (as Brothers and true Chriſtians, whom with the price of their bloods and very lives they deſire to ſave) a holy peace and reconciliation with you. Take order therefore that in good earneſt we may ſee you there ſeparated from the Heretick; and in ſuch a caſe demand all the ſecurities you ſhall think neceſſary, that you may freely go and come, ſpeak and propoſe in the ſaid Aſſembly all that you ſhall judge moſt expedient to attain to the deſired end. The Duke of *Mayenne* is ready to grant you them, and we on our part make no difficulty to oblige our ſelves that nothing ſhall be done to the contrary in any kind, offering in that reſpect to take you, if there be need, under our eſpecial protection, that is, of the holy Church, and of the holy Apoſtolick See: And we conjure you again, in the Name of God, that at laſt you would with lively effects ſhew, that you are true Catholicks, conforming your intentions to that of the chief Head of the Church, without longer deferring to render to our holy Religion, and to our Country, that faithful duty which it expects from you in this extream neceſſity. There is nothing to be expected from your diviſions, but deſolation and ruine; and though from elſewhere every thing ſhould ſucceed according to your wiſh, (which me thinks you ſhould not dare to promiſe to your ſelves under an Heretick Head) yet ought you nevertheleſs to conſider, that Schiſms, which this Kingdom ſeems to be full of, do in the end turn into Hereſie, which God of his Mercy be pleaſed not to permit, but rather to enlighten your hearts and minds, making them capable of his holy Inſpirations and Benedictions, to the end, that being all united in deed and will, in the unity of the holy Roman Catholick Church, under the obedience of one King, who may deſervedly be called Moſt Chriſtian, you may in this life enjoy a ſecure tranquillity, and finally come to that Kingdom which his Divine Majeſty hath prepared from eternity for them, who perſevering conſtantly in the Communion of his ſaid Church, out of which there is no Salvation, do give clear teſtimony of their lively Faith by holy and virtuous actions. 1593.

With this Writing, in appearance like that of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s, but indeed full of matter very different, did the Legat endeavour to eſtabliſh the principal end of the

1593. the Aſſembly to be, not to treat of buſineſs with the Catholicks of the Kings party, not to agree with him if he ſhould reſolve to reconcile himſelf to the Church, not to raiſe any Prince of the Blood to the Crown, but to elect a new King, not only depending upon the Apoſtolick See, but approved alſo by the Catholick King, that they might make uſe of the power of his Arms and Moneys to protect and eſtabliſh him. And though the Pope (being made acquainted with the Legats inclination, and particularly advertiſed by the Venetian Senate, that there was great ſuſpicion of him, and that many were ſcandalized, becauſe they thought he ſeemed to have more care of the ſatisfaction of the Spaniards, than of the ſafety of the State and Religion) did declare himſelf much more than he had done before by the Pronotary *Agucchi*, by the means of *Monſignor Innocentio Malvagia*, ſent by him to be Commiſſary of the Army in the ſtead of *Matteucci*, and gave him particular Commiſſion, that above all things he ſhould take heed of a monſtrous election, not generally approved, and that might be like to cauſe new Wars more pernicious than the former; yet the Legat (either becauſe he really thought the intereſts of Religion ſo linked to thoſe of *Spain*, that they could not be ſeparated; or in reſpect of his own private deſigns, which perſwaded him to get the Catholick Kings favour abſolutely; or elſe by reaſon of the enmity he had contracted with the King, becauſe of the Declarations made by the Parliaments againſt him; or that the Popes ſo obſcure Commiſſions were not well underſtood by him) did not take himſelf off from his firſt manner of treating, but with the pretence and colour of Religion, (which truly was very great) did wonderfully ſerve all the Plots and Practices of the Spaniſh Miniſters. Theſe were yet uncertain of the means, but moſt certain of the end of their treating; the Council of *Spain* having determined, that for the greater decency and ſpeciouſneſs, the Union of the Crowns ſhould not be mentioned; a thing rather to be diſcourſed of in the Infancy, than to be hoped for in effect; but that the election of the *Infanta Iſabella* ſhould be propounded, which by divers ways came to the ſame end.

Pope *Clem.* 8. ſends *Innocentio Malvagia* into *France*, in the place of Commiſſary *Matteucci*, with more particular Commiſſions to Cardinal *Sega* the Legat; but they work ſmall effect.

But at this time in *Paris* there was no other Spaniſh Miniſters except *Diego d' Ivarra*, who continuing his diſaffection to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and being of opinion that without him the Catholick Kings Forces, Money and Authority were ſufficient to cauſe the States to make that election, continued ſtill private practices with the Deputies; all which nevertheleſs came perfectly to the Duke of *Mayenne*'s knowledge. *Laurenzo Suarez de Figueroa*, Duke of *Feria*, appointed Head of the Embaſſie, was expected, and with him *Inigo de Mendozza* a moſt learned Spaniſh Lawyer, ſent to diſpute (by way of right) the lawful Succeſſion of the *Infanta*, and *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis*, who, that he might give them information, was gone as far as the confines of *Flanders* to meet them: but theſe alſo came with an impreſſion that the *Infanta*'s right was evident, and that the Catholick Kings Forces and Authority were ſo feared in *France*, that without the Duke of *Mayenne* they ſhould be able to obtain their intent of the Aſſembly: and though *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis* told them otherwiſe, believing that without the Duke of *Mayenne* they could not compaſs any end; yet they being prepoſſeſſed with the opinions of *Spain*, and far from the moderate counſels which the Duke of *Parma* in his life time had held and repreſented, perſevered in their conceit, and continued on their practices in the manner they were begun. *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis*, and together with him the Counſellors of *Flanders*, who knew the French humour, and by reaſon of their neighbourhood ſaw things at a nearer diſtance, counſelled that they ſhould march into *France* with a powerful Army, and that with it Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* (to whom that charge was committed) ſhould draw near to *Paris*: That at the ſame time with great ſums of money they ſhould gain the Duke of *Mayenne* eſpecially, and then the other principal Lords, and every particular Deputy that had credit and authority in the Aſſembly; and that to the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain*, who were chief of the Union, large advantageous offers ſhould be made, and full ſecurity given them for their performance: and with theſe Conditions, and not otherwiſe, they thought the election of the *Infanta* which was to be propounded, might be brought about: for if the French were not beſieged and taken, on the one ſide by profit, and on the other by fear, they thought it impoſſible that of their own voluntary will they ſhall ever conſent to ſubmit themſelves to the Spaniſh Dominion: And if the Princes of *Lorain*, who were in ſo great power, and in a very near hope that one of them might attain to the Crown, were not by exceeding high and ſecure Conditions removed from that deſign, they did not think that ever they would condeſcend to tranſfer that to others,

The Spaniſh Council reſolves to propoſe the election of the Infanta *Iſabella* to be Queen of *France*. *Diego d' Ivarra*, ill affected to the Duke of *Mayenne*, practiſes with the Deputies of the States apart, to diſpoſe them to the election of the Infanta; but every one of his private treaties comes to the Duke of *Mayenne*'s knowledge.

others, which they pretended to for themſelves: beſides, there was no doubt, but that to eſtabliſh an election ſo new, and ſo contrary to the nature of the French, powerful and extraordinary Forces were neceſſary, and ſuch preparations of Souldiery, Money and Commanders, as might overcome thoſe difficulties and oppoſitions which would diſcover themſelves much more in the progreſs, than in the beginning of the buſineſs. To this was added, that to break into a matter of ſo great difficulty, a great increaſe of reputation was neceſſary, and a certainty that the King of *Navarre* might, without much length of time, be overcome and ſuppreſſed; which was not poſſible to be effected without very great ſtore of Men and Money. 1593.

Theſe were the ſolid and well-grounded counſels of thoſe, who, judging with reaſon of the importance and weightineſs of thoſe affairs, were of opinion, that for the Catholick Kings honour, the thing ſhould not be propounded, without an infallible certainty of bringing it perfectly to an end. But thoſe that were newly come from *Spain*, either by reaſon of the different opinion that was there, or of the relations given by *Diego d' Ivarra*, judged quite differently, that neither many Forces ought to be drawn into *France*, nor much money diſtributed, nor that the Houſe of *Lorain* ſhould have ſatisfaction in deed, but in words and appearance only; becauſe, by keeping the Duke of *Mayenne* low, and by driving him and his party into a ſtraight, they thought they ſhould put them upon a neceſſity of conſenting to their demands, that thereby they might obtain ſuch aſſiſtance from them, as might raiſe them from the abject condition they were reduced to: for they were moreover informed, that they were not inclined to content them willingly; that if they ſhould free the League, and particularly the City of *Paris*, from their preſent want and ſcarcity, they would not afterward be content to condeſcend to the Catholick Kings will; gratitude being but a weak inſtrument, where ſuch weighty matters were treated on; but that then rather they would conſent unto it, when they ſaw no other remedy to free themſelves from miſery; which would be ſo much the more effectual, by how much the more nearly it preſſed and ſtraightened them: That to give money now, was but to throw it away, without any ground of aſſurance that it ſhould produce the effect, and to ſatisfie the greedineſs of thoſe who being once glutted with Spaniſh gold, and having compaſſed their own deſigns, would not care afterward to ſatisfie their promiſes as they ought: That in plenty and proſperity the French would be proud and inſolent; but in want and neceſſity, abject and tractable: That it was not fit to diſmember the Kingdom, and tear it in pieces, to give part to this, and part to that man of the Houſe of *Lorain*, thereby to attain to it afterwards, being weak, mangled and deſtroyed.

The Spaniſh Miniſters ill informed of the inclinations of the French, and of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s authority, contrary to *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis*'s opinion, proſecute their Treaty a wrong way.

The preſent ſtate of the Catholick Kings affairs inclined moſt toward this Counſel: for his treaſures at this time being much exhauſted by his paſt expences, and by the commotions of *Arragon*, he could not draw together thoſe ſums that would have been neceſſary for the firſt advice: and the affairs of the Low Countries, and of the Army there, being, by reaſon of the Duke of *Parma*'s death, in great weakneſs and confuſion, it was not poſſible to make ſo great a Body of men, as the contrivance of that deſign required: and finally, the nature of the Spaniards made them begin with thrift and parſimony to manage the affairs of that Kingdom, which was not yet begun to be obtained. For theſe reaſons, the Spaniſh Miniſters would needs follow the laſt counſel; perſwading themſelves alſo, that by their arts, and the Legats aſſiſtance, they ſhould overcome many difficulties, and that with words and promiſes they might ſupply, where deeds were defective.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, to whom theſe conceits were in great part known, was very certain, that without his will and conſent they could never obtain any thing; and by reaſon he ſaw the Spaniſh Miniſters ſo diſaffected to him, but much more becauſe he hoped to attain the Kingdom for himſelf, was wholly averſe from contenting them; only the diſcords that aroſe between him and the others of his Family, held him in ſuſpence: for the Duke of *Lorain* ſtill pretended right unto the Kingdom, and the ſuperiority above the reſt of his Family; and the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Nemours* pretended to the Crown no leſs than he; the firſt, by reaſon of the name and merits of his Father, upon whoſe blood (as he ſaid) the whole ſtructure of the League was grounded: and the other, becauſe of his proſperous defence of *Paris*, whereby he judged himſelf to have deſerved more than any one of the reſt, and to have that people at his devotion: beſides that, being both of them young and unmarried, they were not ſo averſe from the election of the *Infanta*, hoping that one of them might be deſtined for her husband.

The Duke of *Mayenne* knowing the Spaniſh practices, as he was certain that without his conſent none of their deſigns would take effect, ſo was he troubled at the pretenſions which the Lords of his Houſe had to the Crown as well as he.

The

1593. The Duke of *Mayenne* being led by this doubt, reſolved to prepare many ſtrings to his bowe, that he might have ſeveral ways to hinder the deſigns of the reſt, and to bring his own buſineſſes to their appointed end. Whereupon, after having by his Declaration invited the Catholicks of the Kings party to a Treaty, (a Weapon by him eſteemed moſt powerful, to croſs the Spaniards in the buſineſs) he alſo cauſed the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s deſign to be renewed, that he might keep it alive, and make uſe of it in convenient time and place: and *Jehan le Maiſtre*, a man totally depending upon his will, having after the death of Preſident *Briſſon* taken the place of firſt Preſident of the Parliament, he began by his means, not only to deal with the Counſellors of that Parliament, and Magiſtrates of that City, but alſo with thoſe, who, becauſe they inclined to favour the King, were called *Politicks*, that in time of need he might alſo make uſe of their help; and having found the Parliament moſt diſpoſed to his deſigns, and grounding himſelf very much upon the ſupport of the Commanders of the Militia choſen and raiſed by him, he propounded and obtained (for the greater reputation of ſo great an Aſſembly, and for the greater aſſurance of the election of a King, a thing of ſo great weight and conſequence) that alſo the Parliament, and Governours of Provinces, and the Commanders of the Militia, might Vote in the Aſſembly of the States, not every one by himſelf, but by Deputies for each body, to the end, that by the counterpoiſe of theſe, he might balance the Votes of the other Deputies, if they ſhould ever diſſent from his will; wherein (becauſe he was exceeding well verſed in the buſineſs, and knew the perſons very particularly) he proceeded with ſo much art and diſſimulation, that the Spaniſh Miniſters and the Legat did not take notice of many things till after they were eſtabliſhed; and he gained more men with art, than they were able to do with gold or promiſes; and on the other ſide, they could hardly deſign the framing an engine, but he, ſounding the end of it, found many evaſions to diſſolve or hinder it.

The Overture of the States is made in *Paris*, *Jan.* 26. 1593.

In this ſtate of things, time no longer allowing, that the celebration of the States ſhould be deferred, the Overture (as they call it) of the Aſſembly was made upon the Six and twentieth of *January*, at which all the Deputies being met in the Hall of the *Louvre*, and with them all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Crown, the Duke of *Mayenne* ſitting under the Cloth of State, (as Kings are wont to do) ſaid, That he had called, and with very much ado aſſembled that Solemn Meeting, that they might take ſome courſe to find a remedy for the calamities and miſeries that afflicted their common Country: He exaggerated the evils of the preſent condition, the danger of Religion, and the unhappineſs of the War; and concluded, that the only remedy was the election of a King, who in the firſt place ſhould be ſo conſtant and ſincere a Catholick, that he ſhould preſer the good and honour of the holy Church before his own life; and in the ſecond, ſhould be ſuch an one for valour, experience and reputation, that not only unruly minds might willingly obey him, but alſo might be able to fight with and conquer the Enemies of the Church and Kingdom. Wherefore he exhorted the Aſſembly, that being met, not to moderate grievances, or to find means to pay the debts of the Crown, (things ordinarily introduced to be treated of in the States) but to provide a King, a Paſtor for themſelves, and the whole people of the greateſt Kingdom of Chriſtendom, they ſhould not let themſelves be carried away with any private intereſts, but ſhould take that holy, that worthy reſolution, which the preſent need and their common ſafety required.

The Duke of *Mayenne* ſitting under the Cloth of State as King in the Hall of the *Louvre*, makes the Overture of the States, exhorting them to elect a Catholick King, able to ſuſtain the weight of the Crown.

When he had done ſpeaking, Cardinal *Pelle-vé*, as Eccleſiaſtical Preſident of the Aſſembly, with a long tedious Oration full of digreſſions, praiſed the Duke of *Mayenne*'s zeal and valour, and by ſeveral ways coming round about again, concluded at laſt with exhorting the Aſſembly to elect a King, who as the preſent exigent required, might be totally devoted to the holy Apoſtolick See, and an Enemy to Hereſie, againſt which more than any thing elſe, it was at that preſent neceſſary to make oppoſition. The Baron *de Senecey* for the Nobility ſpake to the ſame effect, but much more briefly, and to the purpoſe; and the ſame did *Honoré de Laurent*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Provence*, for the third Order of the Commons. There was nothing elſe treated of at this firſt meeting, it being the cuſtom only to uſe theſe Ceremonies at the firſt overture.

The next day in a particular meeting, which was held among the chiefeſt about this buſineſs, there was a very ſharp diſpute between the Legat joined with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, and ſome of the greateſt Perſonages of the Aſſembly; for the Legat propoſed, That at the ſecond Seſſion for the beginning of the States, all ſhould take a

The Cardinal Legats Propoſition.

ſolemn

ſolemn Oath, never to be reconciled to, nor acknowledge the King of *Navar* for Superior, though he ſhould turn his Religion, and make ſhow to live as a Catholick; to which the Duke of *Mayenne* not conſenting, as a thing very different from his practices and intentions, the other Deputies that were preſent ſpake againſt it with divers reaſons: But the Legat urging, with wonderful vehemence, at laſt the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* ſaid, that the States were Catholicks, obedient to the holy Church under the ſuperiority of the Apoſtolick See in ſuch caſes, and met together in obedience to the Pope, and that therefore they would not be ſo impudent as to go about to bind his hands, and preſumptuouſly to declare that which he had not declared, preventing his Judgments, and declaring the King of *Navar* irreconcilable to the Church by a vain determination, which was out of the Secular Power, and wholly proper to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; and that therefore they were reſolved not to proceed to that Oath, leſt they ſhould offend their own conſciences, and the Majeſty and Juriſdiction of the Pope and the Apoſtolick See. Which reaſon, with the decency thereof, ſtopt the Legat's mouth; and the Duke of *Mayenne*'s intention not to proceed to that Declaration prevailed. 1593.

The Arch-biſhop of *Lyons* his Anſwer.

But upon the Twenty eighth day there came one of the King's Trumpets to the Gate of the City, deſiring to be brought in, that he might deliver a Packet of Letters directed to the Count *de Belin* Governor of it, and being ask'd what his buſineſs was? he anſwered freely and publickly, That he brought a Declaration of the Catholicks of the King's party, addreſſed to the Aſſembly of the States; and being come before the Governor, he gave the Letters into his hand, and made the contents of them more fully known among the People. The Governor carried the Packet to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who lay troubled in his Bed; and not being willing to open it, but in the preſence of all the Confederates, he ſent for the Legate, the Cardinal of *Pelle-vé*, *Diego d'Ivarra*, the Sieur *de Baſſompiere* Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Lorain*, the Arch-biſhop of *Lyons*, Monſieur *de Roſne*, the Count *de Belin*, the Viſcount *de Tavannes*, the Sieur *de Villars* by him newly declared Admiral, Monſieur *de Villeroy*, Preſident *Jeannin*, and two of the ordinary Secretaries, which they called Secretaries of State; in the preſence of whom the cover being taken off, there was a Writing found with this Title:

A Trumpet of the Kings comes to *Paris*, and brings a Packet to the Governor, which being opened by the Duke of *Mayenne* in the preſence of the Confederates contains an offer from the Catholick Lords and Prelats of the King's party.

*The Propoſition of the Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and chief Catholick Lords, as well Counſellors of the King, as others, now preſent with his Majeſty; tending to the end of obtaining Peace, ſo neceſſary to this Kingdom for the conſervation of the Catholick Religion, and of the State: made to the Duke of* Mayenne *and the Princes of his Family, the Lords and other perſons ſent by ſome Cities and Corporations, at this preſent aſſembled in the City of* Paris.

Having ſeen the Title, and every one being deſirous to hear the contents, the Writing was read by one of the Secretaries, being of this Tenor following:

THE Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and Chief Catholick Lords, as well of the Council, as attendance of His Majeſty, having ſeen a Declaration Printed at *Paris* in the name of the Duke of *Mayenne*, dated in the month of *December*, publiſhed with the ſound of the Trumpet in the ſaid City upon the Fifth day of this preſent Month of *January*, as is found at the bottom of it, and which came into their hands at *Chartres*, do acknowledge, and are of opinion with the ſaid Duke of *Mayenne*, that the continuance of this War, bringing the ruine and deſtruction of the State, doth alſo by neceſſary conſequence draw along with it the ruine of the Catholick Religion, as experience hath but too well ſhewed us, to the great grief of the ſaid Princes, Lords, and Catholick States, who do acknowledge the King, whom God hath given them, and ſerve him as they are naturally obliged, having, with this duty, ever made the Conſervation of the Catholick Religion their principal aim; and have then always been moſt animated with their Arms and Forces to defend the Crown under the obedience of his Majeſty, when they have ſeen ſtrangers, enemies to the greatneſs of this Monarchy, and to the honor and glory of the French name, enter into this Kingdom; for it is too evident, that they tend to nothing elſe but to diſſipate it, and from its diſſipation would follow an Immortal War, which in time could produce no other effects, ſave the total ruine of the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, Cities and Countries,

1593. an event which would alſo infallibly happen to the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom. Thence it is, that all good Frenchmen, and all thoſe that are truly zealous thereof, ought to ſtrive with all their Forces to hinder the firſt inconvenience, from which the ſecond is inſeparable, and both inevitable by the continuation of the War. The true means to prevent them, would be a good Peace, and a reconciliation between thoſe whom the misfortune hereof keeps ſo divided and armed to the deſtruction of one another: for upon this foundation Religion would be reſtored, Churches preſerved, the Clergy maintained in their eſtates and reputation, and Juſtice ſetled again; the Nobility would recover their ancient force and vigour, for the defence and quiet of the Kingdom; the Cities would recover their loſſes and ruines, by the re-eſtabliſhment of Commerce, Trades, and employments (maintainers of the people) which are in a manner utterly extinct; the Univerſities would again betake themſelves to the ſtudy of Sciences, which in times paſt have cauſed this Kingdom to flouriſh, and given ſplendour and ornament unto it, which at this preſent languiſh, and are, by little and little, waſting to nothing; the fields would again be tilled, which in ſo many places are left fallow and barren, and in ſtead of the fruits they were wont to bring forth for man's nouriſhment, are now covered with thorns and thiſtles: in ſumm, by Peace every one might do his duty; God might be ſerved, and the people, enjoying a ſecure Peace, would bleſs thoſe who had procured them that happineſs; whereas, on the contrary, they will have juſt cauſe to complain, and curſe thoſe that ſhall hinder it. To this effect, upon the Declaration which the ſaid Duke of *Mayenne* makes by his writing, as well in his own name, as in the names of the reſt of his party aſſembled in *Paris*, where he alledgeth, that he hath called the States, to take ſome courſe and Counſel for the good of the Catholick Religion, and the repoſe of this Kingdom; it being clear, that if for no other reaſon, yet becauſe of the place alone (where it is neither lawful nor reaſonable, that any other but they of their own party ſhould interview) no reſolution can proceed from it, that can be valid or profitable for the effect which he hath publiſhed: and it being rather moſt certain, that this can nothing but inflame the War ſo much the more, and take away all hopes and means of reconciliation; the ſaid Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and other Catholick Lords now preſent with His Majeſty, being certain, that the other Princes, Lords, and Catholick States who acknowledge Him, do concurr with them in the ſame zeal towards the Catholick Religion, and the good of the State, as they agree in the obedience and fidelity due unto their King and natural Prince; have, in the name of all, and with the leave and permiſſion of his Majeſty, thought fit, by this Writing, to make known to the ſaid Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Princes of his Family, Prelates, Lords, and other perſons aſſembled in the City of *Paris*, that if they will enter into conference and communication about the means proper to bury theſe tumults, for the conſervation of the Catholick Religion and of the State, and depute any perſons of worth and integrity to meet joyntly at a place which may be choſen between *Paris* and *St. Denis*, they will on their parts ſend thither upon the day that ſhall be appointed and agreed upon, to receive and carry all thoſe reſolutions and overtures which may be propoſed for ſo good a purpoſe, as they are confident, that if every one will bring thoſe good inclinations he is obliged to, which they for their parts promiſe to do, means may be found to attain to ſo great a happineſs: proteſting before God and men, that if, neglecting this way, they ſhall uſe other unlawful means, which cannot chuſe but be pernicious to Religion and the State, if they ſhall compleat the reducing of *France* to the laſt period of all calamity and miſery, making it a prey and a ſpoil to the inſatiable greedineſs of the Spaniards, and a trophy of their inſolency, gotten by the practices and blind paſſions of a part of them, who carry the name of French-men, degenerating from the duty which hath been held in ſo great veneration by our Anceſtors; the fault of that evil that ſhall come thereby, cannot, nor ought not juſtly to be aſcribed to any others than thoſe who ſhall be notoriouſly known to be the ſole authors of ſuch a refuſal, as men who preſer the ways that are fit to ſerve their own particular greatneſs and ambition, and that of their fomenters, before thoſe which aime at the glory of God and the ſafety of the Kingdom. Given in the King's Council (where the ſaid Princes and Lords have purpoſely aſſembled themſelves, and, with his Majeſties permiſſion, reſolved to make the above-ſaid Propoſitions and Overtures) at *Chartres* the Seven and twentieth of *January*, 1593. Subſcribed *Revol.*

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The first mover of this Writing, penned and presented in this manner, was the Sieur *de Villeroy*: for being of himself averse to the Spanish attempt, and rather inclined to an Agreement with the King, than to any other resolution; and being set on by the Duke of *Mayenne*, desirous to put some Treaty on foot, to make use of it, as occasion should serve, for his own advantage, wrote to his brother-in-law the Sieur *de Feury*, that addressing himself to the Duke of *Nevers* and the other Catholick Lords that were with the King, he should shew them in how great danger the affairs of the Kingdom were, with how much earnestness the Spaniards had set themselves to promote the election of the *Infanta Isabella*, how many there were, that for their own interests favoured that election, and how the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had never been able to indure the King to be reconciled to the Church, was now in such a necessity, that he would be constrained to agree with the Catholick King, if by some means they did not interrupt those proceedings. That they should consider, if strangers should obtain their intent, and that the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, and the other Confederates, should oblige themselves unto it, in how great danger the King would be to be deprived of the Kingdom, being to fight with the Spanish power, which then would employ it self wholly to his ruine; the mindes of the French Confederates would become irreconcileable, as if of their own accord they had put themselves under the servitude, and engaged themselves under the dominion of strangers: the way to a reconciliation with the Pope and with the Church would be shut up, when once he should have approved of the election which the States were to make within a few weeks; and that therefore time was not to be lost, but some way found to interrupt the course of those designs. 1593.

The Sieur *de Villeroy*, averse from the Spaniards, and a friend to peace, writes to the Sieur *de Fleury* to advertise the Catholicks of the danger the King was in, and of the attempts to cause the Infanta *Isabella* to be elected Queen.

These Considerations were represented by the Sieur *de Fleury*, not onely to the Duke of *Nevers*, but to *Gaspar* Count of *Schombergh*, who about that time having been sent for by the King, was come to Court. He by birth was a German, and by nature a man, not onely of great courage, but free in his opinions and words; and for his experience and valour, highly esteemed by every one; wary in his courses, provident in his actions, infinitely inclined and very faithful to the King, and (which at that time was much to the purpose) one, who had not been present at the consultations that had been held among the Catholicks about forsaking him, and for this cause had more authority and belief with him to treat upon this business, than the Duke of *Nevers* and many others: Wherefore, being of opinion, that the Considerations represented by *Villeroy* were most important, and that to them many others were added; for already every one knew, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was thinking to depart, and go over to the League, and that many Princes of the Blood, and other Lords, were inclined to follow that resolution; that the Catholicks, for the most part, holding themselves deceived and mocked by the King's promises, were very ill satisfied; and that every one weary of the War, longed impatiently for Peace, he found a fit conjuncture to discourse with the King about it; and with solid effectual eloquence, wherein he was very prevalent, made him fully acquainted with those reasons, which out of respect were coldly, and but in part represented to him by others; and demonstrated to him the nearness of his ruine, unless he suddenly took some course to content the Catholicks, and to cross the designes and attempts of the Spaniards. The conjuncture of the time was also favourable: for the King's late prosperities had brought him into such a condition, that if the Catholicks persevered constantly to serve him, he had but little need of forraign Forces; which of how little benefit they were, and how much mischief they did to his Country, he himself had already found: The Sieur *du Plessis* was far off, who, with his reasons, partly Theological, partly Political, was wont to withhold him, and put scruples in his minde, to the end he might not change his Religion: and the Duke of *Bouillon*, then Head of the Hugonots, who was present at the business, had ever been one of those who were of opinion, that the King could never be a peaceable possessor of the Crown, unless he changed his Religion: and perchance for his own interest it displeased him not that the King should turn Catholick, to the end the first place among the Hugonotsa might remain to him: Wherefore, all these obstacles being removed, and necessity urging; for already the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and Count *Soissons*, with many other, began to talk very plainly; and the States assembled by the League being in much greater consideration with the King, than perhaps they were with the Confederates themselves; after many consultations with the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the High-Chancellor, and President *de Thou*, to whom, by reason

The Duke of *Bouillon*, a Hugonot, was ever of opinion That the King could not be a peaceable possessor of his Crown unless he turned Catholick; perhaps to the end he might remain Head of the Hugonots.

1593. of his learning and experience, the King gave much credit, he reſolved that the Catholicks ſhould make this Overture, with intent either to interrupt the courſe of the State by that means, or elſe to reſolve upon an Accommodation and Reconciliation with the Apoſtolick See, and the Lords of the houſe of *Lorain.*

The Legate's oppoſition againſt the Propoſitions of the King's Catholicks.

As ſoon as the Writing was read in the preſence of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Lords, the Cardinal of *Piacenza* roſe up in choler, and without conſultation or deliberation ſaid angerly, that that Propoſition was full of Hereſies, and that they were Hereticks that ſhould take it into conſideration, and therefore it was by no means fitting to give any Anſwer to it: Cardinal *Pelle-ve* and *Diego d' Ivarra* aſſented without any demur; but the Duke of *Mayenne* remained in ſuſpence, as alſo the reſt that were preſent, who durſt not immediately oppoſe the Legate's words. But *Villeroy* and *Jeannin* not loſing courage, without contradicting the Cardinal, found another evaſion, and ſaid, That the Writing not being directed to the Duke of *Mayenne* alone, but to the whole aſſembly of the States, and the Trumpet having freely ſaid ſo to many at his entrance into the City, whereby the buſineſs was become publick, it was fit to communicate it to the States, and refer it to them, to the end that the Deputies might not be diſguſted in the very beginning, and believe that they were not freely and fairly dealt withal, but that endeavors were uſed to conceal many things from them, and to deceive them; That this would be an ill begiming, and would not onely cauſe ſuſpition, but alſo diſunion among the Deputies. The Count *de Belin* added, that the Trumpet had not onely told, that the Writing was directed to the whole Aſſembly, but had alſo ſcattered ſome copies of it among the People, as he thought he had heard, whereby it was ſo much the more publick, and could not be concealed from the Deputies.

It is concluded by the Votes of the major part of the Lords in the private meeting, that the Writing ſhould be read in the aſſembly of the States, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Legat and the Spaniards.

The tenor of a Manifeſt publiſhed by the King at *Chartres*.

It was determined, that every one ſhould conſider of what he thought moſt convenient to reſolve about it in the ſame place againſt the next day; which being come, though the Legate and Spaniſh Ambaſſador laboured ſtifly that the Writing might be ſuppreſſed and rejected, the Duke of *Mayenne* nevertheleſs, with the votes of the major part, concluded, not to uſe his Deputies ill, nor give them cauſe of diſtaſte; but bearing that reſpect to them which was fit, would have the Writing read in the full Aſſembly, where afterwards that ſhould be reſolved on that ſhould be thought moſt convenient: which while it was deferred, by reaſon of the contrariety of opinions, and of the Obſtacles that were interpoſed, the King being at *Chartres*, publiſhed a Manifeſt upon the nine and twentieth day; wherein, after having briefly atteſted his ſingular affection toward the general good and ſafety, He ſaid he was extremely grieved to have happened in ſuch perverſe times, wherein many degenerating from that fidelity towards their Princes, which had ever been peculiar to the French Nation, did now uſe all their ſtudies and endeavors to oppugne the Royal Authority, under pretence of Religion; which pretence, how falſely it was uſurped by them, was clearly ſeen in the War twice attempted againſt the happy memory of *Henry* the Third, which it was not poſſible to value ſo much, as to think the cauſe thereof could be attributed to matter of Religion, he having ever been moſt Catholick, and moſt obſervant of the See of *Rome*, and imployed with his Arms even againſt thoſe that were not of the Catholick Religion to ſubdue them, at the ſame time when they having furiouſly taken Arms, ran to *Tours* to ſuppreſs and beſiege him; and that now it was more clear than the Sun it ſelf, how improperly and unjuſtly they made uſe of the ſame colour againſt him; for by how much the more they ſought to mask and palliate their malignity under that ſpecious cloke, ſo much the more, breaking forth, did it ſhew it ſelf clearly to the eyes of all men; nor was there any one who knew not, that their conſpiracy, attempted for the oppreſſion and ruine of their Country, was not cauſed by zeal to Religion; but that their union appeared manifeſtly to be compoſed of three kinds of Perſons for three different reaſons. Firſt, the wickedneſs of them, who led by an incredible deſire to poſſeſs and diſſipate the Kingdom, had made themſelves Heads and Authors of this Rebellion. Secondly, the craftineſs of Strangers, antient enemies to the French name and Crown, who having found this opportunity of executing their inveterate deſigns, had voluntarily joyned themſelves with their aſſiſtance to be Companions in ſo perfidious a Conſpiracy. And laſtly, the fury of ſome of the meaneſt dregs of the People, who being abandoned by fortune to extreme beggery and miſery, or elſe led by their miſdeeds in fear of Juſtice, out of a deſire of ſpoil, or hope of impunity, had gathered

thered themſelves together to this factious confederacy. But it being the cuſtome of Divine Providence to draw good out of evil, ſo it had now miraculouſly come to paſs, ſince that the Duke of *Mayenne*, by ſetting down in Writing his reaſons of aſſembling a Congregation in *Paris*, by him called the States, had clearly laid open and manifeſted his deſigns by his own confeſſion: for ſtriving with all his power diſſemblingly to repreſent the face of an honeſt man, and to make it believed that he had no thought of uſurping that which belonged not unto him, he could not in the interim give greater teſtimony of his ambition and impiety toward his Country, than by framing an Edict, and ſealing it with the Royal Seal for the Convocation of the States, a thing reſerved onely to the Royal-Power, and never communicated to any other; whereby he had made clear to the World his uſurpation of the Royal Office and Majeſty, and his crime of High-Treaſon, having taken upon him the Royal Miniſtry, and the proper marks of Soveraignty. But, What eye was ſo dazeled, or what mind ſo blinded, as not to ſee how falſe thoſe things were which he had inſerted in his Edict with ſo much pomp of words? That the Laws permitted him not to render due obſervance and obedience to the King God had given him: a Lye as apparent, as it is true, that the *Salique-Law*, a wholeſome fundamental one, born at one birth with the Kingdom, hath ever been the *baſis* of the Subjects obedience, and the foundation and ſafety of the Crown: That open injury is done to the conſtitution of this Law, when the lawful Dominion of him is called in doubt or controverſie, who, by the preſcribed order of it is called by God unto the Crown: That the force and authority of this Law is ſo great and venerable, that no other Law hath power to prejudice it, and the Kings themſelves, which are looſe from other Laws, are ſubject, and not ſuperious to this alone; and that therefore it was a vain thing to alledge againſt it the *Decree* of the States at *Blois* in the year 76; for not the King, nor the States, but that Law it ſelf, ought to decide the Succeſſion of the Kingdom: and yet, What man of ſound underſtanding could ever hold the Aſſembly at *Blois* to be a lawful Congregation of the States? in which the liberty of votes being taken away, and the voice of good men ſuppreſſed, there was nothing elſe minded by the Conſpirators of that Confederacy (the fruits whereof are now found) but to oppugne the King's Authority who then reigned, and to reduce him to the ſlavery of his enemies, diſpoſing of the affairs of the Kingdom, according to the will and fancy of factious perſons! That perchance that violence uſed againſt him, from which he had ſo much laboured to defend and free himſelf was not clear enough; who was he that could believe the late King would voluntarily break and violate that Law, by vertue of which his Grandfather *Francis* the Firſt was come unto the Crown? But, What needed there other proofs? The ſame men who had forcibly and treacherouſly cauſed that Decree to be made, had themſelves waved, forſaken, and declared it ineffectual and of no validity; for if the Duke of *Mayenne* had eſteemed that conſtitution valid, after the ſeditious depoſing of King *Henry* the Third cauſed by him, he would not have entituled himſelf Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France* before the Kingdom were vacant, but Lieutenant to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to whom, by that ſeditious Decree, the Kingdom appertained. But what? not onely then, but alſo after the King's death (who was by them cauſed to be murthered) he, for three moneths together, uſurped the ſame title, declaring, how little valid he eſteemed the determination of thoſe States; that therefore it was manifeſt and known, that it was not out of reverence to the determination of his own States, which they now publiſh, that he made uſe afterwards of the fained perſon of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, when it was convenient for him; but thereby to uſurp the Royal-Power and Miniſtry, and to gain time and means to eſtabliſh himſelf in his intended uſurpation. But that no leſs vain was the reaſon he alledged, *viz.* That he was not a Catholick, but of a different Religion; for he was neither Infidel nor Pagan, but confeſſed the ſame God and the ſame Redeemer the Catholicks confeſs and adore; nor ought ſome difference in opinion to make ſuch a deſperate irreconcilable diviſion. That he would not be obſtinate, nor refuſe to be taught and inſtructed, and that he was ready, if his error were ſhown him, to forſake it, and reduce himſelf to thoſe rites which the Catholicks of his Kingdom deſired, and that he wiſhed he could, with ſafety of Conſcience, take away all ſcruples from all his Subjects; but he prayed the Catholicks not to wonder if he did not ſo eaſily leave that Religion which he ſucked with his milk, nor ought it to appear ſtrange, that he ſhould not forſake the ancient inſtitution of his life, unleſs firſt he were made to ſee the error, which they were of opinion he was in, which when it

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ſhould

1593. ſhould come to paſs, no body ſhould need to deſire his readineſs and willingneſs to condemn his fault, and enter into that way which ſhould be known to be the beſt. That it was fit, in a buſineſs that concerned his Soul and eternal life, he ſhould proceed with great circumſpection; and ſo much the more, becauſe his example was like to draw many with it, whom he would not help to damn, but willingly to ſave them if he could. That therefore he had often demanded Councils, not to oppoſe himſelf againſt thoſe already celebrated, as his Enemies reported, but, to the end, that he together with them of the ſame Religion, might be inſtructed and taught thereby: that it was no abſurd thing to celebrate a Council, and moderate many matters which times and occaſions produce: and to ſay they had already been decided by other Councils, was nothing; for ſo all later Councils would have been vain and abſurd in confirming and ordering things again which had been ſetled and determined by former ones: That if a more ſpeedy and more proper way were found for his inſtruction, he would not refuſe it; and that he had given clear teſtimony of it to the World, when he gave leave to the Catholicks under his obedience to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Pope to take ſome courſe in it, and when he ſo often cauſed his very adverſaries to be told, that in the midſt of Arms it was no time to talk of Converſions, but that making Peace, they ſhould reſolve upon a Conference wherein he might be inſtructed; but that they, abuſing his goodneſs, had made ſhew to lend an ear unto it, onely when for their own deſigns they deſired to work a jealouſie in the Spaniards: That it was certain, they abhorred to have him inſtructed, ſince now in their Writings, they reckoned it as a thing to be deſpaired of, having never yet ſo much as attempted it, and becauſe that preſently ſoon as the Marquiſs *de Piſani*'s Embaſſie tending to that effect was agreed upon, they had, by all poſſible means, croſſed his negotiation, and brought it ſo to paſs, that the Pope would not admit him to his Audience: That if they publiſhed and vaunted, That they would refer the buſineſs wholly to the Pope, He on the other ſide did not deſpair, but the Pope at laſt, knowing their ſubtilty and cunning, would take that reſolution which ſhould be moſt conformable to decency and reaſon: That therefore ſeditious perſons ought no longer to tempt the good Catholicks that ſtood armed for the defence and ſafety of their Country; but that they rather ſhould acknowledge their error, and, as members gone aſtray, return to joyn themſelves with the reſt of the Body: for, except the Princes of *Lorain*, who were ſtrangers, all the Princes of the blood, Prelates, Lords, Officers of the Crown, and in a manner all the ſtrength of the Gentry, were of his party, and made the true Body of *France* united for the defence of their Liberty, and the ſafety of the Kingdom: That they ſhould conſider how unworthy, how monſtrous a thing it was, to open the Gates to the *Spaniard* to come and invade the bowels of the Kingdom, their Anceſtors, and even they themſelves, having ſpilt and poured out ſo much blood to drive them from their confines: That they ſhould ſee how impious that inſatiableneſs was, which, for covetouſneſs of Gold, ſold the French Name, Glory, and Liberty: but that it was no wonder they felt not the prick of conſcience in that buſineſs, ſince they felt it not in the moſt cruel Parricide committed on the perſon of the late King, which they were ſo far from deteſting and abhorring, that they impiouſly attributed it to Providence and the hand of God: That if (as they now made ſhew) they would be held innocent of that fact, which obſcured the glory, and laid a foul blot of wicked perfidiouſneſs upon the Name of the French, they ſhould not at the ſame time joy and rejoyce at it, commend, exalt, and Canonize the Name of the Murderer, and do ſo many other barbarous monſtrous things; but ſhould rather ſhew, that they were moved at ſo great a wickedneſs, and reſolved to reconcile themſelves to that Country that had bred, nouriſhed, and raiſed them to the height of greatneſs; and not take part with barbarous Nations, that are enemies to, and ſeparated from *France*, as in language and manners, ſo in candour and diſpoſition: That if theſe reaſons could not prevail to perſuade thoſe that were gone aſtray, and make them know their error, at leaſt they would confirm the reſolution of good French-men, to continue conſtantly in the defence of their Country, wherein He, as he had for the time paſt, ſo he would alſo for the future afford them always his example, expoſing his body, health, blood, and life before them all, as a ſacrifice for ſo worthy, ſo profitable a work: That his affection and devotion till that preſent, were ſufficiently known, and with what tenderneſs of mind he had embraced the Catholicks, conſerved, protected, and maintained them in their poſſeſſions, and in their privileges; how he had favoured and preſerved their Religion, and conſtantly and inviolably

lably obſerved all that he had promiſed them at his coming to the Crown; and now, for more ſecurity, and abſolutely to take away all ſcruples, he ſwore before God and Men, that he was ready to perſevere in their protection and conſervation till his lateſt breath, and that he never would do any thing to the prejudice or diminution of them or their Religion, and that he deſired thoſe things which his Subjects required of him, might, to the glory of God, be orderly and fitly executed, as he hoped in Gods divine Majeſty, and in his infallible Providence, that the effects would quickly be ſeen, which out of a confidence in God's mercy he doubted not to promiſe and atteſt. That in the mean time he, with the advice of his Council, had decreed, and by that preſent manifeſt did decree and declare, that the Duke of *Mayenne* in having aſſembled a Congregation in *Paris* under the name of States, had ſeditiouſly and unjuſtly uſurped the office and power of King, and that thoſe States being null, invalid, and ſeditious, were not to hold, nor to be effectual, nor any thing that in them ſhould be done, eſtabliſhed, or determined. 1592.

This Writing, which carried with it no neceſſity of an Anſwer, was, according to the diſpoſition of mens minds, variouſly received and interpreted; but, that of the Catholick Lords of the King's party ſent to the Aſſembly at *Paris*, held the Confederates anxious and ſollicitous for different reſpects; for the Legate having cauſed it to be examined by the Colledge of the Divines of *Sorbonne*, perſiſted to ſay, that being heretical, it was not worthy of any anſwers, and the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſaid, it was but a trick to diſturb the good for which they were met together: but the Arch-biſhop of *Lyons*, *Villeroy*, *Jeannin*, the Count *de Belin*, and thoſe of the Parliament, maintained, that what a kind of one ſoever it was, it ought neither to be deſpiſed nor rejected, and gave their reaſons for it; and between theſe the Duke of *Mayenne* ſtood doubtful what ſhould be reſolved; for, on the one ſide he had a great deſire to begin a Treaty with the Royaliſts, and on the other he would not abſolutely alienate nor exaſperate the Legate and the Spaniards. In the end, after many conſultations held privately with his friends, he reſolved to defer the conſideration of that buſineſs in the Aſſembly till he had conferred with the Duke of *Feria*, and the reſt that were coming, and till he had ſeen the ſtrength of the Army, and what Orders Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* had, who was already prepared to enter into the Confines, to the end he might regulate himſelf afterward according to time and occaſion; wherefore he determined to go and meet the Ambaſſadors, and to receive and imploy the Army himſelf, leſt the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould go to receive it, and (to the leſſening of his reputation) have it conſigned to him by the Spaniards, who openly favoured him. He hoped alſo to make ſome progreſs in the War, which might augment his credit and reputation; but above all, it was neceſſary for him to draw a certain ſumm of money from the Spaniards, to be then diſtributed (in favour of him) among the Deputies, many of whom, by reaſon of the dearth of *Paris*, and their own poverty, had urgent need thereof.

The Duke of *Mayenne* reſolveth to deferr the buſineſs of the proteſtation of the Kings Catholicks till he had conferred with the Duke of *Feria*, Ambaſſador from *Spain* to the Aſſembly of the States.

This reſolution being taken, he called the Deputies of the Aſſembly, and prayed them to buſie themſelves about ſmaller matters, but not to deliberate any thing concerning the Election till his return, it being fit that all the Catholick Ambaſſadors ſhould be there, as likewiſe himſelf, together with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the other principal men of the party, which he would bring along with him within a few dayes; and becauſe his praying was commanding, they all promiſed it without contradiction; and he having left Monſieur *de Villeroy* and Preſident *Jeannin* to prevent thoſe ſecret practices which might be ſet on foot in the mean time, went with Four hundred Horſe to *Soiſſons*, where he had given order that his French Forces ſhould be in a readineſs. Being come to that City upon the ninth of *February*, he found the Duke of *Feria*, and the other Spaniſh Ambaſſadors there; with whom having conferred, diſcontents began to break forth in their firſt meeting.

The Duke of *Mayenne* having left order with the Deputies not to meddle with matters of importance till his return, goes to *Soiſſons*; where having conferred with the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, they break out in diſguſts

In *Spain* they thought it very agreeable to juſtice and decency, that the Salique Law ſhould be broken, becauſe all they of the Family of *Bourbon* were notoriouſly either Hereticks, or favourers of Hereſie, and that the Kingdom ſhould come to the *Infanta Iſabella* the Catholick King's Daughter, who, by the ordinary Laws, was the neareſt heir to the late King, as being born of *Elizabeth* his eldeſt ſiſter. And on the contrary, when it was alledged, that the poſterity of the Royal Family failing, the authority of making a new King returned to the commonalty of the People of *France*; they replied, that though that were true, yet was it ſeemly, that the Commonalty in that election

ſhould

1593. ſhould have reſpect to the Law of Nations, which alwayes calls the neareſt heirs; and that it was very fit much ſhould be condeſcended to, in regard of the ſo great expences the Catholick King had been at, and of thoſe many things he had done for the maintenance of the Crown and of Religion; ſince with great detriment to his own affairs, he had employed all his Armies, and all the revenues of his Kingdom, through the courſe of ſo many years, for the benefit of the affairs of *France*; which if he from the beginning had abandoned to the diſcretion of the *Navarrois*, there was no doubt but it would have been conſtrained to bend its neck, and receive the yoke of Hereſie: whence certainly would have proceeded the total ruin of every Catholick in particular, and the general ſervitude and diſhonour of ſo Chriſtian a Kingdom. Thus theſe Counſellors having perſuaded themſelves that theſe reaſons would have the ſame efficacy in the mindes of the French, had concluded to apply themſelves ſpeedily to the advancing of ſo great a deſign. Wherefore the Ambaſſadors, having this expreſs order from *Spain*, and believing alſo by *Diego d'Ivarra*'s Letters, that the election of the *Infanta* would willingly, and without contradiction be embraced by the States, did not defer to urge the Duke of *Mayenne* about it, to the end that he aſſenting to it, might favour that Declaration.

The Duke of *Feria* and *Mendozza* Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, urge the Duke of *Mayenne* for the election of the Infanta *Iſabella* to the Kingdom.

They ſaid, that the Catholick King pretended juſtly to that election; firſt, by reaſon of the right which the *Infanta* (as born of the eldeſt daughter of *France*) pretended to that Kingdom; and then by reaſon of the benefits *France* had received from him, and of thoſe likewiſe which it might receive for the future, he being reſolved to uſe all his force and power to free them from the contagion of Hereſie, and to eſtabliſh that Crown aſſoon as could be poſſible, in a quiet peaceful condition. To this purpoſe they added many magnificent promiſes to every one in particular, and much more largely in the Duke of *Mayenne*'s intereſts, ſhewing, that the Catholick King would uſe him honourably, increaſe him in riches and reputation, and make him the firſt perſon in the whole Kingdom: finally, they demonſtrated the honor the Catholick King did him already, in putting his Arms under the authority of his Command, having given order to Count *Charles* abſolutely to obey and acknowledge him ſuperiour.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who had already at his firſt coming been advertiſed, that Count *Charles* brought not above Four thouſand Foot, and One thouſand Horſe, and that the Ambaſſadors had no order to pay him any more than Five and twenty thouſand Duckets, a ſum much inferiour to the greatneſs of his preſent need, anſwered the Ambaſſadors Propoſition very reſentingly, and with more boldneſs than he was wont, and reproached them with the weakneſs of thoſe Forces, and their thriftineſs of money, which things were not like to free the Confederates from the yoke of Hereſie, nor to make the Kingdom peaceable, as they boaſted in their words, but to continue the calamities of War without end, and to reduce the affairs of the League unto extreme weakneſs and miſery: That it had been ſeen in times paſt, how the Catholicks Kings Armies were hardly come in ſight, when preſently they vaniſhed again, fomenting, but not remedying the miſchiefs that afflicted the Kingdom; which now appeared much more clearly, ſince in that very point, when a courſe was to have been taken for the common ſafety, and when he, to ſatisfie their ſo great importunities and complaints, had, with infinite difficulty, aſſembled the States of the Crown, there came ſuch poor aſſiſtance, as neither the Army was ſufficient to give heat and authority to ſo great a buſineſs, nor the money able to ſupply, or ſo much as give the leaſt eaſe to the preſent neceſſities; That he marvelled exceedingly at that prepoſterous manner of proceeding: That now indeed the prudence of the Catholick King, and his Counſellors was requiſite, and that he knew no good could be expected for the future by that way: That it was a vain thing to propoſe the *Infanta* for Queen, and not to ſend fitting means to make her be acknowledged, and to eſtabliſh her in the Kingdom: That this was a difficult weighty important buſineſs, and not well reliſhed by many, and to carry it on with ſuch feebleneſs of Forces, and ſo ſmall reputation, was onely the way to deſtroy and ruine it, which, out of his obſervance to the Catholick King, he would not endure: That the mind of men, who had ſetled the ſum of their hopes in the preſent Congregation, would be incenſed and put in deſpair, when they ſhould ſee a ſtranger Queen propoſed, and that without power or means of attaining to the Crown: That this was a thing averſe from the nature of the French, croſſed by the impediment of the Salique Law, no way conſonant to the ears of Freemen, and ſuch as were not accuſtomed

accuſtomed to ſuffer themſelves to be brought under; and that therefore it was neceſſary firſt to engage mens minds both with high reputation, and the noiſe of great Armies, and alſo to win their affections by the allurements of profits and riches; but to propound ſo great a matter in ſo faint a manner, was neither conformable to the greatneſs of the Catholick King, nor decent for the name and reputation of the Confederates; and that for his part, he neither thought fit, nor was able, nor knew how to engage himſelf in that Propoſition, being certain, not only that nothing at all would be effected, but that in deſpair it would neceſſitate the Deputies to turn to an Agreement with the Hereticks, rather than precipitate themſelves into a bottomleſs pit of perpetual miſery, where both the publick and private deſolation were moſt viſible. 1593.

The Anſwer of the Catholick Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Mayenne*.

This anſwer appeared as ſtrange as unexpected to the Ambaſſadors, and they perceived at the very firſt, that they were far from the imaginary reckonings they had made; yet perſiſting in their Propoſition, they anſwered, That the commotions of *Arragon*, and the long indiſpoſition, and afterward the death of the Duke of *Parma*, had hindered the King from making thoſe preparations, which ſhould within few months (if there were need of them) be made ready: That the Succours of the Catholick King had always been ſo powerful, and ſo opportune, that they had manifeſtly delivered the Kingdom and Religion from the oppreſſion of the Hereticks; and that the French could not complain of any but themſelves, who of themſelves had loſt battels, and brought themſelves under in ſuch manner, that afterward the King of *Spain* had been fain to forſake his own affairs, to recover them as it were from death to life: That the ſums of money were not ſmall, but the greedineſs of the French very great and unſatiable; and yet when they ſhould give juſt reaſonable ſatisfaction to the Catholick King, He would ſtrive to the utmoſt to content them; but that to deſire all advantages, all conveniencies, all ſatisfactions, and all contentments, and to give none at all, was not an equal dealing, nor a fair reaſonable way of proceeding: That they ſhould reſolve to declare their good will in acknowledging the rights of the Infanta to be juſt and valid; and for the reſt, it was not to be thought the Catholick King would be careleſs of his Daughters intereſts, but would empty his Kingdom both of men and money to place her in the Throne, and to eſtabliſh her perfectly: That the King, weary of ſo many diſturbances, and of ſo many expences without fruit, would no more tire his people and ruine himſelf, unleſs he knew the charge and labour ſhould in the end come to effect; but the Infanta being choſen, he would ſend Fifty thouſand Foot, and Ten thouſand Horſe, which ſhould be paid till the enterpriſe were perfected; and would freely pour out all the Treaſures of his Kingdom upon the French.

The Duke of *Mayenne* ſmiling at the proffer of theſe future Magnificences, ſaid it was neceſſary to think of preſent things; and that to make the States ſwallow that bitter Pill of Foreign Dominion, it was neceſſary to temper it with the ſweetneſs of profit and reputation, elſe it would prove impoſſible to get it down. But *Inigo Mendozza* (more able to diſpute among learned men, than to manage ſo weighty an Affair of State) replied, That they knew all the Deputies would not only accept the Infanta, but alſo beſeech the King to grant her for their Queen; and that he alone oppoſed that Election, which already was deſired by them all. The Duke grew angry, and told *Mendozza* he was little acquainted with the buſineſſes of *France*, and not knowing the magnanimity of the French, promiſed himſelf they ſhould govern the Deputies, as they were wont to do the ſtupid ſenſeleſs Indians; but that in the effect he would find himſelf much miſtaken. *Mendozza* added, That rather in the effect they would make him know, they were able to make the Infanta be elected by the States without his help. But the Duke not enduring that, replied, That he feared it not; and that if he ſhould not conſent unto it, all the world would not be able to make that election. To which the Duke of *Feria* anſwering, ſaid, They would quickly make him perceive his errour, and would take away the command of the Army from him, and give it to the Duke of *Guiſe*. This netled the Duke of *Mayenne* more than all the reſt; and as he was moſt paſſionate in his anger, he added, that it was in his power to turn all *France* againſt them, and that if he pleaſed, he could in a week ſhut them all out of the Kingdom: That they play'd the parts rather of Ambaſſadors from the King of *Navarre*, than the Catholick King, nor could they ſerve him better if they were paid by him: but they ſhould not think to uſe him as their Subject, for he was not

The Duke of *Mayenne* by reaſon of the anſwers and threats of the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, departs in anger from the Meeting.

1593. not ſo yet, nor did ever think by that manner of uſage to be ſo for the future; and ſcornfully taking leave, departed from them.

*Juan Baptiſta Taſſis* took the buſineſs in hand again the next day, ſtriving to pacifie and overcome him with promiſes; but the Duke told him freely, that if now they uſed him in that manner, he might, if he were not mad, perceive how he ſhould be uſed when he was obliged, and a vaſſal; and refuſed a great while to confer any more with the Duk of *Feria*, and *Mendozza*. But Pronotary *Agucchi*, and Commiſſary *Malvagia*, who were preſent by order from the Legat, and Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, who was come thither to conſult what ſhould be done with the Army, laboured ſo far in the buſineſs, that on the one ſide the Spaniards knowing they could do nothing without the Duke of *Mayenne*; and he, when the violence of his anger was paſt, remembring that he was not in ſuch a condition that it was convenient for him to loſe the ſupportation of the Spaniards, differences were compoſed again at laſt, but with ſo much prejudice to the Catholick Kings deſigns, that the Duke to put a hard bit in their mouths, wrote to *Villeroy*, *Jeannin*, and the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, by all means to cauſe the Writing of the Kings Catholicks to be anſwered, and that he ſhould begin the conference which they propoſed, to the end they might have that refuge in a readineſs, whenſoever they ſhould be ill dealt withal by the Spaniards for the future; and yet diſſembling on both ſides, they agreed among themſelves, that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould aſſent to the election of the Infanta, and favour it with the States; and on the other ſide, that ſhe being elected, he ſhould have the Title of the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, the Government of *Picardy* for his life, the Title and Authority of the Queens Lieutenant-General thorow the whole Kingdom, that all debts ſhould be paid him, as well thoſe that were contracted in the name of the Publick, as thoſe in his own particular; and that he ſhould be repaid all the money which he could make appear he had ſpent of his own; they paid him Five and twenty thouſand Crowns at that preſent, and conſigned Letters to him for Two hundred thouſand more, and gave order to Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* with the Army to obey him, and diſpoſe of himſelf according to his Orders.

The Popes Miniſters and others labour ſo far that the differences between the Duke and the Spaniards are compoſed in ſhow, but not in their hearts

This Convention pieced up in this manner, did indeed ſtop the diſcords and diſguſts for the preſent, but made not things ſo ſecure as to go on unanimouſly in their endeavours for the future; for the Duke of *Mayenne* on the one ſide, did not believe himſelf obliged to obſerve what the neceſſity of publick affairs had extorted from him by force, and the Spaniards as they had but little confidence that he would obſerve them, ſo were they ready to imbrace any occaſion that ſhould preſent it ſelf, of treating and eſtabliſhing the buſineſs without him. But being departed from *Soiſons* upon the Five and twentieth of *February*, and come to *Paris*, as ſoon as they began to converſe with the Deputies, they eaſily perceived that the Duke of *Mayenne* ruled all the Aſſembly, and that without him nothing at all could be obtained.

On the other ſide he being gone to the Confines where the Army was, found it ſo weak, that he loſt hope of doing any enterpriſe of ſuch moment, as was like to bring him either profit or reputation. They all agreed that the Army ſhould not advance into the inward parts of the Kingdom, but for diverſe ends: the Spaniſh Miniſters, to the end *Paris* might not be freed from ſcarcity, following their conceit that it was profitable for their deſigns the League and the City ſhould be ſtreightened and kept low; the Duke of *Mayenne* on the other ſide, to the end the Spaniards might not take heart by the nearneſs of their Forces, and Count *Charles*, becauſe by reaſon of the weakneſs of his Army, and that he had but little money, would not engage himſelf in places far from the confines, and in actions of long and difficult event; wherefore though the Legat and the Pariſians were earneſt, that the Army ſhould advance and beſiege St. *Denis*, to free the paſſage of victuals into the City on that ſide, yet it was nevertheleſs unanimouſly determined, that the Forces ſhould be employed in other enterpriſes, among which, the Duke of *Mayenne* was better pleaſed with the beſieging of *Noyon* than any other, as well becauſe he had almoſt a certain hope of taking that place, and coming off, with increaſe of credit and reputation, as to diſpatch quickly, that he might return to the aſſiſtance of the Aſſembly; alſo becauſe it was near to *Rheims*, where the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain* were to meet, before the State ſhould come to a final determination.

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The Forces being come together from all places, the Army drew before the Town, and having fortified their quarters, without delay, began to break ground, to caſt up trenches and raiſe batteries. There were in the Army four thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe of the Catholick Kings; twelve hundred German Foot, and one hundred Horſe, paid by the Pope; which Forces were commanded by *Appio Conti* as General of the Church, and by Commiſſary *Malvagia*; and between five and ſix hundred German Foot of the Prince of *Aiguillon*'s Regiment; three thouſand French Foot, and between eight and nine hundred Horſe of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s, with which were the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Aumale*, and the Sieur *de Roſne*, and *de la Chaſtre*. In the Town was Monſieur *d' Eſtrée* with nine hundred Foot and about eighty Horſe, but not aſſiſted by the Towns-men, who by an old inclination had ever deſired to be under the Confederates. Within a few days three batteries were planted, one of which was that of the Walloons, under the command of *Berlotte*; another where the Spaniards wrought under *Antonio Zunniga*, and *Ludovico Velaſco*; and the third, where the Germans were, under the command of *Appio Conti*; and the French being entrenched on the ſide toward *Chauny* lay upon the way from whence relief might come. This ſiege laſted but few days, in reſpect of what men had thought it would; for the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf with extraordinary diligence would needs aſſiſt at all the works, and ſhow that now he commanded alone without the ſuperiority of other Generals, he knew how with valour and celerity to bring an enterpriſe to perfection; wherefore being buſied both in mind and body, and applying his utmoſt endeavours to it, he wearied the beſieged in ſo many places, and with ſo many ſorts of Mines, Batteries, turnings of Water, and frequent aſſaults, that not being longer able to reſiſt, they agreed to ſurrender, and upon the laſt of *May* Monſieur *d' Eſtrée* delivered the Town into their hands, whereupon there was grievous complaint in the Army; for by reaſon of the pains the Souldiers had taken, they pretended the pillage of it belonged to them; but the Duke of *Mayenne* averſe from rapine, and knowing how well-affected the Towns-men were, would not ſuffer ſtrangers to enrich themſelves with the Blood of the French.

1593. The Duke of *Mayenne* with the Spaniſh Forces commanded by *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, and with the Popes commanded by *Appio Conti*, and with his own beſieges *Noyon*.

Monſieur *d'Eſtrée* ſurrenders *Noyon* to the Duke of *Mayenne* after a few days ſiege.

But in the time of this ſiege a thing happened which did very much weaken the Army of the League: for the Colonel of the Popes Lands-Knights having denied to obey *Appio Conti*, who commanded him to make his men work at the trenches, as the other Souldiers did, and being come from words to ſwords, *Appio Conti* was ſlain by a thruſt the German made at him, who being ſeized upon in the midſt of his men by the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf, eſcaped afterwards out of the hands of them that kept him; whereupon the German Captains furling up their Enſigns, refuſed to bear Arms any more; which not diſpleaſing Commiſſary *Malvagia*, he (though the Duke ſtifly contradicted it) diſmiſſed them from the Popes pay, with no leſs errour than *Mattenucci* had formerly ſent away the Swiſſers. The Catholick Kings Foot were likewiſe diminiſhed, eſpecially the Walloons, who becauſe they were not paid ran in great numbers from their colours; and the French, according to their wont, were both decreaſed in number and abated in force; wherefore it was neceſſary to omit the proſecution of other enterpriſes, *Mansfelt* not being willing to advance further, either becauſe of the weakneſs of his Army, or of his Orders from the Spaniſh Miniſters, the Pariſians almoſt in an uproar, ſollicited the enterpriſe of St. *Denis*; which the chief Commanders not being willing to undertake at that time, and they of the City inſiſting ſtill that the number of their Gariſons might be increaſed, to the end they might be able to convoy their proviſions more ſecurely, which were taken away and hindered by the Kings Gariſons, it was determined in *Paris* that the Popes Germans ſhould come in thither, that neither the Spaniards nor the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Forces might be increaſed, but the Legats Order arriving after the death of *Appio Conti*, and after the Commiſſary had diſmiſſed the Germans, the Duke of *Mayenne* laid hold of the occaſion, and in ſtead of them, ſent in the Regiment of the Prince his Son, thereby giving warmth to them that depended upon him, and deſired his greatneſs. *Noyon* being taken, and the Army half diſſolved, Count *Charles* retired toward the Confines, expecting an opportunity to return into *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* went to *Rheims* to meet with the Princes of his Family, and then to go and aſſiſt the Aſſembly of *Paris*.

It is determined at *Paris* that the Popes Forces ſhould enter into the City, but their Commander being killed, and the Souldiers diſmiſſed, the Duke of *Mayenne* ſends his Sons Regiment thither to put heart into his adherents.

The King at this time was forced by an unthought-of accident to go to *Tours*, which was not without prejudice to his affairs, and particularly cauſed the loſs of *Noyon*.

1593. Count *Soissons*, to whom the King had formerly promised his Sister the Lady *Catherine* to wife, departed from the Camp, and went secretly into *Bearne*, where being assisted by Madam *de Granmont*, once beloved, and after forsaken by the King, he intends to marry the Princess; but the King being advertised, goes into those parts, and bringing back his Sister with him, cuts off the Counts designs.

He from the year 1587. had treated about giving his Sister the Princess *Catherine* in marriage to the Count *de Soissons*; but things not having succeeded according to agreements, by reason whereof the Count went unto him to the Army in *Xaintonge*, they remained as ill satisfied of one another, as the Princess was pleased with the gentle fashion and behaviour of the Count; wherefore though he both departed from, and returned to the party of the Catholicks during the States at *Blois*, yet had they continued secret conversation by Letters, whereby their hearts in progress of time were the more enflamed, and they were gone so far by the means of the Madam *de Granmont*, that the Count, who was one of those that thought of forsaking the King, being come to *Tours* under the apparent pretence of visiting his Mother, posted from thence secretly into *Bearne*, with an appointment to contract and consummate the Marriage with the Lady *Catherine*. But the King (who hoped the Marriage of his Sister would be a means to gain him the friendship of other Princes, and therefore made several designs about it) had his eyes so intent upon the Counts actions, that he dived into that intention before it was executed: For having in former times long loved Madam *de Granmont*, and then left her after his departure out of *Guiscogne*, as she did all she could to disoblige him, out of disdain for having been forsaken; so his Sisters, most trusty Gentlewomen, being corrupted by the Kings gifts, were as ready to give him notice of every particular: Wherefore being come to the knowledge of all that was in agitation, he gave order to some of the Parliament to go into *Bearne*, and hinder that Contract; and he having before sent the Baron *de Byron* (by him created Admiral) under pretence of taking possession of that dignity in the Parliament, followed him speedily, leaving his houshold and Council at *Chartres*, and having caused the Princess to come to *Tours*, he brought her with him, after the space of two months, unto the same City, being exceedingly angry to see himself so little esteemed by those of his own Blood. But this was a thing that made him more clearly know, it was high time (nor could he any longer defer) to take some resolution, and to establish his affairs, since that even the Princes of the Blood were openly alienated from him. Thus every little accident, though it seemed cross, was yet always favourable to his greatness and establishment.

The Writing of the Kings Catholicks sent to the Convocation of the States, is damned by the Spaniards for Heretical, and therefore they urge that it should neither be accepted nor answered.

Whilst they were fighting about *Noyon*, with no less ardour did they contend in *Paris* about resolving upon the Answer that was to be given to the Catholicks of the Kings party; for the Spaniards supported by the Cardinal-Legat, strove to cross it, and for a manifest reason alledged, that the Writing being heretical, as the Divines of *Sorbonne* had declared, it could not be taken into consideration, nor ought the States to give an Answer to it: That which made it heretical, they said, was, because it affirmed that Subjects were obliged to yield obedience to their Prince, though he were an Heretick, both known to be such, and condemned by the holy Church: They added, that this was a net to catch the inclinations of the simple, an obstacle to hinder the progress of the States, and a stone of scandal to retard Gods service; that it was not fit to lose time about their Enemies subtilties, nor about the interpositions of the King of *Navarre*, from whom it was certain that Writing was derived, since they themselves that caused it to be presented, confessed they did it with his consent, and it was subscribed by no other man but *Revol*, one of the Secretaries of State; and therefore, as he that will do well ought not to hearken to the temptations which the Devil suggests; so they that would procure the safety of the Kingdom, and the establishment of Religion, should in no sort mind the interpositions of the King of *Navarre*, and those that spoke by his instigation, and thorow his very mouth. On the other side, many of the Deputies said, that they ought not to shut their ears against those of the same Blood and Religion, who perchance sought to amend their errours, and cure their Consciences by retiring to the party of the good Catholicks, and adhering to the Confederates; that if it should come to pass, the King of *Navarre* would remain so weak and abject, that it would need no great pains to vanquish him; that all means ought to be used, and covetously laid hold on, which might lead to Peace, that being the last end to which all good Frenchmen tended, and to which for their own safety all aspired; and if with a common consent the way to attain to quietness could be found, why should they ingulf themselves in new miseries of War, and in new perpetual distractions of Arms? That to this end, the Duke of *Mayenne* had in his Declaration invited the Catholicks of the contrary party to meet and confer with him: That he had protested this unto them, adding, that if they resolved not to unite themselves

with

with him, they ſhould be guilty of all the ſubſequent miſchiefs and calamities: Which Proteſtation the Catholicks truſting in, had now demanded a Conference, and if they ſhould not accept it, they ſhould make themſelves guilty of the ſame crimes: That their ſpeaking by the Kings permiſſion, imported nothing; for things are not done and obtained all at once: That being now ſubject to his power, they were neceſſitated to ſpeak in that manner; but that afterwards being perſwaded and drawn by little and little, by reaſon and gentleneſs, perchance they would make a more clear, more expreſs reſolution: That it was no matter though *Revol* were Secretary to the King of *Navarre*, for he was a Catholick, and perchance no leſs inclined to a revolt than the reſt: That it was already known, how even the Princes of the Blood thought of changing their party, that the Catholicks were ill ſatisfied, becauſe the promiſes of his Converſion were not kept; and therefore it was neceſſary to foment that beginning of alteration, to help them to bring forth a firm determination, and by means thereof reunite all the Members into one Body, to attain the ſafety and quiet of the Kingdom. 1593.

This was the more plauſible opinion, and it was carried by the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Confidents, from whom they had received order to bring it to paſs; nor did there want any thing, ſave the Legats conſent, from whom neither the States, nor the Duke himſelf would in any wiſe alienate themſelves. Therefore the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* went to him, and demonſtrated, that if the Propoſition of the Royaliſts were not accepted, ſome very great tumults would follow; for the Nobility and the Order of Commons ſtood ſo ſtifly for it, that being tired out with the War, and reſt of Arms, they would make an inſurrection, with great danger of revolting to the King of *Navarre*: That no harm could be feared from that Conference; for ſuch perſons ſhould be imployed in it, as there would be no danger of their forſaking the cauſe of Religion: That if the Catholicks of the Kings party would join with that of the Confederates, it would be the very point of Victory; and if on the other ſide, they ſhould ſhow themſelves averſe from doing ſo, it would be eaſie, after having given ſatisfaction to the World, and to the States in appearance, to diſſolve the Conference a thouſand ways: That alſo in the time of Cardinal *Gaetano* there had been many Treaties and Conferences, both by himſelf and others, and yet no abſurdity had followed; and if at that preſent there ſhould not be one, he would not only be accounted ſcrupulous and ſevere, but alſo obſtinate, and an Enemy to Peace: That if only through his oppoſition, the propoſal of the Catholicks were not imbraced, it would be attributed to an unſeaſonable pride, and a too intereſſed union with the Spaniards, which perchance would not be pleaſing at *Rome*; that already all men murmured at it, and that the demand was ſo juſt, that whoſoever ſhould refuſe it, would manifeſtly put themſelves on the wrong ſide. The Legat (whoſe ears were already filled with the popular diſcourſes, which condemned his too much aſſenting to the Spaniards; the Prevoſt *des Merchands* having added, that the City, which by this Conference hoped for the benefit of being partly freed from ſcarcity, would certainly mutiny if it were refuſed, and thoſe of the Parliament ſtill boldly crying, and giving out, that they would make Proteſtation to the States) at laſt yielded in ſecret, that the Catholicks ſhould be anſwered, and that the Conference ſhould be accepted, but without his apparent conſent. So with a general Vote it was decreed in the States, that the Conference ſhould be accepted, and upon the Fourth day of *March* they framed an Anſwer to the Catholicks of this Tenor.

The Cardinal-Legat perſwaded by the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, conſents in ſecret that an anſwer ſhould be given to the Catholicks of the Kings party.

The Tenor of the Anſwer, wherein the Conference demanded, is accepted.

WE have ſeen ſome few days ago, the Letter which was written to us, and ſent by a Trumpet in your Name; which we could wiſh came from you with ſuch zeal and affection as you were wont (before theſe laſt miſeries) to bear to the preſervation of Religion, and with ſuch reſpect and obſervance as is due to the Church, our Lord the Pope, and the holy Chair; we ſhould for certain quickly be agreed and united together againſt the Hereticks; nor would other Arms be longer neceſſary for us, to beat down and break in pieces theſe new Altars which are ſet up againſt ours, and to hinder the eſtabliſhment of Hereſie, which (becauſe it hath been tolerated, or rather honoured with reward and recompence, when it ſhould have been puniſhed) is not contented now adays to be received and accepted; but will become Miſtriſs, and domineer imperiouſly under the Authority of an Heretick Prince. And though that Letter name no body in particular, nor is ſubſcribed by any of thoſe whoſe

names

1593. names it bears, and that we therefore are uncertain who ſent it us; or rather certain that it was done at the ſuggeſtion of others, (the Catholicks not having in the place where you are, that liberty which is neceſſary, to hear, deliberate, and reſolve with the counſel and judgment of their conſcience, any of thoſe things which our miſery and the common ſafety require) yet ſhould we not have ſo long delayed to make anſwer to it, had it not been that we ſtayed expecting to have the Aſſembly fuller, and increaſed by a good number of perſons who were upon the way to come unto it, of whom the greater part being arrived, out of a doubt that our ſo long ſilence may be calumniated, We do it this day, without deferring it to another, in expectation of the reſt who are yet to come. And we declare firſt of all, That we have all ſworn and promiſed to God, (after having received his moſt precious Body, and the bleſſing of the holy See by the hands of the Cardinal-Legat) that the ſcope of all our counſels, the beginning, means, and end of all our actions ſhall be to ſecure and preſerve the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion, wherein we will live and die. Truth it ſelf which cannot lye, having taught us, that by ſeeking the Kingdom and Glory of God before all other things, temporal bleſſings ſhall be added thereunto; among which in the firſt place after Religion, we put the conſervation of the State entire; and hold that all other means of hinderance ruine and deſtruction, grounded only upon humane wiſdom, ſmell of impiety, are unjuſt, contrary to duty, and the profeſſion we make to be good Catholicks, and without likelihood of ever having any good ſucceſs. And we being freed from thoſe accidents and dangers which good men foreſee and fear by reaſon of the miſchiefs Hereſie produceth, will not reject any counſel which may help to diminiſh our miſeries, or bring them to an end. For we acknowledge, and are but too ſenſible of the calamities which Civil War brings forth, and have no need of any body to ſhew us our wounds; but God and men know who are the authors of them. It ſufficeth us to ſay we are trained up and inſtructed in the Doctrine of the holy Church, nor can our Souls and Conſciences have repoſe and tranquillity, nor taſte any happineſs while they are in fears and jealouſies of loſing Religion, whoſe danger can neither be diſſembled nor avoided, if men continue as they have begun. Thence it is, that, judging as you do that our reconciliation is moſt neceſſary, we ſeek it with a truly Chriſtian charity, and pray and conjure you in the Name of God to grant it us. Nor let the blames and upbraidings which the Hereticks caſt upon us any way hinder you. As for ambition, which they publiſh to be the cauſe of our taking up of Arms, it is in your power to ſee us within, and diſcover whether Religion be the cauſe, or pretence; leave you the Hereticks, (whom at the ſame time you both follow and deteſt:) If we lift up our hands to Heaven to give God thanks, if we be diſpoſed and ready to follow all good counſels, to love you, to honour you, to yield you that reſpect and ſervice that ſhall be due to you; then praiſe us as honeſt men, who have had the courage to deſpiſe all dangers for the preſervation of Religion, nor have wanted integrity and moderation to forbear the thought of any thing that is againſt honour and reaſon; but if the contrary happen, then accuſe our diſſimulation, and condemn us as wicked perſons; by ſo doing you will ſet both Heaven and Earth againſt us, and make our Arms fall out of our hands as conquered, or leave us ſo weak, that the Victory over us will be without danger, and without glory. In the mean time, blame the miſchief of Hereſie which is known to you, and rather fear that canker that devours us, and every day gets ground, than a vain imaginary Ambition, when there is no ſuch thing; or, if there be, it will be left alone and poorly attended, when it ſhall be deprived of the cloak of Religion. It is likewiſe a calumny to accuſe us that we bring Strangers into the Kingdom: it is neceſſary either to loſe Religion, with our Honours, Lives and Eſtates, or elſe to oppoſe the force of the Heretick, whom nothing can pleaſe but our ruine; and therefore we are conſtrained to make uſe of them, ſince your Arms are againſt us. They are the moſt holy Fathers, and the moſt holy See that have ſent us relief; and though many have been called to that ſupreme Dignity ſince theſe laſt troubles, yet have there not been one of them who hath changed his affection towards us, a moſt certain teſtimony that our cauſe is juſt. It is the Catholick King, a Prince allied and confederate to this Crown, only powerful now adays to maintain and defend Religion, who hath likewiſe helped us with his forces and powers, yet without any other reward or recompence, but the glory which ſo good a work hath juſtly acquired him. Our Kings againſt the Rebellion of Hereticks, and in the like neceſſity have had recourſe to them; we have followed their example, without entring into

into any Treaty prejudicial to the State, or to our reputation, though our neceſſity hath been much greater than theirs. Rather ſet before your eyes, that the Engliſh, who aſſiſt you to eſtabliſh Hereſie, are the ancient Enemies of the Kingdom, who yet bear the title of that uſurpation, and have their hands imbrued in the innocent blood of an infinite number of Catholicks, who have conſtantly ſuffered death for the ſervice of God and the Church. Ceaſe likewiſe to hold us guilty of High Treaſon, becauſe we will not obay an Heretick Prince, whom you call our natural King; and have a care, that bending your eyes to the Earth to look upon humane Laws, you forget not the divine Law that came from Heaven. It is not Nature, nor the right of Nations that teacheth us to acknowledge our Kings, but the Law of God, the Law of his Church, and that of the Kingdom, which require from the Prince that is to command us, not only proximity of blood, which you ſtand upon, but alſo the profeſſion of the Catholick Religion; and this quality hath given name to that Law which we call the Fundamental Law of the State, always followed and obſerved by our Anceſtors without any exception; though the other of proximity of blood hath been ſometime altered, the Kingdom remaining nevertheleſs entire, and in its former dignity. To come therefore to ſo holy and neceſſary a reconciliation, we accept the Conference which you demand, provided it may be only between Catholicks, and to deliberate about the means of preſerving Religion and the State. And becauſe you deſire it ſhould be between *Paris* and St. *Denis*, we intreat you to like of *Mont-Martre*, St. *Meaux*, or *Chaliot* in the Queens Palace; and that you would be pleaſed to ſend thoſe that ſhall be deputed by you, upon ſome day you ſhall think fit, before the end of this month, whereof we being advertiſed, will not fail to have ours there, and to proceed with ſincere affection, free from all paſſion, praying to God that the event of it may be ſuch, that we may find the preſervation of Religion and of the State; and a good, ſecure durable peace, as we alſo pray him to conſerve you, and give you his Spirit to know, and imbrace the moſt wholſom profitable counſel for the general ſafety. 1593.

This anſwer being received and read in the Council of the King, who was not yet come back from his journey into *Poiction*, they that were there preſent determined to proſecute the Conference, but to defer the particulars thereof till they had the Kings conſent to them, and the general votes of the Council. Thus by a Writing full of courteous expreſſions, they excuſed the delay, and finally, having received their approbation, and replied again with other Letters, they concluded to hold the Conference at *Surenne* between *Paris* and St. *Denis*.

*Surenne* is choſen for the place of conference.

There was great contention at *Paris* about the election of the perſons that were to intervene at this Treaty; for the Legat and the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors ſtrove to procure that one of them might be *Guilliaume Roſe* Biſhop of *Senlis*, a man of a ſowre nature, and ſharp eloquence, which for many years he had profuſely uſed againſt the Kings, and againſt their party; and on the other ſide, they that inclined to peace, deſired the Sieur *de Villeroy* might be admitted, who by many was excluded as partial to the King: at laſt for the common ſatisfaction they were both left out, and thoſe that were unanimouſly choſen were, the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, *Pericard* Biſhop of *Auranche*, *Godefroy de Billy* Abbot of St. *Vincent de Laon*, the Admiral *Villars*, the Count *de Belin*, the Baron *de Talmay*, the Sieurs *de Montigny* and *Montaulin*, Preſident *Jeannin*, and Preſident *Maiſtre*, *Eſtienne Bernard* Advocate in the Parliament of *Dijon*, and *Honoré de Laurent* Counſellor in the Parliament of *Aix*. They of the Kings ſide choſe the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, the Sieurs *de Chavigny*, and *Bellieure*; the Count *de Schombergh*, Preſident *de Thou*, *Nicholas* Sieur *de Rambouillett*, the Sieur *de Pontcarré*, and Secretary *Revol*. But at the firſt meeting, with the mutual conſent of the Deputies, there were added the Sieur *de Vic* Governour of St. *Denis* on the Kings ſide, and for the League the Sieur *de Villeroy*, who the Duke of *Mayenne* deſired by all means ſhould aſſiſt in the Treaty, and in the progreſs of it the Sieurs *de Roſne* and *la Chaſtre* were likewiſe admitted.

The perſons elected on both ſides to intervene at the Conference.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Feria*, upon the ſecond of *April*, had ſolemn publick audience of the States, at which in a Latin Oration, he proffered the Catholick Kings aſſiſtance and ſupplies to the Aſſembly, for the conſervation of Religion, and the election of ſuch a King, as the condition of the times required, and likewiſe preſented Letters from King *Philip*, wherein after many courteous expreſſions, he referred himſelf to what the Duke of *Feria*, and the other Ambaſſadors ſhould repreſent in his name, who

1593. who ſaid, that they reſerved themſelves to do it, when the Duke of *Mayenne* and the other Princes ſhould be come unto the States, who were yet at the meeting at *Rheims* with the Duke of *Lorain*.

The Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain* being met at *Rheims* to treat about the election of a King, differ in opinions by reaſon of their own intereſts.

There their minds were no leſs diſagreeing, nor the opinions leſs differing than in the States; for the Duke of *Lorain* ſeeing the reſt were not inclined to yield to him as Head of the Family, and knowing the Spaniards were already engaged in the deſign of getting the Infanta elected, began to be weary of the War which he had ſuſtained all thoſe late years to the great damage of his people; and though the Spaniards ſometimes ſcattered reports, that the Infanta being choſen Queen ſhould take the Cardinal his Son to be her Husband, it ſeemed to him ſo abſurd, that he was not at all inclined to believe it, and ſince he could attain to nothing elſe, would have been content with Peace, whereby the Cities of *Thoul* and *Verdun* ſhould remain his. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Mayenne* deſired he ſhould perſiſt in Arms, and favour the election of him and his Sons, thinking his pains and endeavours deſerved that reward, and that no other body at that preſent was able to undergo that weight, but he rather gave ſigns of this intention than propounded it, and laboured dexterouſly to inſinuate it into the reſt; among which as the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbœuf* adhered to him, ſo the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Guiſe* aſſented not, both being intent to endeavour for themſelves, and full of hopes that the Spaniards might at laſt concur to marry the Infanta to one of them. The Duke of *Mayenne* ſtrove to withdraw them from that thought, by letting them ſee it was far from the intent of the Spaniards, who had no other deſign than to get the Crown into the power of the Infanta, and by her, either in her life-time, or after her death, to have it united and incorporated to that of *Spain*, to which it was very repugnant to give her a young French Husband, and ſuch an one as might be able not only to govern her, but alſo the people, and forces of the Nobility and Kingdom.

*Girolamo Gondi* with the Grand Duke of *Thuſcany*'s conſent, treats an Agreement with the Duke of *Lorain* in the Kings behalf, offering him the Princeſs *Catherine* in marriage for the Prince his Son; and the Count *de Schombergh* treats an agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*, but with weak hope of ſucceſs.

It was a remarkable thing, that though this was an Aſſembly of the Houſe of *Lorain*, the King ſhould yet have a very great party in it; for by the Grand Duke of *Thuſcany*'s conſent, *Girolamo Gondi* had formerly begun, and now continued to treat with the Duke of *Lorain*, to induce him and the reſt to think of agreeing with the King, propoſing his Converſion, full caution and ſecurity for Religion, and to give his Siſter in Marriage to the Prince of *Lorain*, with thoſe Cities which the Duke deſired and pretended to; and on the other ſide, by means of the Count of *Schombergh* he had begun to deal with the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſhewing him that they might with much more eaſe, agree privately between themſelves, than if they ſhould ſtay for the event of the conference, for he was ready to gratifie him, and give him that really in preſent, which the Spaniards promiſed but verbally to give in future. But the hopes of every one of theſe intereſſed perſons were ſtill too freſh and lively, which dazling their underſtanding and incumbering it with paſſion, would not ſuffer them yet to come to this determination; ſo that neither agreeing among themſelves, nor in any third perſon, they parted at laſt without any concluſion; ſave that the Duke of *Lorain* gave Commiſſion to the Sieur *de Baſſompier* his Ambaſſador to the States, to adhere in the Treaty to the Duke of *Mayenne*'s will, in what concerned their intereſts and the affairs of the Spaniards, without declaring himſelf in the buſineſs of election. The Duke of *Mayenne* with his Nephew of *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Elbœuf*, went towards *Paris*, being yet uncertain of his own deſign; the Duke of *Lorain* more deſirous of quiet than any thing elſe, returned into his own State, and the Duke of *Aumale* went into *Picardy* to aſſiſt Count *Charles*, who ſtaid about the confines with the forces of the Catholick King.

A Truce is concluded and publiſhed, for four Leagues about *Paris*, and as much about *Surenne* for the ſecurity of them that treated; the Pariſians rejoyce at it very much.

In the mean time the Conference at *Surenne* was begun, upon the Nine and twentieth of *April*, where after the firſt Meetings, and mutual Exhortations, to lay aſide all affections and intereſts, and to apply themſelves ſincerely to the common good and ſafety; the Deputies ſhewed one another their Commiſſions and Authority; they gave Paſſports and Safe conducts on both ſides, and a diſcourſe was begun of making a Ceſſation of Arms in the neighbouring places, to the end that the Deputies themſelves, and thoſe of their retinue might ſtay freely, and treat without diſquiet or ſuſpition, which Truce was afterwards eſtabliſhed and publiſhed upon the Third of *May* for four Leagues about *Paris*, and as much about *Surenne*; which did ſo rejoyce the Pariſians, who had been ſo many years ſhut up and impriſoned within their Walls, that every one might eaſily perceive how much joy and conſolation the peace (if it ſhould follow) would bring

bring to all the people of *France*. Both parties agreed in this one point, that peace was neceſſary to raiſe up *France* from her preſent miſeries and future ruine; every one praiſed it, and ſhewed himſelf ready to embrace it, but they diſagreed abſolutely in the means proper to attain it. For the Deputies for the League held, the foundation of all things to be Religion, and that no other agreement ought, or could be concluded, wherein the firſt and chiefeſt conſideration was not about it; and therefore exhorted the Royalliſts to forſake the Heretick Prince whom they followed, and uniting themſelves all to one end, unanimouſly to chuſe a Catholick King, ſuch a one as might be acceptable and approved by the Pope, by whoſe eſtabliſhment, the roots of diſcord being extirpated, which ſprung up from diverſity of Religion, they might joyntly come to ſettle Policy, good Government, Peace, and the repoſe of the Kingdom. On the other ſide, the Deputies on the Kings part maintained, that the foundation of Peace, was the acknowledgement of, and obedience to a lawful Prince, truly French, and called by the Laws: Under whoſe ſhadow all of them reuniting themſelves, troubles and diſſentions might be made to ceaſe; they ſaid, Religion was a ſecond conſideration, for Chriſtians anciently had obeyed and acknowledged many Princes that were not onely Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, but alſo enemies and perſecutors of the Church, and the moſt holy, moſt learned Fathers of Chriſtendom, nay, even the Apoſtles themſelves had taught and preached that obedience; and therefore they exhorted thoſe of the League to reunite themſelves in the acknowledgment of their King, to whom the Crown undoubtedly belonged, both by a right lineal deſcent, and by vertue of the Salique Law; for as he would give all kind of ſecurities, the moſt full and ample that could be deſired for the preſervation of Religion; ſo, in time, he might alſo be reduced to embrace and follow the Catholick Doctrine, from which he did not ſhew himſelf abſolutely averſe. 1593.

The Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and the reſt of his fellow Deputies could not endure to hear this Doctrine, but abhorred and confuted it with deteſtation, though the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, with great flouriſhes of Learning, Authorities, and Examples, laboured to maintain it; but they on the other ſide ſaid freely, This was the way to make the Kingdom Schiſmatical, and alienate it from the Fellowſhip of the Catholick Church, and that they would rather chuſe to loſe their lives, than conſent to ſo brutiſh, ſo pernitious a thing; and then again, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* demonſtrated, that to be ſo obſtinate upon that point, was a ſubjecting of the Kingdom to the Dominion, not onely of Foreign Princes, but of its moſt bitter enemies, and that for their parts (ſince they knew they might live with Liberty of Conſcience, and in the maintenance of their Religion) they would not by any means make themſelves guilty of ſo great a crime. After long diſputations, the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* propoſed, that ſince they could not frame themſelves to acknowledge a King, that was not publickly and certainly a Catholick, they would joyntly exhort King *Henry* to change his Religion, and come into the boſome of the Church; for if he ſhould accept of the invitation, and reſolve to do ſo, all doubts and occaſions of diſſenting from him would ceaſe, and if he ſhould refuſe it, then every Catholick would forſake him, and all united together would chuſe another Prince of the Blood, that were a Catholick, and one generally approved. The Confederates replied, they neither could nor ought to exhort, nor invite the King of *Navar*, who had not onely oftentimes ſhewed he regarded not, nay, rather deſpiſed thoſe invitations, but alſo having promiſed them to turn Catholick, had deceived them and abuſed their credulity; Wherefore, if he had made no reckoning of his friends, much leſs was it to be believed, he would value his enemies, and that having by the Apoſtolick See been declared a relapſed Heretick, and excommunicated, they could not treat with him, nor meddle with any thing that appertained to his intereſt. The Royalliſts ſhewed, that now he ſeemed to be of another opinion, and that the invitations formerly made unto him, had been threatning ones, accompanied with force, and therefore he had rejected them, as unſeemly to his reputation; but that now he took thoſe exhortations in good part, which were made to him by way of extremity, and ſhewed a thouſand ſigns that he would reconcile himſelf to the Church; that he had not kept his promiſe by reaſon of the hinderance of Arms and War, for it was fit his converſion ſhould be with decency and honor, and without violence, and that they hoped to ſee him a Catholick very ſhortly: to which the others replyed, that they ſhould be very glad of his converſion (if it ſhould come to paſs) for his own ſouls ſake;

1593. but that theſe were politick artifices to deceive the ſimple, nor could they ground any reſolution at all upon it.

Divers Sittings were ſpent in theſe diſputes, without coming to a concluſion; ſo that many judged (as they had prognoſticated from the beginning) that the Conference would be diſſolved without fruit. Hence the Spaniards taking courage; both becauſe of the reſolution which they of the League ſhewed, that they would never aſſent to acknowledge any other King than one that was ſincerely a Catholick; and becauſe of the perſeverance they ſaw in the King and his Deputies, to ſet the point of Religion after the Salique Law and the politick Government of the Kingdom) reſolved to make the utmoſt puſh for it, and to propoſe the election of the *Infanta* for the laſt engine of their attempt. Wherefore the Cardinal-Legate having cauſed many Proceſſions and Prayers to be made, with no leſs pomp than devotion, to beg of God that he would inſpire the States in the good choice of convenient means for the common ſafety: There met in his Palace upon the nineteenth of *May*, beſides the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, who were to make the Propoſition, the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Guiſe*, *Aumale*, and *Elbœuf*, the Count *de Chaligny*, the Sieur *de Baſſompier* in the name of the Duke of *Lorain*, the Sieur *de la Pierre* for the Duke of *Savoy*, *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for the Duke of *Mercœur*, Cardinal *Pelleve*, and the Count *de Belin* Governor of *Paris*; and in the name of the States ſix Deputies to treat with the Spaniſh Miniſters, the Arch-biſhop of *Lyons* and the Biſhop of *Senlis* for the Clergy, the Sieurs *de la Chaſtre* and *Montolin* for the Nobility, the *Prevoſt des Marchands* of *Paris* and *Eſtienne Bernard* for the Commons. In this meeting, wherein all the ſpirits of the States, and the very ſoul of the League conſiſted, the Duke of *Feria* began to deteſt the Conference that was held with thoſe of the Kings party; ſaying, that the Cardinal-Legate and he had aſſented to it onely, that they might not fail of any poſſible means to reduce thoſe that were gone aſtray into the boſome of the holy Church, and to the end that the obſtinacy of the *Politicks* being more clearly ſeen, who ſet Religion behind the conſideration of temporal things, the World might be certified of their wickedneſs, and of the good intent of the Catholick King, whoſe principal object was Chriſtian Charity, the ſafety of *Religion*, and (with theſe conditions) the peace and happineſs of that moſt Chriſtian Kingdom; but this trial alſo having been made, that nothing might be left undone, and to ſatisfie the curioſity of all men, it was now at laſt time to diſſolve thoſe Treaties, which, without hope of any fruit, carried with them the danger of many miſchiefs, and thenceforth apply themſelves to the election of one, who, by common conſent ſhould poſſeſs the Crown; for which end they were met together with ſo much difficulty, and from ſo many ſeveral places: that as the Catholick King, who had ſpent ſo much gold, and poured out ſo much blood of his Subjects for the upholding of that cauſe, had never refuſed any overture of thoſe remedies which he believed might conduce to the general good; ſo at laſt he was come to know, that there was no better nor more helpful reſolution for all parts than one alone, wherein both juſtice and decency, profit and conveniency did joyntly concur; that this was the election of the *Infanta Clara Eugenia Iſabella* Daughter to his moſt Catholick Majeſty, to be Queen of *France*, to whom, as born of *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter to *Henry* the Second, whoſe male-line was ended, the Crown juſtly and lawfully belonged, as by a thouſand Authorities, and conſtitutions of Law and Reaſon it was eaſie to prove; that the King wiſhed and deſired the conſent of the States ſhould concur in that juſt election for the more general ſatisfaction, to the end, that the gratitude of the French, remembring how much he had done for their ſervice, might agree with the juſtice of the cauſe, to eſtabliſh the common peace and contentment. Here he enlarged himſelf fully in the *Infanta*'s praiſes, ſhewing her prudence, worth, and magnanimity, qualities worthy to order ſo noble a Government; and finally concluded, there were already Eight thouſand Foot and Two thouſand Horſe ready at the States leaſt requeſt to enter into the Confines, and that as many more ſhould be ready within three months, all which Forces ſhould be paid by the King till the Wars were ended; and that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould have an Hundred thouſand Crowns paid him every month to maintain Ten thouſand French Foot, and Four thouſand Horſe; that if theſe were thought leſs than was requiſite, the Catholick King would add ſo many more as ſhould be ſufficient; it being to be believed, that out of the infinite affection he bore his daughter, he ſhould not fail to imploy all his force to make her a free peaceable poſſeſſor of the Kingdom; promiſing and aſſuring laſt of all, that the Princes of the Houſe of *Loraine* eſpecially,

*May* the 19, 1593, there is a private meeting in the Legats Palace, where the Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain* are preſent, and other Deputies repreſenting the three Orders.

The Duke of *Feria* in the meeting propoſeth the election of the *Infanta* to be Queen; being Daughter to *Philip* the Second King of *Spain*, by *Elizabeth* eldeſt ſiſter to *Henry* the Third, King of *France*

eſpecially, and then all the other Lords and Gentlemen ſhould be largely requited and contented, the Clergy brought to their firſt ſplendor, the Nobility ſatisfied, the People eaſed, and all the ſeveral Orders of *France* ſetled, not onely in full peace and tranquillity, but alſo in the ancient luſtre and glory of their Nation. 1593.

The Duke of *Feria* having concluded his ſpeech in this manner, the Biſhop of *Senlis*, who, with impatience had expected the end of it, without giving time to any other body, whom it concerned, by order, to tell his opinion, ſtood up, and ſaid ſcornfully; The *Politicks* were in the right, who had ever ſaid, that intereſt of State was hid under the Cloak of Religion, which he, with thoſe of his coat, having, with infinite labour, alwayes endeavoured to confute in their Pulpits, he was now ſorry at heart to hear from the mouths, and by the confeſſion of Ambaſſadors, that it was true, and that the Preachers deceiving themſelves and others, had defended and protected a thing that was falſe; that from thenceforward he ſhould believe the Spaniards were no leſs politick than the *Navarrois*, but he prayed them for their own honor, and the reputation of the *Holy Union*, to deſiſt from that thought; For the Kingdom of *France* having, for the ſpace of Twelve hundred years, been gloriouſly poſſeſſed by Men, according to the inſtitution of the *Salique* Law, it was not fit now to transfer it upon Women, who, by the variety of their Marriages, might call in variety of Maſters, and ſubject the French Nation to the dominion of Forreigners. This free, unexpected anſwer, made by one of the chief inſtruments of the League, and of the Kings ſharpeſt enemies, did not onely diſmay the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, but many alſo of the Aſſembly, doubting that ſo free a reproof, made without any reſpect, might diſcompoſe all things, and put them in confuſion. But the D. of *Mayenne* endeavoured with dexterity to excuſe the Biſhop of *Senlis* his words, aſcribing them to exceſs of zeal, or too much fervour of mind, intimating, that ſometimes he went beyond himſelf, and ſhewing, that when he was made ſenſible of reaſon, and what was fit, he would of himſelf correct that, which, being drawn by his firſt violence, he had ſo licentiouſly ſpoken unawares. The Ambaſſadors took heart again at the encouragement of the Duke of *Mayenne*, of Cardinal *Pelleve*, and ſome others; but truely it remained evident, that it was not out of ambition, or for any intereſts (as many would have had it thought,) but becauſe his conſcience ſo perſwaded him, that the Biſhop of *Senlis*, in all the courſe of thoſe commotions, had ſo profuſely favoured the party of the *Union*, and ſpoken ſo ſharply, and with ſuch continued Liberty againſt the perſon of the preſent King, and the memory of him that was dead. However it were, certain it is, his words helped to abate the credit of the Spaniards, and his example moved many of thoſe who followed the League, not for their own intereſt, but in reſpect of Religion.

The Biſhop of *Senlis* though a bitter Enemy to the King, answers the Duke of *Feria* [illegible] and oppoſeth his propoſition.

The Duke of *Mayenne* dextrouſly excuſes what the Biſhop of *Senlis* had too freely ſpoken.

And yet the Spaniards not loſing heart, by reaſon of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s diſſimulation, and of the hopes they had in many of the Deputies, demanded publick audience in the aſſembly of the States, and having obtained it, upon the Six and twentieth day *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis* was the firſt that ſpoke, who, with a ſhort, but very cunning ſpeech, made the propoſition of the *Infanta*, and after him *Inigo de Mendozza* with a long diſputation divided into ſeven heads, explained the rights that ſhe pretended to the ſucceſſion of the Crown; both of them concluding, that it was not to put that in controverſie, which was to be acknowledged from the voluntary election of the State, but to inform and ſatisfie them, that he alledged thoſe reaſons, to the end, that with prudent advice, the free diſpoſal of the aſſembly might go along with right and conform it ſelf to Juſtice; the *Infanta* being willing to acknowledge that from them by way of election, which duely belonged to her by rightful ſucceſſion. This propoſition was no leſs deeply reſented by the major part of the Deputies, than it had been by the Biſhop of *Senlis*; many diſdain'd, that the dominion of Strangers ſhould be propoſed to them, as to men who were either ſlaves to the will of others, or ignorant of their own intereſts: others laught to ſee this propoſition made without preparations of Arms, men, and moneys, as both need and the reputation of the buſineſs required: others condemned the Spaniards of little diſcretion, in having had the boldneſs to declare their deſign, without having prepoſſeſſed their minds and diſpoſed them towards it, by the powerful preparative of private intereſt; and there wanted not of thoſe who diſputed alſo about the right; and ſaid, that though women ſhould be declared to have right to the inheritance of the Crown, it probably belonged not to her, but to the Kings of *England*, who were firſt deſcended from daughters of *France*, and with whom there had been ſo many, and ſo tedious Wars to reject that pretention, and

*Juan Baptiſta Taſſis* and *Inigo Mendozza* propoſe the Election of the Infanta in the publick Aſſembly of the States.

The Spaniſh propoſition is ill reliſhed by the Deputies, and eſteemed unjuſt.

1593. to uphold the Salique Law, and the legitimate ſucceſſion of the Males. But they that were moſt of all diſpleaſed at it ( though ſecretly ) were the Princes of the Houſe of *Lorain*, who pretended to the election themſelves, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, though he more cunningly diſſembled it, ſhewing in appearance, that he would not diſſent from the King of *Spain* s will, nor from what he had agreed upon with the Ambaſſadors at *Soiſſons*, yet he underhand ſtirred up the Deputies to reject that propoſition, as diſhonorable to the Nation, dangerous in point of ſervitude, hurtful to themſelves, and to the liberty of thoſe that ſhould come after them, and not grounded upon any preſent ſecurity, but all vainly ſupported by the uncertainty of future promiſes.

There was no doubt but the Deputies would unanimouſly refuſe that propoſition, yet not to exaſperate the Spaniards, and to give matters time to ripen, they anſwered, after many complements, that their deſire ſhould be taken into conſideration, to the end an anſwer might be given as ſoon as was poſſible; which while it was expected, the Duke of *Mayenne*, to find out a way to exclude that buſineſs, began to treat with the Ambaſſadors, what Husband the *Infanta* ſhould have when the Sates had elected her Queen, and urged them to declare what Commiſſions they had from the Catholick King concerning that. Their anſwer was altogether like the reſt of the treaty, for they made no ſcruple to declare, that the King thought of matching her to *Erneſt*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, the Emperors Brother, whom he had alſo appointed to ſucceed the Duke of *Parma* in his Country of *Flanders*. This anſwer was preſently excluded; for all replyed with joynt conſent, That they would not have a King of a different Language and Nation, and that the Ears of Frenchmen could never endure to hear it; and though the Duke of *Mayenne*, for divers reſpects, feigned to approve of the Archduke, the reſt notwithſtanding declared freely they would none of him; which, as ſoon as the Spaniards knew, ſeeing the *Infanta*'s election would go but in a deſperate courſe, if ſome conſiderable prop were not added to uphold it, they ſaid they had Commiſſion in caſe the States approved not of the Archduke, to propoſe, that the Catholick King would marry the *Infanta* to a French Prince, who ſhould be nominated and elected by him within ſix months. This Propoſition diſpleaſed not all of them in general, becauſe there were many pretenders, among which were the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain*; but the Duke of *Mayenne* publickly commending the propoſition, endeavored to ſound, whether they inclined to any one of his Sons, and being ſufficiently certified they were not like to conſent unto it, becauſe they would not put the Dominion of the Kingdom into his hands, being certain the *Infanta* ſhould be barely a Wife, not a Miſtriſs, he began to draw the contrary way, much more than he had done before, and applyed himſelf to foment the Conference, which had never been intermitted at *Surenne* between the Catholicks of both parties.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſadors Anſwer concerning a Husband for the Infanta.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being aſſured, that none of his Sons ſhould be named for the Infanta's Husband, proſecutes the Treaty with the Royalliſts.

The King, who had notice of all that was in agitation, ſought every way, by means of the Conference, to hinder each reſolution of the States; but his Deputies could not do much in it, by reaſon of the important oppoſition of Religion, nay, rather his own Catholicks were diſcontented themſelves, that his Converſion ſo much deſired, and ſo often promiſed, was deferred more and more every day. The Princes of the Blood threatned openly, and now thought in good earneſt of taking ſome reſolution, becauſe they ſaw the election of a King of another Family was ſo cloſely treated of: And every one, even of himſelf, fell eaſily into an opinion, that by going over to the League, he might come to marry the Spaniſh *Infanta*, and have the protection of the Catholick Kings Forces for his eſtabliſhment; whereupon, not onely the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was extraordinarily moved, but alſo the Count *de Soiſſons* newly diſguſted, by being put beſide the marriage of the Princeſs *Catherine*; the Prince of *Conti* reckoned not the inſufficiency which was believed of him, to be to his diſadvantage, but rather thought the Spaniards would like him the better, to the end that the *Infanta* remaining without iſſue, there might ſome hope continue of uniting the Crowns; and finally alſo, it was pretended to by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, a Prince valiant in War, of a moſt ready Wit, handſome perſon, and graceful Behavior: So that the *Infanta*'s election perchance was better thought on among the King's party, than among thoſe of the League. But particular men, who had not theſe pretenſions, and were onely moved by two reſpects, That of their own profit, and that of Religion, exclaimed openly, That the Kings ſtubbornneſs gave to the Spaniſh cunning and boldneſs opportunity of breaking out; that now at laſt all the Kings excuſes and delays were come to an end; that even he himſelf had no longer the heart to alledge any reaſon, nor propoſe any exceuſe;

Pretenders to the Infanta out of hope to attain the Crown.

cuſe; that it was evident he was bewitched with the ſubtilties of the Miniſters, and faſt tied to the Doctrine of his Arch-Hereticks; that it was fit now at laſt to think of their Souls, of their Religion, of the ſafety of themſelves and their Children, and not be made inſtruments to ſend themſelves, and all their poſterity to the Devil; that they ſhould even let him and his deſperate Hugonots go to perdition alone, and not carry the whole Kingdom with him for company. 1593.

Next after reſpect of Religion, particular intereſts immediately ſucceeded; every one deteſted the toil and burden of War, every one had compaſſion upon himſelf, upon the ſufferings of his own Family, the ruine of his domeſtick affairs, and the continued expences, that found no end; every one ſighed, every one longed for the repoſe and quietneſs of Peace; and among all the reſt, Monſieur *d' O*, weary of being Treaſurer without Money, *Bellegarde*, *St. Luc*, *Termes*, *Sancy*, *Grillon*, and all the old Servants of *Henry* the Third, bewailed themſelves, and their ill Fortune, which, in ſtead of a King of Gold, whom they were wont to have, had given them now a King of Iron; for the late King poured forth Gold plentifully to the benefit of his Servants, whereas the preſent King, in the narrowneſs of his Fortune, being no leſs thrifty in his mind and nature, propounded nothing for reward or recompence, but Wars, Sieges, Skirmiſhes, and Battels: They ſaid, they could no longer ſuſtain the intolerable toils of War, and to live inchaſed between a Back and Breſt of Iron, as Tortoiſes are in their ſhells; that they could not abide a King accuſtomed after the Hugonot faſhion, to run up and down day and night, to live by rapine, upon what they could find in the miſerable Cottages of poor Countrey people, to warm themſelves at the flame of an houſe on fire, to have their Horſes their Chamber-fellows when they ſlept, or the ſtinking Cattel of wretched Peaſants; that War was ordinarily made for ſome time to attain peace and quietneſs: But now they ſerved a Prince, who did not care to end the troubles of War, accounting volleys of ſhot, wounds, death, and battels, to be the onely delights. Theſe complaints ſometimes accompanied with railings and curſings, ſometimes ſpoken among Proverbs, and in *raillerie*, after the French manner, were ſo publick, that they came to the Kings ears, which were continually filled by the ſerious advertiſements of the Count *de Schombergh*, and the High-Chancellor, to whom was added *Jaques Davy* Sieur *du Perron*, who, while he negotiated the Cardinal of *Bourbons* affairs, had, by diſputing, converted the Baron *de Salignac*, one of the Kings Bed-chamber, whom he long had favoured, and by his means had got himſelf in to converſe with the King at idle-times in his moſt private Lodgings; where, ſometimes with ſerious Learned Diſputes, ſometimes with Eloquent Diſcourſes, ſometimes with Elegant Poetry (in which he was very excellent) ſometimes with witty, merry talking, had gotten ſo much favor, that from pleaſing entertainments, he was begun to be admitted alſo to the handling of more weighty matters. This man ſeeing the way to his own greatneſs, was much more eaſie by the Kings Converſion, than in the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s Exaltation, ſet himſelf to procure it by moſt vigilant means, and with all poſſible endeavors, making uſe of the preſent conjuncture, with admirable warineſs and diſcretion.

The Royalliſts excluded from the hopes of reigning, and weary of their toils, make great complaints againſt the Kings obſtinacy, ſaying, That whereas before they had a King of gold they had now, a King of iron.

All theſe things (but particularly the neceſſity) which were very well known to the King, at laſt moved him ſo, that to begin with ſome ſecurity to declare himſelf, he gave order to the Count *de Schombergh*, and Secretary *Revol* (who were come to him, to know what they ſhould finally propoſe in the Congregation at *Surenne*) that they ſhould ſound the mindes of the Catholicks of the League, to find how they were like to reliſh and receive his Converſion, if he ſhould truly determine to return unto the Church; which buſineſs having been conſulted of among his Deputies, they reſolved to make overture of it, by demonſtrating to them of the *Union*, that the King would obſerve his promiſes within a few dayes; wherefore, being met at their wonted Conference (in which they had till then contended with great difference, and without concluding any thing to the purpoſe) the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges* told them, he brought them good news, and ſuch as would rejoyce every true French heart, which was, that the King, touched by Gods inſpiration, would, within a few dayes, comfort all his Subjects, by turning to the Catholick Faith, and reconciling himſelf to the Church, and that therefore, as they were certain this news would be acceptable to them all, ſo they prayed them to ſee what wayes might be taken to favour and promote that Converſion, or to guide it in ſuch manner, that it might bring forth the general peace and quiet. All the Deputies of the League remain'd in ſuſpence at this propoſition; but the Arch-Biſhop of *Lyons*, leſt that doubtfulneſs of mind ſhould be

The King perſwaded by thoſe he truſted in, and by neceſſity, cauſes a Propoſition to be made in the Conference at *Surenne*, to find how his Converſion would be reliſhed, if he ſhould reſolve to turn.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges* tells them in the Conference, that the King inſpired by God would turn to the Catholick Religion.

1593. be discovered, answered readily, that he believed his fellow Deputies would give him leave to say, they rejoyced at the King of *Navar*'s conversion, that they were very glad of it, and that they prayed to God it were true and real; and for the rest he demanded time to consult with them in private, which having done for many hours, because their opinions differed, they at last answered, that (as they had said before) they rejoyced at his conversion, which though it should come to pass, it belonged not to them to know and declare, whether it were good and sincere or no; that that was a business which concerned the Apostolick Sea, and the Popes judgment, wherefore they could not so much as think of any thing depending upon that Conversion, the censure whereof was not under their power and authority; and though they persisted in this opinion, yet the Kings Deputies would needs present a Writing to them, which contained three points; One an offer of the Kings Conversion; another, that in the mean time while that came to pass, the means of securing Religion, and concluding Peace might be treated of; and the third, that while these things were doing, a general cessation of Arms might be concluded through the whole Kingdom. The Deputies could not refuse to accept this writing, which being by them brought to be discussed by the D. of *Mayenne* and the States, the debates were very long and various; for as the Royalists endeavoured to discover the intentions of the Confederates, so they would not declare what they would do if the K. should publickly return unto the Church

The Deputies of the League answer the Archbishop of *Bourges* his proposition.

The Kings Deputies present a writing to those of the League, which is accepted.

But this Proposition, made by the Kings party, wrought such a jealousie in the Spanish Ambassadors, that with their utmost spirits they pressed for a resolution to their desire, for the facilitating whereof, they were fain to offer, that the Catholick King should be content, the *Infanta* should marry one of the Princes of the House of *Lorain*; but this proposition also raised many doubts, because there was no certainty, the *Infanta* being once elected and declared, that either she, or the King her Father would observe that promise, to which any private man can hardly be obliged, much less a Queen or Princess; and again, because if that first Husband should dye, she might perhaps take another, either of the House of *Austria*, or a Spaniard, or of some other Nation; likewise, because she having no children by this marriage, the King of *Spain* would afterwards pretend right to the Crown; but much more than all the rest, because the Duke of *Mayenne* saw himself and his posterity excluded from that advantage, whereupon, not only this business was protracted, without coming to any resolution, but it was determined in the States, that there should be a very moderate answer made to the Writing presented by those of the Kings party in the Conference, without untying, or breaking off the thread of that Treaty; wherefore, both parties being met at *la Roquette*, a house in the field, without the *Porte S. Anthoine*, the Arch-bishop of *Lyons* said, that as concerning the King's Conversion, they wished it might be real and unfained, but that not only they could not hope it was so, but on the contrary, they had great cause to believe it was not without dissimulation; for if it had proceeded from sincerity, so many delayes and puttings off would not have been sought, and if he were touched with any inspiration, he would not remain in his Heresie, and in the publick exercise of it, he would not cherish and keep about him the principal Ministers that taught it, nor would he still leave the chief Offices of the Kingdom in their hands; and yet because it appertain'd not to them to approve or reprove that Conversion, they left the Judgment thereof unto the Pope, who alone had authority to determine it; as for the Treaty of Peace, and security of Religion, they could not treat thereof for the present, for many considerations, lest they should treat with the King of *Navar* who was without the Church, and lest they should give a beginning to the acknowledgment of him, or anticipate the Pope's judgment. Then for the point of Cessation, they would give answer to that when satisfaction was given to the two first Articles. Thus neither assenting, nor very much dissenting, they held the matter in suspence till the Duke of *Mayenne* saw whether the business begun with the Spaniards was like to end.

The Spaniards fearing the propositions of the Royallists, offer, that their King should give the *Infanta* in marriage to one of the Princes of the House of *Lorain*.

The Cardinal Legat writes to Cardinal *Pelleve*, to make protestation in his name unto the States, that they can neither treat of the Kings conversion, peace, nor any thing else, because of the Decree of the Canons, and the Oath the Deputies had taken.

But the Cardinal-Legat being wonderfully solicitous, not only because the Spanish negotiation went on difficultly, but much more because he saw mens minds inclined to the Cessation, out of the hope they had conceived of the King's conversion, and the desire of quiet, used his utmost power to hinder it; and faining himself not well, wrote a Letter to Cardinal *Pelleve* upon the Thirteenth day of *June*, praying him to go to the States, and in his name to make them a grave Remonstrance of the danger and damage that depended upon the Conference of *Surenne*, and advertise them that not only

only they could not treat concerning the converſion of the *Navarrois*, but not ſo much as about Peace, a Ceſſation of Arms, or any other buſineſs with him, as well by reaſon of the Decrees of the ſacred Canons, and the Declarations of the Apoſtolick See, as alſo of the Oath they had taken, never to aſſent to, or make an agreement with the Heretick: Which things were ſet forth in the Letter with great vehemence of words, proteſting in the end, that if they ſhould continue to treat of Peace, or a Ceſſation, he would depart from the City, and from the Kingdom, that he might neither aſſent to ſo great an evil, nor diſobey the Commiſſions he had from the Pope. This Letter firſt read by the Cardinal in the States, and afterward publiſhed in print to the knowledge of every one, did ſomething bridle mens minds, who were running on eagerly toward a ceſſation of Arms. 1593.

In the mean time the King knowing how much harm the want of reputation, and the weakneſs of their Forces did unto the Spaniards, and not being willing to run into the ſame error, reſolved to ſet himſelf upon ſome notable enterpriſe not far off, with the noiſe and fame whereof he might increaſe his reputation, and foment thoſe affairs that were tranſacting in favour of him: wherefore, having drawn his whole Army together, with great diligence he commanded out all the neighbouring Garriſons, and made plentiful proviſion of Cannon, Ammunition, Pioneers, and other things proper for a ſecure reſolute deſign, upon the ſeventh of *June* he had laid ſiege to *Dreux*, a Town but ſixteen leagues from *Paris*, which for its ſituation, fortification, and the quality of the defendents was accounted very ſtrong. The Suburbs of the Town were valiantly taken the firſt day, they within who before thought to defend them, being beaten back in all places; but when they had loſt all hope of making them good, they endeavoured to have burnt them down: The whole Army being quartered with great celerity, they began the next day to throw up four Trenches, which were haſtened with ſo much diligence by the Baron *de Biron*, and the Sieur *de Montlouet*, one of the Field-Marſhals, that upon the thirteenth day all four of them were brought into the Moat; nor with leſs diligence were four Batteries planted; one of four pieces of Cannon againſt the great Bulwark, toward the *Porte de Chartres*, another of ſix againſt the *Porte de Paris*, the third of three againſt the curtain toward the great Church, and the fourth of five Pieces in the *Fauxbourg* St *Jehan*, which battered a great Tower that ſtood on that ſide. The King haſtened and encouraged the Works in all places with his preſence; wherefore, ſcarce was the *Orillon* of the great Bulwark beaten down, when two Colonels drew near to view the place, which being by order taken by the Army for the beginning of the aſſault, all the ſeveral Nations ran furiouſly to it, ſtriving in emulation who ſhould be firſt to give the onſet. Whereupon the beſieged, over-matched by the number and reſolution of the Aſſailants, forſook the *Orillon*, in which a Regiment of French lodged and fortified themſelves the ſame evening. The next day all the Batteries continued playing upon the wall, and the breaches being already made, and the Army ready to fall on in four ſeveral places, the defendents took a reſolution to quit the Town, and retire into the Caſtle, which while they were doing in diſorder, they were overtaken by the Army, which at the ſame time entered furiouſly, and were conſtrained to fire ſome houſes of the Town, that they might gain time enough to retire. But the fire having done very much harm, and burnt down many buildings on all ſides, at laſt by the Kings command it was quenched by the Swiſſers, who remained laſt in the battalia near his Perſon. So upon the eighteenth day, the Town remained in the King's power: and with the ſame eagerneſs they began to beſiege the Caſtle; within the Out-line whereof, without the circuit of the Walls, there being a great deal of Cattel, many of the Townſmen, and alſo many Country-men who were got in thither; the Baron *de Biron* cauſed a Petard to be faſtened the ſame night unto the Gate, and with a great ſlaughter of the enemies but not without the Blood of his Soldiers, whereof he loſt above an hundred, made himſelf Maſter of that Out-line, with all the ſpoil. But the taking of the Caſtle, by reaſon of its ſituation and ſtrength, proved very difficult, and a very great number of men were ſlain, till the Count *de Torigny* making them work, notwithſtanding any danger whatſoever, had perfected a great Trench, under the favour whereof, the Batteries were planted; which, while the King, a deſpiſer of all danger, was carefully over-ſeeing, two Colonels were killed cloſe by him, and the Duke of *Montpenſier* ſore hurt with a ſhot in the chin, which grazing upon his jaw, wounded him alſo in the ſhoulder. Over againſt the Kings Batteries there ſtood a Tower of an ancient form, and of ſo perfect

The King, to give reputation to his party, beſieges *Dreux*.

The defendents quit the Town, and having fired many houſes to gain time to ſave themſelves, retire into the Caſtle

1593. perfect a ſtructure, that the Cannon-ſhot which were made at it did very little harm. Wherefore an Engliſh Engineer, conſidering the great waſte of powder that was ſpent with very little or no fruit, took a reſolution to try another means, and having under ſhelter of certain double Planks, lined with Plates of Iron got unto the foot of the Tower, he cauſed three great holes like Ovens to be digged under it, and putting a Barrel of Powder in each, gave fire to them; which though it wrought a much leſs effect than a Mine uſes to do, yet it threw down part of the Tower, and made ſuch a breach, that the Artillery did better ſervice in battering the reſt: Nevertheleſs, the beſieged were not diſmaid at it, but with valiant conſtancy continued for ſome dayes to make reſiſtance. But ſo diligent and eager was the oppugnation without, that at laſt, after many experiments, and many aſſaults, the defendants, who, beſides their not having any Commander of authority to govern them, ſaw alſo, notwithſtanding the nearneſs of *Paris*, that no relief appeared from any place, reſolved, out of extream neceſſity, to yield themſelves, and delivered up the Caſtle into the Kings hands upon the Eighth of *July*.

The noiſe of the Kings victory diſmaid the Deputies in *Paris*, who, in this interim had laboured no leſs in their Negotions, than they at *Dreux* had done in matters of War; for the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors being reſolved to make the utmoſt trial, met with the principal of them again in Council, and told them, that to take away all obſtacles that might hinder the Infanta's Election, the Catholick King would be content, as ſoon as ſhe was choſen, to marry her to the Duke of *Guiſe*, which, though it ſtung the Duke of *Mayenne* to the quick, yet being taken unawares, and finding no other remedy, upon the ſudden, anſwered, That he returned moſt humble thanks to his Catholick Majeſty for the ſo great honor he vouchſafed to do his Nephew, but he deſired to ſee the Ambaſſadors Commiſſion, and to know whether that condition were expreſſed in it; for, by how much the greater and more deſirable the favor was, ſo much much the more warily was it fit to proceed in believing and embracing it. The Duke of *Mayenne* thought verily, that the Ambaſſadors had not that power from the Catholick King, but that they propounded it of themſelves, being drawn by the neceſſity of affairs: But he preſently perceived the contrary; for, they taking their Commiſſion, ſhewed an Article, wherein, by way of interchange, was contained the election of the Infanta, with expreſs condition, that ſhe ſhould be married to the Duke of *Guiſe*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was aſtoniſhed, not knowing any way to untie that knot, nor could he diſſemble ſo well, but that they all perceived the alteration of his countenance: But the Sieur *de Baſſompierre*, Ambaſſador for the Duke of *Lorain*, relieved him, who ſaid, that a thing of ſo great importance ought not to be concluded without making his Maſter acquainted with it, who, as he had been principally intereſſed in the expences and troubles of the War, ſo was it fit nothing ſhould be concluded without having firſt his opinion and conſent; and here, to give the Duke of *Mayenne* leaſure to think, he enlarged himſelf in a long diſcourſe of what the Duke of *Lorain* had done in favour of the League, and of the eſteem that was fit to be had of his authority. The Spaniards, when he had made an end of ſpeaking, anſwered, that they aſſented the Duke of *Lorain* ſhould be informed of all that paſſed, who they were certain would be well pleaſed with the honor done unto his Family. In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* having recollected himſelf, after he had again thanked the Catholick King, and the Ambaſſadors, ſaid, That he accepted the offer; but, as it was not convenient for the Catholick Kings reputation, that the Infanta ſhould be elected, without having firſt certain means to eſtabliſh her: So neither was it fit to hazard the State of his Nephew, and of the whole Family, without thoſe conditions, which being acceptable in general, and neceſſary for the preſent affairs, were ſufficient to maintain and ſecure him for the future: For that end he demanded time to conſult, and to propoſe thoſe conditions, wherewith the deſign was to be effected. With this delay they parted, the Cardinal Legat and the Ambaſſadors remaining extreamly contented, and as it were aſſured, that they had ſteered that Negotiation into the deſired Haven.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſadors promiſe in their Kings behalf, to give the Infanta in Marriage to the Duke of *Guiſe*, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be choſen Queen; which troubles the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The Sieur *de Baſſompierre*, Ambaſſador for the Duke of *Lorain*, demands to have that Treaty ſuſpended till his Maſter were advertiſed of it.

The Duke of *Mayenne* deſirous to diſturb the Propoſition of the Spaniards, paſs many difficulties into the Duke of *Guiſe* his conſideration.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, intent by all means to diſturb it, began to work upon his Nephew, telling him, he doubted the Spaniards had propounded him, not to effect the buſineſs, but to deceive him; he not being able to perſwade himſelf, that they ſhould have

ſhould have laboured and done ſo much to bring the Infanta to the Crown, and ſhould after be content to ſubject her to an Husband, who being a Frenchman, and encompaſſed with his own party, might govern her, and be King indeed, while ſhe ſhould only be Queen in title: That no profit nor advantage of any kind whatſoever would redound thereby to King *Philip* and his Kingdom; for if his deſire were only to marry his Daughter to a King of *France*, he might eaſily compaſs that with whoſoever ſhould poſſeſs the Crown, whether he were Friend or Enemy; but if he aſpired to unite the Crowns, this was not the way to do it, and therefore he could not ſee what advantage could thereby reſult unto the Spaniſh Monarchy; wherefore it was good to think and provide againſt the deceit that might lie hidden under it: That to elect the Infanta now, and reſerve themſelves afterward to marry her within a certain time, was to refer it to her choice, either to take or refuſe him; and that it was neceſſary to find ſome conditions to ſecure the Match: But moreover, though the King of *Spain* ſhould proceed ſincerely in that buſineſs, it was good to conſider (without letting ones ſelf be deceived by paſſion) what means there were to eſtabliſh themſelves in the Kingdom: That there was no doubt, but the Duke of *Lorain*, who had hoped to have the Kingdom for himſelf, or that the Infanta ſhould marry the Cardinal his Son, would be diſguſted at it, and withdraw his aſſiſtance; which, how much hurt it would do, might eaſily be comprehended, by reaſon of the opportuneneſs of his State, through which all the ſupplies paſſed that came out of *Germany* to both parties, that it might be doubted the Duke of *Savoy* would do the ſame, who had till now upheld the War in *Provence* and *Dauphine*; for being deprived of the hopes he had already conceived of obtaining the Kingdom, or at leaſt ſome Province of it, he would no longer ſubmit himſelf and his States to the dangers and calamities of War; that the Duke of *Nemours* was already almoſt wholly averſe from them, and only the reſpect he bore to an elder Brother yet held him, which if it were taken away, he doubted not but he would do his own buſineſs himſelf; that the ſame was to be feared of the Duke of *Mercœur*, as ſoon as he ſhould loſe the hopes of obtaining *Bretagne*: Wherefore the Forces of the League being diminiſhed in that manner, it was good to think how they ſhould be able to oppoſe the Kings power, which they could hardly reſiſt now they were all united; that the King of *Spain* had his hands full with the War of *Flanders*, and the commotions of *Aragon*; that his Kingdoms were exhauſted, and that he was indebted Two Millions to the Genoueſes; that he had no good Commander in Chief, and therefore it was to be doubted he could not perform all he promiſed; and in concluſion, that this was a * *Rubicon* which could never be ſufficiently thought upon before it was paſt over. 1593.

* Rubicon, *the name of a River in* Italy, *which* Julius Cæſar *paſſed in the beginning of his expedition againſt* Pompey; *whence, To paſs the* Rubicon, *is become a phraſe for to enter into a dangerous exploit.*

To theſe conſiderations, the Duke of *Guiſe* anſwered moderately, making ſhew that he would not digreſs from his opinion, but in his mind he thought otherwiſe; whereof his treaties, and manner of proceeding, the concourſe of his adherents, the meetings that were made in his houſe and his Mothers, gave manifeſt conjecture; wherefore the Duke of *Mayenne*, not truſting abſolutely to him, thought as a ſecond means to propoſe ſuch high conditions as might terrifie the Spaniards; which were, That the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould be elected King at the ſame time when the Infanta ſhould be choſen Queen; that the election ſhould be kept ſecret till the marriage were conſummate; to which effect, the States ſhould give authority to the Duke of *Mayenne* to declare it when it ſhould be time, that in caſe the Infanta ſhould die firſt, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould remain King alone, and govern the Kingdom by himſelf; that if ſhe were left a Widow, ſhe ſhould be obliged to take a Husband of the Houſe of *Lorain*, with the counſel of the Princes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown; that if ſhe had no iſſue, the eldeſt of the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Brothers ſhould ſucceed, and ſo the firſt-born of the Family ſucceſſively from male to male; that only French-men ſhould be admitted to Offices, Places, Dignities, Benefices, Governments of Provinces, Cities, Caſtles, and Fortreſſes of the Kingdom; that the command of the Militia, together with Authority of Lieutenant-General, ſhould be left unto the Duke of *Mayenne*; that the Government of the Provinces of *Bourgogne*, *Champagne*, and *Brie*, ſhould be given to him and his Heirs for ever, with power to diſpoſe of the Governments, Offices, and Benefices of them all; that Two hundred thouſand Crowns ſhould be paid to him in preſent, and Six hundred thouſand more within a certain time, for which fit ſecurity ſhould be given him; that the debts ſhould be paid which he had run into upon occaſion of the preſent War; that One hundred thouſand Crowns Revenue ſhould be aſſign'd to him for himſelf and his poſterity, as alſo the principality of *Jainville*, and the Cities of

The Duke of *Guiſe*, though inwardly of another mind, anſwers, that he will not digreſs from his Uncles Counſels.

The Duke of *Mayenne* faining to be glad, but deſiring indeed to hinder the Duke of *Guiſe*'s greatneſs, asks exorbitant conditions of the Spaniards.

1593. *Vitry* and St. *Diſier*; and after many other leſſer demands, that all the preſentations and nominations he had made of Churches, Benefices, Governments, Donatives, Places and Favours beſtowed by him as Lieutenant of the Crown ſhould remain valid, as likewiſe all thoſe he ſhould make or grant, till the conſummation of the Marriage, and the eſtabliſhment of the King and Queen.

But theſe conditions though they were high and difficult, did no way ſtartle the Spaniards, who already were reſolved to ſatisfie him, provided they might attain to the *Infanta*'s election, being certain they ſhould find a thouſand occaſions, and a thouſand excuſes afterwards, to obſerve only what they ſhould think convenient, and being alſo willing that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould be reaſonably requited; but he ſeeing he was excluded from the reward of his labours, and that they thought of giving the Kingdom to others, and not to him and his poſterity, though the foundation of all things conſiſted in his perſon and endeavours, and finding that the conditions propounded were neither ſufficient to divert the reſolution of the Spaniards, nor the inclination, or rather the will and deſire of his Nephew, reſolved to ſet other engins awork, to interrupt the courſe of thoſe proceedings; wherefore having ſtill (though but luke-warmly) kept the Cardinal of *Bourbon* in good hopes, he now proſecuted that buſineſs with ſo much heat, that it was brought in a manner to a concluſion. He demonſtrated to every one of the Deputies apart, how odious a thing it was to break the *Salique Law*, how difficult to exclude the Houſe of *Bourbon* from the Crown, whoſe ſucceſſion they had confirmed when they declared the late Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, by the name of *Charles* the Tenth; how diſſonant it would be to mens ears, and how unpleaſing to mens minds, to hear, Treaties were held to introduce the ſucceſſion of Women, and the aſſumption of new Families to the Crown, while there were ſo many Princes in the Royal Family, among which one might be choſen to the general ſatisfaction; that though the King of *Navarre* was obſtinate in Hereſie, the Prince of *Conty* inſufficient for Government, the Count *de Soiſſons* loſt in the love of the Princeſs *Catherine*, who was no leſs an Hugonot than her Brother; yet was there the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who had always with his own danger undauntedly oppoſed the increaſe of Hereſie; that he was a Cardinal, and had ever been obedient to the Church, ſo that he could neither be excluded by the Pope, nor by the King of *Spain*; that he was in his manly age, ſo that he would be a King without a Guardian, and one able to uphold the Government of the Kingdom himſelf: that no great truſt was to be had to the Spaniards, who had failed ſo much both in publick and in private; that the Ambaſſadors who promiſed ſuch mountains of Gold, lived themſelves very mechanically, and without that decency that befitted the Majeſty of their King, and the greatneſs of thoſe offers they made; that he himſelf had very great ſums due to him, and yet could not get ſo much as a *denier* from them; that they had ſeen the gallant exploits Count *Charles* his Army had done; that they had ſo much to do in *Flanders*, they would have no leiſure to mind other mens buſineſſes; that on the other ſide the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s election would of it ſelf deſtroy and conquer the King of *Navarre*; for there was no doubt but all the Catholicks of that party would follow the Cardinal, and the *Navarrois* would be left alone with the deſperate dependence of the Hugonots, whereby the French Forces alone would be able to ſubdue Hereſie, and eſtabliſh a Catholick King, and a true French-man, without having further need of foreign Supplies; that it was needful to remember the Biſhop of *Senlis* his words, and not confirm men in a belief, that whatſoever was paſt had been done out of intereſt and ambition, but that it was neceſſary to ſhew the world, that the ſole reſpect of Religion had put Arms into their hands.

The Duke of *Mayenne* ſeeing himſelf excluded from the Crown, begins a Treaty to bring in the Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

Theſe reaſons ſeconded by his authority, wrought a wonderful impreſſion in the minds of the French, of themſelves inclined to obſerve the *Salique Law*, and to reverence the Royal Family; wherefore the Duke ſeeing he had drawn the major part of the Deputies to his opinion, diſpatched the Admiral *de Villars* with a Writing of Articles with his own hand, to confer with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was at *Gallion*, a houſe of the Archbiſhop of *Roüen*'s; but he was no ſooner gone, when he ſent one poſt after him, to give him order not to make too much haſte; for Preſident *Jeannin*, and the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, together with Madam *de Montpenſier*, had put him in mind of another ſufficient means to divert the Spaniſh deſigns, without running ſo haſtily to the election of one that was his Enemy, who alſo by the weakneſs of his underſtanding, and lightneſs of his nature, would not be very fit to govern in times

of

of ſo great diſtraction, and that he endangered the dividing of his party; for it was very probable the Duke of *Guiſe* and his adherents, upheld by the Spaniards, would not approve that election; in which caſe his third party would be the weakeſt of them all. The remedy they propounded was that of the Parliament, whoſe authority they thought ſufficient to hinder the buſineſs in agitation: wherefore Madam *de Montpenſier* having excited the firſt Preſident *le Maiſtre* to think of ſome means that the Crown might not fall into the hands of Strangers; he, as a man of good intentions, and who had followed the League for no other end but the Catholick Religion, ſet himſelf boldly to the enterpriſe, and after the managing of it many days, aſſembled all the *Chambers* of the Parliament, and with full conſent of all cauſed a Decree to be made of this Tenor following:

1593. The Duke of *Mayenne* to hinder the Spaniſh deſign, gets the Parliament of *Paris* to make a Decree, that the Crown ſhould not be transferred upon ſtrangers, and to give order to him to hinder all ſuch like Treaties.

UPon the Propoſitions already made to the Court of Parliament by the *Procureur General*, and the buſineſs taken into deliberation in the meeting of the Counſellours of all the ſeveral Courts, the ſaid Parliament not having (as it never formerly had) any other intention than to maintain the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion, and the State and Crown of *France* under the protection of a moſt Chriſtian Catholick French King, hath ordered, and doth order, that this day after dinner Preſident *la Maiſtre*, accompanied by a good number of the Counſellours of this Parliament, ſhall make remonſtrance to my Lord the Duke of *Mayenne*, Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of *France*, in preſence of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, who at this preſent are in this City, that no Treaty ought to be held for the transferring of the Crown into the hands of Foreign Princes or Princeſſes; that the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom ought to be obſerved, and the Decrees made by the Parliament about the declaring a Catholick and French King executed; that the ſaid Duke of *Mayenne* ought to uſe the authority that hath been given him, to hinder the Crown from being (under pretence of Religion) transferred into the hands of Strangers, againſt the Laws of the Kingdom: Moreover, that he ought to provide as ſoon as may be for the repoſe of the people, by reaſon of the extream neceſſity to which they are reduced, and in the mean time the ſaid Parliament hath declared and doth declare, all Treaties held, or that ſhall be held for the future, about the eſtabliſhment of any Foreign Prince or Princeſs whatſoever, invalid, and of no force or effect, as being in prejudice of the *Salique Law*, and the other Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.

This Intimation or Remonſtrance being made in publick by the Preſident unto the Duke of *Mayenne*, though he made ſhew to reſent it, and with grave words reprehended the boldneſs of the Parliament; yet it bridled the Spaniſh Treaty very much; for the Aſſembly of the States (which more than any other body ought to have reſented this decree of Parliament as made in prejudice of their authority) ſhewed on the contrary that they were not diſpleaſed at it, and being poſſeſſed by the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Agents, abhorred the attempt of the Spaniards, and inclined to a Truce, concerning which they treated now more hotly than ever in the Conference at *Surenne*. Much greater was the inclination of the Pariſians, who tired out with their neceſſities, and ſeeing no nearer way to their redreſs than the concluſion of a Truce, the ſweetneſs whereof they had begun to taſte in that little Ceſſation of Arms that had been in thoſe quarters, impatiently deſired an accommodation, and raging, threatned the Princes and the Aſſembly, unleſs they took a ſpeedy reſolution; and being perſwaded that the Spaniards would not ſuffer their Army to come and help the neceſſities of the City by opening the paſſes, only becauſe their aim was to curb them, and keep them down, whenſoever the Ambaſſadors went abroad in publick, they were followed with ill language and cries of deriſion.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſadors going through the ſtreets of *Paris*, are mocked and abuſed with ill language.

The Kings ſeaſonable reſolution abſolutely turned the ſcale of affairs; for he knowing all things that were in agitation, doubted with reaſon, that if the League ſhould elect the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Catholicks that followed him, would all be like to forſake him, whereof there appeared ſuch manifeſt ſigns, and ſuch open murmurings were heard, that it was not at all to be doubted; for the things alledged by thoſe of the *Union* in the Conference at *Surenne*, had made impreſſion in mens minds; and not only the Princes and Lords, but generally all private men grieved and deteſted to ſpend their lives and fortunes for the eſtabliſhment of Hereſie, which formerly they were wont to fight againſt and perſecute; and even in the Kings own lodgings there were

1593. heard continually the voices of them that curſed their own blindneſs, and exhorted one another mutually to change their reſolutions, ſhowing that ſince ſo many promiſes made to them had been broken, they were obliged to take a courſe for the maintenance of Religion and their common ſafety; that it was now no longer time to ſhed their blood for a Prince obſtinate in Hereſie, and who abuſing their credulity ſo long, had fed them vainly with words; that it was high time to take notice how by fighting madly, Catholick againſt Catholick, they did nothing elſe but prepare the Kingdom, either for the Spaniards or the Hugonots, equally their Enemies; that there had been enough done to maintain the lawful Succeſſor of the Crown, but he ſhewed himſelf ungrateful for ſo great ſervices, and obſtinate in his errour; that he was no longer to be followed in his perdition; but it was fit (reuniting the Conſciences of the Catholicks) to eſtabliſh a King who ſhould acknowledge the gift he received from the good will of his Subjects; that there were alreadi ſo many Princes and Lords, ſo many Knights and Gentlemen, and ſo many valiant Souldiers ſlain in that cauſe, that the Kingdom was thereby all wounded, bloodleſs, and dying; and if ſome remedy were not applied, they were near ſacrificing the very Carcaſs of *France* to the wickedneſs of the Hugonots, and to the pride of the Spaniards.

The Princes of the Blood after many Conſultations, were much more reſolute, and the Duke of *Montpenſier* who lay in Bed by reaſon of his hurt, told the King when he came to viſit him, that all the Princes were ready to forſake him, and that he himſelf in the condition he then was, though he did it with grief of heart, would not yet be the laſt to ſave his Soul, and ſatisfie his Conſcience. Laſtly, the Count of *Schomberg*, being advertiſed by Monſieur *de Villeroy*, told him, the Admiral *Villars* was already upon his way, carrying Articles to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, that within a few days he ſhould hear, he, and all the reſt of the Princes would be at *Paris*; that God had given him the victory, and expected the fruit thereof; that having taken *Dreux* with ſo much honour in the very face of his Enemies, he might now turn unto God, and to the Church, and none could believe he did it perforce. The ſame did Secretary *Revol* confirm, the ſame *Villeroy* himſelf wrote unto him from *Pontoyſe*, ſhewing him, that he could not avoid one of two things, either that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* being elected King, would deprive him of the adherence of his Catholicks; or that the Infanta being choſen with the Duke of *Guiſe*, all the ſtrength of the King of *Spain* would be poured out, and come like a torrent upon him.

The King moved by theſe conſiderations, or elſe interpreting the ſo urgent conjuncture of affairs, to be as it were a Divine Inſpiration, and thinking himſelf called by ſome heavenly and more than humane power, determined to turn Catholick, and ſent Meſſengers with ſpeed on all ſides, to call Prelates and Divines to aſſiſt and inſtruct him in his Converſion. Among theſe, he invited ſome of the Preachers of *Paris*, whereof ſome refuſed to go, and ſome few, among which was the Curate of St. *Euſtache*, (though the Legat adviſed and commanded otherwiſe) would yet be preſent at ſo ſolemn an action. All theſe being met together at *Mante*, the King having received ſufficient inſtruction in matter of the Articles of Religion that were in controverſie, ſeemed to clear up his mind, and viſibly to apprehend the Hand of God, which recalling him from his Errours, brought him back into the Boſom of the Church, and made it be noiſed abroad, that upon the Five and twentieth of *July* he would go to Maſs at St. *Denis*.

The King ſends for Prelates and Divines from ſeveral places, and being inſtructed at *Mante*, publiſhes, that he will go to Maſs at St. *Denis*, upon the Five and twentieth of *July*.

This news his Deputies brought to the Conference of *Surenne*, where the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* recapitulating all things paſt, concluded, That the King had cauſed the Marquiſs of *Piſany* to be ſent to *Rome*, to find means that his Converſion might be authoriſed by the Pope; but ſince he had not been received, he would no longer defer nor put off his own Salvation, but would reconcile himſelf to the Church, that afterwards he might ſend to render due obedience to the Pope, by a ſolemn conſpicuous Embaſſie; and that having conſulted with the other Prelates and Divines, they had determined, That the King ſhould make himſelf be abſolved *ad futuram cautelam*, and go to Maſs, that afterward he might demand the Popes Benediction; and that this for many reaſons had been thought the neareſt and moſt ſecure way, as well not to put the Crown in arbitrement to the diſcretion and declaration of Strangers, as to find a ſpeedy remedy for the neceſſities of the Kingdom. The Archbiſhop of *Lyons* on the contrary diſputed, that he could not be received without the Popes aſſent, nor abſolved without his Declaration, and proteſted, that they would neither

The Archbiſhop of *Bourges* tells them in the Conference at *Surenne*, that the King is reſolved to reconcile himſelf to the Church.

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account him a Catholick, nor acknowledge him King without order from the Pope, to whom abſolutely addreſs was to be made, before coming to thoſe Acts of Abſolution. 1593.

But the report of his Converſion being ſpread abroad among the people, there was no curb could bridle men from rejoycing, nor their tongues from divulging and arguing, that upon it depended the Pacification of the Kingdom; ſo that the Cardinal-Legat in great perplexity of mind, publiſhed a Writing to the Catholicks of *France* upon the Thirteenth of *July*, wherein he advertiſed them of the perverſe Authority which ſome Prelates arrogated to themſelves of abſolving the King of *Navarre* from Cenſures, and exhorted them not to believe that falſe Converſion, and the perverſe way that was taken about it: And laſtly, forbad all men to go to thoſe Conventicles, with danger of incurring the Cenſure of Excommunication, and of being deprived of thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Dignities they poſſeſſed. But it was all in vain; for all mens minds were in motion, and the obſtacle of Religion being removed, every one enclined to acknowledge the lawful Succeſſor, and by that means to pacifie the Kingdom. From this general inclination the Great Ones were not averſe; who though they would not ſwerve from the Popes Judgment, and the Declaration of the Apoſtolick See, thought yet it was not fit to innovate any thing more, till they ſaw the effect of his Converſion, and the Popes intention; which opinion fomented by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and forced by the neceſſity of affairs, was imbraced even by the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf, who in ſuch a conjuncture, thought his election would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himſelf; which he himſelf, being accompanied by the Mareſchals *de la Chaſtre* and St. *Paul*, gave the Spaniſh Miniſters to underſtand.

The Duke of *Guiſe* tells the Spaniards, that his Election to be King of *France* would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himſelf.

In the mean time, half the City of *Paris* ran to the ſpectacle of this Converſion, even from the day before the Abſolution, which was the Five and twentieth of *July*, being the Feaſt of the Apoſtle St. *James*; which day, the King cloathed all in white, but accompanied with the Princes, Lords, and the whole Court, with the Guards before them in Arms, went to the chief Church of St. *Denis*, the Gates whereof they found ſhut, at which the High Chancellor knocking, they were preſently opened, and there appeared the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* ſitting in his Chair in his Pontifical Habit, and invironed with a great number of Prelates. He asked the King, Who he was, and what he would have? The King anſwered, That he was *Henry*, King of *France* and *Navarre*, and that he demanded to be received into the Boſom of the Catholick Church. To which the Archbiſhop replying, asked, If he deſired it from the bottom of his heart, and had truly repented him of his former Errours? At which words the King proteſting upon his knees, ſaid, He was ſorry for his former Errour, which he abjured and deteſted, and would live and die a Catholick in the Apoſtolick Roman Church, which he would protect and defend, even with the hazard and danger of his very life. After which words having with a loud voice repeated the Profeſſion of Faith, which was preſented to him in writing, he was with infinite acclamations of the people, and inceſſant vollies of ſhot brought into the Church, and kneeling down before the high Altar, he repeated the prayers that were dictated to him by the Archbiſhop, and thence having been admitted by him to ſecret Confeſſion, he came to ſet under the *Daiz*, or Cloth of State, and with a general gladneſs and rejoycing was preſent at the ſolemn Maſs celebrated by the Biſhop of *Nantes*; after which, thorow a wonderful throng of people, and reſounding cries of *Vive le Roy*, which aſcended to the Skies, He returned again to his Palace.

The Ceremonies uſed in the Act of the Kings Converſion upon St. *James* his day, *Anno* 1593. by the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* in the chief Church of St. *Denis*.

In this interim affairs having taken ſuch a different impreſſion, the States gave anſwer to the Duke of *Feria* and the other Spaniſh Ambaſſadors; who being brought into the Aſſembly, the Duke of *Mayenne* gravely gave thanks unto the Catholick Kings Majeſty, as well for the aſſiſtance of his paſt, and the promiſe of his future Supplies, as for the honour done unto his Family, in offering the *Infanta* in marriage to his Nephew the Duke of *Guiſe*; and in the end told them, that the Aſſembly having well conſidered all things, did not think the time ſeaſonable to make any Election, but that they prayed his Catholick Majeſty to ſtay for the ripeneſs of opportunity, and in the mean time not to fail them of his wonted protection and promiſed Supplies.

The Duke of *Mayenne* tells the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors in the name of all the States, that they had determined to defer the election of their future King till another time.

After this reſolution, which daſhed all the Spaniards, it was determined in the States, that they ſhould follow the concluſion of the Truce: and though the Legat oppoſed it ſtrongly, and proteſted oftentimes that he would be gone; yet being pacified by the reaſons that were repreſented to him, and with the offer of cauſing the Council of *Trent* to be received in the States, he let himſelf be perſwaded to continue in the City, being alſo

1593. The Truce is concluded and publiſhed for three months: the States are diſmiſſed, and invited to meet at the ſame place in *October* following; having firſt made a Decree for the receiving the Council of *Trent*.

alſo uncertain whether his departure would be well taken at *Rome*. So in the Conference at *Surenne* a general Truce was eſtabliſhed thorow the whole Kingdom for the three next months, *Auguſt*, *September*, and *October*, and it was publiſhed with infinite joy among the people in all places; after which the Duke of *Mayenne* being deſirous to diſmiſs the Aſſembly honourably, firſt cauſed a Decree to be made for the receiving the Council of *Trent*, and then aſſembling the States upon the eighth of *Auguſt*, he made them all ſwear to perſevere in the *Union*, and not to depart from it; and having given order that they ſhould meet again in the ſame place in the month of *October* following, to deliberate upon the ſtate of affairs with thoſe Inſtructions they ſhould have from *Rome*, he at laſt diſmiſſed them all, and the Deputies willingly departing, returned to their own houſes.

*The End of the Thirteenth* BOOK.

THE

1593.

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The FOURTEENTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*THis Book contains the means used by the King to make his Conversion more fruitful: the continuation of the Truce for the two other months,* November *and* December, *at the end of which* Meaux *first of all submits to his obedience: The Sieur* de la Chastre *follows with the City of* Bourges, *and the Admiral* Villars *with* Havre de Grace *and* Rouen: *the Count* de Brissac *Governour of* Paris *makes a composition, and the King being received into the City without tumult, drives out the Spanish Ambassadors and Garison; the Cardinal-Legat departed also, and goes out of the Kingdom. Many other Cities follow the Kings fortune; and finally the Duke of* Nemours *is imprisoned, and the City of* Lyons *surrenders it self: The Duke of* Mayenne *renews other conditions with the Spaniard to prosecute the War; he comes to parley with* Ernest *Archduke of* Austria *Governour of the* Low-Countries, *and at last goes into* Picardy *with Count* Charles *of* Mansfelt *and the Army. The King besieges* Laon; *the Duke of* Mayenne *and the Spaniards attempt to relieve it, there follow many encounters, at last they retire, and the place is yielded: The Sieur* de Balagny *goes over to the Kings obedience with the City of* Cambray; *he is likewise received into* Amiens *and other Towns in* Piccardy. *The Duke of* Montpensier *takes* Honfleur. *There happen divers encounters in* Bretagne, Languedoc, Provence *and* Dauphine. *The King being returned to* Paris, *is in his own Lodgings wounded in the Mouth by a young Merchant; he is taken, confesses the fact, and is executed for it, and the Jesuites are banished out of the Kingdom. The King publickly proclaims War against the King of* Spain, *and renews the Negotiation at* Rome, *to obtain Absolution from the Pope. The Mareschal* de Byron *is declared Governour of* Bourgogne. *He begins the War prosperously in that Province, takes* Autun, Auxerre, *and at last* Dijon, *and besieges the Castles of it. The Sieur* de Tremblecourt *and* d'Ossonville *enter to infest the County of* Bourgogne, *(which is subject to the Crown of* Spain) *and takes some places there.*

*The*

1593. *The Conſtable of* Caſtille *Governour of* Milan, *goes to relieve that Province; the King goes likewiſe to re-inforce thoſe that were beſieging the Caſtle of* Dijon. *They meet, and fight with wonderful various fortune at* Fountain Francoiſe. *The Conſtable retires beyond the River* Soane; *the King follows him, paſſes the River, and they fight again, without any great effect. The King returns to the ſiege of the Caſtles, which ſurrender themſelves; he concludes a Truce with the Duke of* Mayenne *that they might treat of an accommodation; and makes his entry into* Lyons. *The Pope reſolves to give the King his Benediction; the Ceremony is ſolemnized with great joy at* Rome; *the news of it is brought to the Court, whither there likewiſe come good tidings from* Dauphine *and* Languedoc.

THE Kings Converſion was certainly the moſt proper, and moſt powerful remedy that could be applied to the dangerous diſeaſe of the Kingdom; but the Truce ſo opportunely concluded, did alſo diſpoſe the Matter, and gave due time for the working of ſo wholſom a Medicine; for the people on both ſides, having begun to taſte the liberty and benefits that reſulted from concord, in a ſeaſon, when Harveſt and Vintage made them more ſenſible of the happineſs, fell ſo in love with it, that it was afterward much more eaſie to draw them, without many ſcruples, or cautions, to a deſire of peace, and a willing obedience of their lawful Prince. As ſoon as the Truce was begun, men preſently fell to converſe freely one with another, being not only of the ſame Nation, and ſame Blood, but many of them ſtraitly conjoyned, either by friendſhip or kinred; in ſuch ſort, that diſcords and hatreds being driven away, or indeed thoſe factions and intereſts that had kept them ſo long divided, every one rejoyced to reunite himſelf with his friends, and again to take up their former love, and interrupted familiarity; and with mutual helps and aſſiſtances to redreſs thoſe neceſſities and calamities, which the length of War had produced. And there being frequent kind meetings among all perſons, every one related his paſt ſufferings, deteſted the occaſions of ſuch wicked diſcords, inveighed againſt the Authors of ſuch pernicious evils, praiſing and magnifying the benefits that followed Peace and Concord; in which meetings and diſcourſes, the Kings Cauſe being much more favourable, (by reaſon of the manifeſt rights he had to the ſucceſſion of the Crown, and becauſe ſcruple of Conſcience was in great part taken away by his Converſion) thoſe things that were ſpoken in his favour, began already to be popularly embraced, and mens minds enclined to yield themſelves to his obedience, rather than continue ſo ruinous a Civil War, to ſatisfie the pretenſions of the Duke of *Mayenne*, or the already manifeſt intentions of the Spaniards. They of the Kings party, talking and diſcourſing with thoſe of the League, alledged the clemency and goodneſs of the Prince they ſerved, the ſincerity wherewith he had turned to the Catholick Faith, his familiarity, and affability to all his followers, his valour and courage in Arms, his prudence and ſagacity in Government, his proſperous ſucceſs in enterpriſes: And on the other ſide, asked thoſe that were for the League, if they did not yet perceive the Ambition of the Houſe of *Lorain*, and the ſubtilties of the Spaniards? Upbraided them, that they made War againſt the good true Frenchmen, in favour of the ancient Enemies of the Nation, and that with their own bloods they ſought to eſtabliſh the Spaniſh Monarchy upon the ruines and deſolations of *France*; they deplored ſo great a blindneſs, and prayed them, that recovering their wonted charity towards their Country, and taking compaſſion of themſelves, they would take ſhelter under the benignity of that Prince, who ſtood with his Arms open, ready to receive and content them.

Theſe things made wonderful impreſſions in mens minds, quite tired with the War, and beaten down with the calamities they had continually endured; and the King behaving himſelf with his utmoſt induſtry, gratiouſly received, and filled with very large hopes, all thoſe that came to ſpeak with him; and under pretence of going to ſee their Houſes, and their Friends, cunningly made his moſt truſty Counſellors diſperſe themſelves into ſeveral places, labouring with great art to draw men in all places to his devotion. And becauſe the Duke of *Mayenne* ſtill kept practices on foot, either

to

to conclude the Peace, or prolong the Ceſſation; under this excuſe the Sieur *de Saucy*, the Count of *Schombergh*, and Preſident *de Thou* went to *Paris*, and ſtaying there many days, endeavoured both by wary managing the buſineſs, and by force of eloquence, to gain the King the moſt adherents they could poſſibly. The Archbiſhop of *Bourges* went to that City, under colour of viſiting his Dioceſs, to treat with the Sieur *de la Chaſtre*, whom they had already diſcovered to be much ſcandalized with the Spaniards manner of proceeding. The High Chancellor went into the Territories of *Orleans* under pretence of over-ſeeing his own affairs. The firſt Preſident of the Parliament of *Rouen* went thither, to introduce ſome Treaty with the Admiral *Villars*; for which effect the King himſelf alſo hovered about thoſe quarters. The Sieur *de Fleury* went to *Pontoyſe* to treat with his Brother-in-law, the Sieur *de Villeroy*, and the Prelates that had had to do in the Kings Converſion, diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral places, to teſtifie the ſincerity of his repentance, and to imprint thoſe reaſons by which they argued in juſtification of that authority whereby they had given him abſolution. In this manner the Kings buſineſſes went on within the Kingdom, whilſt *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, choſen Ambaſſador to *Rome*, ſet himſelf in order to go with a gallant Train, to yield obedience in the Kings Name unto the Pope, and at his feet to deſire the confirmation of matters already done. The King reſolved to ſend along with him *Claude d' Angenes* Biſhop of *Mans*, a man for his learning and experience known in the Court of *Rome*, *Jaques Davys* Sieur *du Perron* elected Biſhop of *Eureux*, *Loüis Seguiere* Dean of *Paris*, and *Claude Goüin* Dean of *Beauvis*, both famous Canoniſts: but becauſe the Duke of *Nevers*, both by reaſon of the quality of his perſon, and in reſpect of his indiſpoſitions, could not make the journey with ſo much haſte, the King diſpatched the Sieur *de la Clielle* poſte before, with Letters to the Pope full of humility and ſubmiſſion, wherein he gave him account of his Converſion, and of the Embaſſie he had appointed to ask his Benediction, and render him due obedience. The King thought the Duke of *Nevers* very fit for that imployment, not only as being a Prince exceedingly famed for wiſdom, and a perſon full of honour and reputation; but alſo becauſe, being an Italian, beſides his readineſs of language to be able to negotiate without Interpreters, he had many dependencies among the Princes of *Italy*, and much intereſt with many of the Cardinals: and he added thoſe four Prelats, that with Canonical and Theological reaſons they might be able to repreſent and maintain what they themſelves had done in his Abſolution: But he alſo thought good to ſend *la Clielle* before, as well to demonſtrate his impatient deſire to gain the Popes favour, as becauſe, being a crafty man, and of a deep reach, he hoped he might opportunely diſpoſe the buſineſs before the Dukes arrival. Thus did the King ſet forward the courſe of Affairs. 1593.

*Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers* is choſen Ambaſſador of obedience to the Pope from the King after his Converſion, and four Prelates are appointed to accompany him.

But the ends were neither ſo certain, nor the means of handling them ſo reſolute on the other ſide; for the intereſts of the Confederates being various, and often repugnant to one another, matters proceeded not in one and the ſame way. The Duke of *Mayenne* had given notice to the Kings party, that he had embraced the Truce, to expect what ſhould be reſolved on at *Rome*, interpoſing no other difficulty but the Popes aſſent about the concluſion of the Peace: And therefore he continued to treat by the means of *Villeroy*, and Preſident *Jeannin*, to whom he afterward added the Sieur *de Baſſompier*, to ſhew, That in all things the Duke of *Lorain* was united with him, and by means of theſe, who eagerly negotiated the conditions of agreement, he promiſed he would ſend the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe*, and the Baron *de Senecey* to *Rome* to intercede to the Pope, that approving the Kings Converſion, he would be contented that by acknowledging him, an end might be put to the Civil War; and ſetting this as a prime foundation, he treated nevertheleſs of ſecuring the Catholick Religion, and of eſtabliſhing the affairs of his own Family: But inwardly his thought was very different; for his hopes of attaining the Crown not being yet quite extinct, and attributing all ſiniſter events to the malignity of the Spaniſh Miniſters, and not to the intention of the Catholick King, he ſpeedily diſpatched his Wives Son the Sieur *de Montpezat*, with *Belliſaire*, one of his confiding Miniſters, unto the Court of *Spain* to ſound the mind of the King, and of his Conncil, and to labour to remove the jealouſies which the falſe relations of the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d' Ivarra* had begot, and to deſire that the Infanta being choſen Queen, might marry his eldeſt Son, and if the King conſented to it, they ſhould ſettle the conditions, and require ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary to bring the enterpriſe to a concluſion. For this end he had embraced the

The Duke of *Mayenne* ſends the Sieur *de Montpezat* into *Spain*, to treat with the Catholick King, that the *Infanta* being elected Queen of *France*, might be given in marriage to his eldeſt Son.

1593. Truce, and desired it should continue to give time for the negotiating of this affair, and for those preparations that should be made in *Spain*.

On the other side, the Spanish Ministers were more than ever fixt in their resolution, not to assent to his advancement; being certain, that when he should have attained his intention, he would be most ungrateful for the benefit received, and a most bitter Enemy to their Monarchy: Whereupon they not only continued to honour and favour the Duke of *Guise*, and to promise him the marriage of the Infanta; but the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d' Ivatra*, plotted how to transfer the Duke of *Mayenne*'s power upon him, and to suppress his Uncle by his means; and they went on so far, (being drawn by hatred and disdain) that sometimes they thought of taking away his life; but that was contradicted not only by *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and *Inigo de Mendozza*, men of more moderate minds, and who measured things more by reason than passion: but even the Duke of *Guise* himself was not inclined unto it, being a youth of a solid nature, and right intention; who on the one side abhorred to plot against his Uncle; and on the other, knew himself too weak both in reputation and forces to overcome the mature prudence of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the well-grounded authority he had setled in his party. They that helped to keep the Duke of *Guise*'s youthful thoughts in the right way, were the Mareschals *de la Chastre*, *Rosne*, and St. *Paul*, who had been long ago bred up by his Father; and both because they had been exalted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and because they knew the arts of the Spaniards, dissuaded him from setting himself upon that precipice, offering to his consideration, that he had neither Men, Moneys, Cities, nor Commanders that depended upon him; that the Spaniards were reduced to extream necessity for want of Money, Count *Charles* his Army destroyed, the affairs of *Flanders* in an ill condition, and without a Head that was able to order matters of so great weight; that on the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne* held all the Cities and Fortresses of the party in his own hands, that he had a long setled Authority among the people, was highly esteemed for valour and prudence, that all the French Forces depended upon him, that the Duke of *Lorain* was joined with him, that the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbœuf* depended on his will, and the Parliament was united with him; so that to let himself be ingaged by the perswasions of Strangers, was nothing else but to expose his own fortune to a most certain ruine, to please two malignant Ministers, who sowed fire and flames, to satiate that hatred which without much reason they had conceived; which considerations added to the weakness and ill carriage of the Spaniards, made such an impression in the Duke of *Guise*, that he began to be disgusted with them, accounting himself mocked in the marriage of the Infanta, and being incensed that they should go about to use his youth as an instrument to ruine his Family.

Among these, the Cardinal-Legat, as he did not totally assent to what the Spanish Ministers plotted against the Duke of *Mayenne*; so was he displeased with him for having crossed the election of the Infanta, and of the Duke of *Guise*; in the invention whereof, he thought he had (to the exceeding great glory of his wisdom) found means absolutely to gain unto himself the good will of the Catholick King, with the securing of Religion, and the exclusion and suppression of the King of *Navarre*; which were the three principal points of his designs, and that he had also found a person of the Nation who was liked of by the people, which was the point whereupon he pressed the Popes Commissions; and now seeing that thought frustrated, and the Truce purposely concluded with the contrary party, he was extreamly vexed at it; wherefore still persisting and continuing to perswade the Confederates not to make any reflection upon the imaginary Conversion of the *Navarrois*, (so did he yet call him in contempt) he laboured to make an agreement amongst them, to the end that the States coming to meet again, they might perfect the establishment of the Royalty; for so they called the joint election of the Infanta and Duke of *Guise* to be King and Queen of *France*.

The Pope neither approves of the Infanta's election nor marriage, as things not feisable; but only seems to consent unto them not to disgust the Spaniards.

He strove likewise to imprint these opinions at *Rome* by frequent Letters, penn'd according to his desire; but the Pope, a man of mature prudence, suffered not himself to be absolutely perswaded by the Legats intelligence; but being advertised of every particular by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, neither approved the Infanta's election, nor her marriage with the Duke of *Guise*: but seeing the businesse of it self very difficult, and crossed by so many impediments, he judged it vain, and no way feisable, and therefore cared not to declare himself, seeming only to give his consent, that

that he might not alienate the King of *Spain* from him, with whom he ſaw it neceſſary to hold a good correſpondence, leſt he ſhould precipitate the affairs of Religion and the Church into ſome dangerous troubles. He could have been contented from the beginning, that one of the Princes of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, that was truly a Catholick, ſhould have been thought fit to be married to the *Infanta*, becauſe by the election of a Prince of the Blood, all the Catholicks of *France* would have been elected, and had by many ways given his Miniſters notice of his intentions; and to ſuch a Prince he could have been reunited in one body, and by the alliance with the Catholick King, his aſſiſtance would have been aſſured; ſo that neither the temporal ſtate of the Kingdom would have been in danger of falling into the hands of Strangers, nor the ſpiritual of being oppreſſed by the Hugonots. For theſe very reaſons he approved not the Duke of *Guiſe*'s election, believing the Catholicks of the Kings party would never be brought to acknowledge and obey him, whereby the War would become perpetual; and he was likewiſe of opinion, that King *Philip* would never give his Daughter to a weak, poor, and ill-grounded Prince, with almoſt a certain danger, that ſhe ſhould never be Queen, more than in name; beſides, he perceived, this hated election would gain the King of *Navarre* many adherents, and by this means turn more Cities to favour him in one day, than he would be able to take by force in his whole life time. One thing only kept him doubtful in this thought, which was the unfitneſs of thoſe Princes that were neareſt in Blood; for the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was but a weak man, and very unhealthful; the Prince of *Conty*, by reaſon of his natural defects, unable to govern, and alſo (as it was ſaid) to get children; the Count *de Soiſſons*, though of a good wit, and noble courage, was ſo drowned in the love of the Princeſs *Catherine*, (the Kings Siſter, an obſtinate Hugonot) that the Catholicks durſt not confide in him; and the Duke of *Montpenſier*, a youth of exceeding great worth, was more remote in the degrees of Royal Conſanguinity; wherefore aſſoon as he knew that the King was diſpoſed to return to the obedience of the Catholick Church, he began to incline towards him, thinking it the ſhorteſt way to ſettle the commotions, and remove the dangers of the Kingdom. But it was a buſineſs not to be reſolved on without great deliberation, as well to be aſſured that his Converſion was ſincere, and that the heart of a Lyon lay not hid under the skin of a Lamb, as becauſe it was not known which way the French would receive that alteration; wherefore there was much to be thought on, both to be by all means poſſible made certain, that the King was a true ſincere Catholick, and that the people would willingly ſubmit themſelves to his devotion; for if the King ſhould but feign that Converſion for Intereſt of State, Religion would be thereby left in manifeſt danger; and if the people ſhould not accept him, the Popes own reputation would be in no leſs danger, for having run to approve the Converſion of a relapſed Heretick, more haſtily than the common people; beſides, the reſpect which by all means was to be born to the King of *Spain*, (already poſſeſſed of the Title of *Defender of the Catholick Faith, and Protector of the See of Rome*;) who very clearly ſhewed he had ſpent ſo much Gold, and poured out ſo much Blood of his Armies to preſerve Religion in the Kingdom of *France*, counſelled that in a matter of high importance he ſhould proceed with great dexterity, length of time, and with well weighed, and perfect maturity; being certain that King *Philip*'s ſupplies had hindred the King from getting the total Victory, whilſt he was obſtinately an Hugonot, and therefore to them was the reward and gratitude due for the Confirmation of the *Gallique Church*, and great heed was to be taken not to eſtabliſh a fierce and powerful Enemy, who might afterward diſturb him very much in the poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. 1593.

Pope *Clement* could have wiſhed that ſome Catholick Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon* might be elected to the Crown, and that he ſhould marry the Infanta; but when he heard the Kings intention to turn Catholick, he began to incline to him.

By theſe reaſons the Pope was perſwaded not to yield, nor aſſent at the very firſt, but to let himſelf be counſelled by the event of things; and yet to begin his principal intention, he thought good to give ſome glimpſe of hope to thoſe who negotiated ſecretly at *Rome* for the King, whom they called King of *Navarre*. The Pope favoured a principal ſervant of the Family of Cardinal *Pietro Aldobrandino*, named *Giacopo Sanſio*, a man obſcurely born in a Caſtle of the Marches of *Ancona*, who had long ſerved the Cardinals Father (as they ſaid) for a Companion of his Studies, whilſt he was employed in cauſes in the *Rota Romana*, and becauſe he was exceeding faithful, and not of too ſearching a nature, and therefore a man of very few words, the care of all his Domeſtick affairs lay upon him. This man was acquainted and ſometimes held diſcourſe with *Arnaud d'Oſſat*, a man born at *Auche* in *Gaſcogne*, of mean parentage, but of a moſt excellent wit, and moſt regular courſe of life, who having been brought to

*Giacopo Sanſio* a Servant to the Family of *Aldobrandini*, favoured by *Clement* the Eighth, was afterward enriched, and elected Cardinal.

*Arnaud d'Oſſat* Agent at *Rome* for the Queen Dowager of *Henry* the Third.

1593. *Rome* by Monſieur *de Faux* Ambaſſador from *France*, ſtaid afterward behind in the Family of Cardinal *d' Eſte*, and beſides his ſingular learning and eloquence, was by many years experience, exceeding well verſed in the Court of *Rome*. He being a private man, and long time accuſtomed to be ſeen in the Court, was not obſerved by any body, and managing Spiritual buſineſſes for the Queen Dowager of *Henry* the Third, as the erecting of Monaſteries, granting of Indulgences, and other ſuch like things, might without ſhew of any buſineſs of importance, negotiate with *Sanneſio* in a corner of the Antichamber, ſeeming only to talk of ordinary things; wherefore, the Pope who avoided open proceedings, and deſired to draw the thread of the buſineſs ſecretly, gave order to *Sanneſio*, that as a Friend to this French-man, (who was well known to him to be a man of worth) he ſhould begin as of himſelf, to treat of the Kings affairs; which Treaty being begun thus under-hand, proceeded ſo far, that when Monſieur *de la Clielle* arrived, there had already paſt many overtures on both ſides.

*Giacopo Sanneſio*, a Friend of *d' Oſſats*, hath order from the Pope to treat with him (but as of himſelf) about the affairs of the King of *France* and the Kingdom.

The Sieur *de la Clielle* was come to *Rome*, with Letters from the King to *Monſignore Seraſino Olivario*, Auditor of the *Rota Romana*, a Prelat, who becauſe he was deſcended of French Anceſtors, had ever been faithful to the Crown, and deſired to ſerve the Kings cauſe, but ſaw the paſſage very difficult, not only to introduce the Sieur *de la Clielle* to have audience of the Pope, as he required, but alſo to treat in any kind of way, concerning that buſineſs: yet being a man of a ſweet pleaſing nature, both very dextrous, and affable in his diſcourſe, and therefore acceptable to the whole Court, and even to the Pope himſelf; coming to have audience, under pretence of other buſineſſes, he at laſt brought in that; and in the end would needs ſhew the Pope the Letter which the King had written to him. The Pope, either taken at unaware by *Seraſino*, or intending to perſevere conſtantly in his diſſimulation, or being troubled to be in a manner conſtrained to impart his deſigns to other than thoſe he had determined, ſhewed himſelf highly diſpleaſed, and would have broke off the diſcourſe of that buſineſs, if the Auditor talking ſometimes ſeriouſly, ſometimes in jeſt, had not appeaſed him, concluding finally, That one ought to lend an ear even to the Devil himſelf, if one could believe it poſſible for him to be converted. The Pope likewiſe turning the buſineſs into mirth, jeſted a great while with *Seraſino*, who preſſing him ſtill for an anſwer, and urging him to hear *la Clielle* not as the Kings Agent, but as a private Gentleman, from whom perchance to his ſatisfaction he might learn many ſecret particulars; the Pope told him he would think upon it. The ſame evening by the means of *Sanneſio* he gave *d' Oſſat* directions to go talk with the Gentleman that was come from *France*, and to give him good hopes of his negotiation, and advertiſing him (but as from himſelf) that he ſhould not be diſmaid for any difficulty whatſoever he ſhould meet withal.

*Monſignore Seraſino Olivario* having received Letters from the King, brought by Monſieur *de la Clielle*, ſhews them to the Pope.

The next night *Silvio Antoniani* the Popes Chamberlain went to *Seraſino*'s Houſe, and taking only the Sieur *de la Clielle* into his Coach, brought him by a private way into the Popes Chamber, where he having told him that the King of *France* had ſent him to his Holineſs Feet to preſent thoſe Letters to him, (which he had in his hand) the Pope without ſtaying till he had made an end, brake forth into angry words, complaining that he had been deceived, and that he had thought he ſhould have received a private Gentleman, and not an Agent of a relapſed, excommunicated Heretick, and commanded him to depart out of his preſence. *La Clielle* not at all diſmayed, (according to the advertiſment that had been given him) added many words of humility and ſubmiſſion, and ſaid that being able to do no more, he would leave the King his Maſters Letters, and the Copy of his Commiſſion, which he had brought in Writing; and though the Pope angerly bade him carry them away, yet he left them upon the Table, and having kiſs'd his Foot, was carried back to the place where he had been taken up.

The Sieur *de la Clielle* is brought ſecretly to the Pope, leaves the Kings letters, and departs with no very good anſwer.

Cardinal *Toledo* treats often with *la Clielle*, but reſolves that the Pope cannot admit the Kings deſires, he being a relapſed Heretick.

The day following he had order to confer with Cardinal *Toledo*, with whom having had very long diſcourſes three ſeveral times, ſtill it was concluded that the Pope could not admit the Kings deſires, becauſe he had formerly ſent to the Apoſtolick See, and yet had returned to the vomit of Hereſie, and the Cardinal having taken particular information of the Kings buſineſſes, and of the condition of the affairs of *France*, left the matter ſo undecided. But the night before *la Clielle* departed from *Rome*, his anſwer was with great ſecrecy given him by the means of *d' Oſſat*, that the King ſhould go forward in ſhewing himſelf truly converted, and ſhould give ſigns of being ſincerely a Catholick; for the Pope was reſolved to reject the Duke of *Nevers* to ſatisfie his

*D' Oſſat* gives order to *la Clielle* to perſwade the King to go on in ſhewing himſelf a Catholick.

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own Conſcience, and to try the Kings conſtancy, yet with the opportunities of times, he ſhould at laſt obtain his intent. 1593.

With this concluſion *la Clielle* went toward *France*, without having ſo much as conferred with *Monſignore Serafino*, (which had been given him in charge) the Pope deſiring that every one ſhould believe him moſt averſe from approving the Kings Converſion, which the greater part of the Court of *Rome* thought to have paſſed with ſome diſ-reputation to the Pope, and that a few Prelats had licentiouſly arrogated that power to themſelves which belonged only to the Apoſtolick See; whereupon there wanted not thoſe who wrote, and printed divers Treatiſes, wherein they argued that a relapſed Heretick, and one declared to be excommunicate, could not be admitted to a Catholick Kingdom, and that the determination of the French Prelats to give him Abſolution was Schiſmatical, and to be cenſured by the *Tribunal* of the *Holy Office*, for ſo they call the judgment of the Inquiſition. *Arnaud d' Oſſat* wrote againſt theſe Treatiſes, maintaining with many reaſons taken out of the Sacred Canons, and from the Doctors of the Holy Church, and with many pious Chriſtian Conſiderations, that the Pope not only might, but alſo that he abſolutely ought to approve the Kings Converſion, and admit him to the obedience of the Catholick Church; but though in that diſcourſe there was never any thing found, that was not manifeſtly Catholick, and though he wrote with exquiſite modeſty, yet could he not get leave to print it; and all he could do, was to ſhew ſome Copies of it to diſcreet perſons, which was not only not reproved, but ſecretly approved even by the Pope, who was not diſpleaſed that mens ears ſhould by little and little be made acquainted with this Doctrine.

Divers Treatiſes are printed againſt the Abſolution of *Henry* the IV. given him by the French Prelates.

*D' Oſſat* anſwers them, but cannot get leave to print his diſcourſe.

But the Legat being wholly of another opinion, and more than over-deſirous of the propoſed Spaniſh Election, was buſie in managing all the Engins that were proper to bring that deſign to perfection; and therefore beſides many exceeding long Letters, and many diſtinct informations ſent to the Pope and to ſome Cardinals, he at laſt alſo diſpatched *Pier Franceſco Montorio*, to give more exact advertiſements, and to croſs the Kings Embaſſy; but a politick device which he ſubtilly made uſe of, redounded to the exceeding diſadvantage of his deſign; for *Montorio* falling ſick at *Lyons*, took a reſolution to diſpatch his inſtructions poſte to *Rome*, to the end they might arrive there before the Duke of *Nevers*: in which the Legat having written that he thought it convenient, by ſome means which ſhould ſeem fit, to hold the Duke of *Nevers* in hand, and prolong the buſineſs, till it could be known whether, when the Truce was ended, the Spaniards were like to attain to the Election, and to have ſufficient Forces in readineſs to eſtabliſh it, keeping the King of *Navarre* alſo doubtful in the mean time, to the end he might not apply his wonted ſpirit to make preparations for War. This Item ſerved the Pope afterwards for a pretence to admit the Duke of *Nevers*, who having in this interim paſſed *Langres*, was gone toward *Italy*, through *Switzerland*, and the Country of the *Griſons*; but being arrived at *Poſchiavo* a Town in the *Valtoline*, he was met by Father *Antonio Poſſevino* a Jeſuite, who was ſent to him by the Pope, to let him know, that as he rejoyced in the report of the King of *Navarre*'s Converſion, ſo could he not admit an Embaſſy, in the name of a King, whom he acknowledged not for ſuch as he ſtil'd himſelf, and that therefore he might ſpare the pains of coming. The Duke not loſing heart, though much troubled, went forward, but not the ſtraight way to *Rome*, and being come to *Mantua*, he ſent *Poſſevino* back unto the Pope, endeavouring by many reaſons written to him, and the Cardinals his Nephews, to obtain permiſſion to execute his Embaſſy, and the Marquiſs *de Piſani*, Cardinal *Gondi*, and the Monſieur *de Metz*, Leiger Ambaſſador for the King at *Venice* being come unto him, they with a common conſent wrote, and treated many things, which were promoted at *Rome* by the Venetian and Florentine Ambaſſadors: Cardinal *Toledo* alſo carrying himſelf very favourably in the buſineſs.

The Pope ſends *Antonio Poſſevino* a Jeſuite to tell the Duke of *Nevers*, that he ſhould not come to *Rome* to execute his Embaſſy, becauſe the King was not yet acknowledged a Catholick: thereupon the King goes to *Mantua*.

The Pope making uſe of the advertiſement the Legat had given him, to colour his ſecret intention, ſhewed that Article of *Montorio*'s inſtructions to the Duke of *Seſſa* Ambaſſador for the King of *Spain*, and to many Cardinals depending upon that party, and feigned to let himſelf be drawn by that reſpect, and that to that end he would not totally exclude the Duke of *Nevers*; and though both the Duke of *Seſſa*, and the Spaniſh Cardinals ſtifly oppoſed it, affirming, that at the end of the Truce, the Catholick King would certainly have ſuch forces in a readineſs, as ſhould, to the general ſatiſfaction

1593. faction of the Confederates, be able to eſtabliſh the propoſed election; yet the Pope took a middle way, which was to admit and hearken to the Duke, not as an Ambaſſador from the King of *France*, but as a Catholick Prince, and as an Italian, and therefore he ſent back *Foſſevius* to him again to *Mantua*, to let him know that his intention, and laſt determination, and to adverтiſe him that he ſhould come without ſtate, and with but a ſmall retinue, to the end he might not be held, and acknowledged in the degree of an Ambaſſador, but of a private perſon; which though the Duke thought very hard, and from ſo difficult a beginning, gueſſed he ſhould compaſs no proſperous end of his Embaſſy, yet he reſolved to go forward, as well becauſe he would not digreſs from the Council of the Venetian Senate, and the other Princes who were the Kings Friends, as alſo to make the uttermoſt tryal in a buſineſs of ſo mighty importance.

The Pope ſends *Foſſevius* again to the Duke of *Nevers* to bid him come on to *Rome*, where he ſhould be received as a Catholick Italian Prince, though not as an Ambaſſador.

An inſurrection in the City of *Lyons* againſt the Duke of *Nemours*, who being Governor, plotted to make himſelf abſolute Lord, but being diſcovered, he is impriſoned, and the Government given to the Archbiſhop of the City.

But in *France*, there happened at this time (beſides the ordinary diſcords) a new misfortune to the League: for the City of *Lyons* unexpectedly took Arms againſt the Duke of *Nemours*, who was Governor thereof, and proceeded ſo far that they made him priſoner in the Caſtle of *Pierre Anſiſe*. The Duke of *Nemours*, a Prince of great courage; but of a haughty imperious nature, being departed full of pride by reaſon of his proſperous defence of *Paris*, and come unto his Government of *Lyons*, had begun to nouriſh a deſign within himſelf, to reduce it into a free Signiory, together with *Beaujolois* and *Forets*, (which were three Precincts jointly under his command) and to add unto them as many other places and towns as he could; and his Brother the Marquiſs of *St. Sorlin* having the Government of *Dauphine*, he deſigned to unite that Province alſo unto himſelf, and by that means joining his State to that of the Duke of *Savoy*, (from whoſe Houſe his Family deſcended) to be aſſiſted, and fomented by him; but becauſe he knew that neither the Nobility, nor people would ever conſent willingly to ſeparate themſelves from the Crown of *France*, and ſubmit themſelves unto his tyranny, he had by long contrivance been raiſing all thoſe means, which might ſerve to obtain his intent by force: For this purpoſe he had under ſeveral pretences, driven many of the chief Citizens out of the City; and expoſing the Nobility to manifeſt dangers, was glad to ſee many of them periſh, who were able to oppoſe his deſign; nor that ſufficing him, he had upon ſeveral occaſions caus'd a great many Forts, and Citadels to be built, which incompaſſed the City of *Lyons* with a Circle, having begun at *Loiſſay*, *Belleville*, and *Tiſſy*, and then continued at *Charlieu*, St. *Bonnet*, *Mombriſon*, *Nirieu*, *Coindrieu*, *Vienne*, *Pipet*, and laſtly to perfect that circumference, he treated with the Sieur *de* St. *Julien*, that for Fifty thouſand Crowns he ſhould let him have *Quirieu* to raiſe another Fort there likewiſe, and paſſing from the Circumference unto the Center, he meant to rebuild the ruined Citadel of *Lyons*, and deſigns and platforms were already drawn for that purpoſe. In theſe ſtrong places he kept Gariſons of Horſe and Foot, that depended upon his pleaſure, and not having enough to maintain them of his own, fed them with extorting from the people, and with a pernicious licence of plundering and ſpoiling the Country. To theſe actions were added outward ſhews not unlike them; for he kept about him a great retinue of Strangers, undervalued and abuſed the Nobility of the Country, and in his publick writings no longer uſed the Title of Governour, but barely of Duke of *Nemours*, as an abſolute Lord. In this interim the time of holding the States at *Paris* being come, he, though invited, would neither go, nor ſend thither, ſtill ſpeaking diſhonourably of the authority and actions of the Duke of *Mayenne*, his Brother by the Mothers ſide, and when the Truce was concluded, though he declared that he accepted it for as much as concerned the Kings party; yet nevertheleſs would he not diſmiſs the leaſt part of his Souldiery, but rather entertaining and raiſing new every day, kept the Country more oppreſſed in the time of the Ceſſation than it was before in the heat of War. The principal men and the people of *Lyons* moved by all theſe things, reſolved to complain of it to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who for the ſafety of the City, and the maintaining of his own reputation, thought it good to withſtand his Brothers ambitious deſigns, and therefore under colour of deſiring that the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* ſhould go to *Rome* with Cardinal *Joyeuſe*, he cauſed him to go unto that City, giving him Commiſſion to maintain the peoples liberty, and to give him notice of every particular, to the end he might ſeaſonably provide againſt danger. This Remedy haſtened the breaking out of the miſchief; for the Duke of *Nemours* having no good correſpondence with the Archbiſhop, and ſeeing the Citizens ran popularly after him, thought to draw ſome Companies of Souldiers into the Town, either for his

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own ſecurity or to bridle the people, who were already half in an uproar: But this news being come amongſt the Citizens, increaſed by the wonted additions of the report, they no longer delayed to riſe, and having taken Arms, barricadoed up the City, and ſhut the Duke into a corner of the Town, who having in this neceſſity deſired to ſpeak with the Archbiſhop, whom before he had not cared to ſee, the event proved different from his deſign; for the Archbiſhop making then no account either of his words or complements, (which he knew proceeded but from neceſſity) continued to exhort the people to defend their own liberty; and told them which way they ſhould manage their buſineſs; ſo that, finally the barricadoes being made up cloſe, and a greater number of men being in Arms, they of the Council went armed unto him, and told him that for the ſecurity of his perſon, the people being in a mutiny, and for the ſafety of the City that was in danger to be ſacked, they intended he ſhould retire into the Caſtle of *Pierre Auſſe*, which not being able to contradict, he was at laſt brought thither, and with more ſevere Guards diligently looked to; and the chief men having aſſembled the Council, made a Decree whereby they deprived him of the Government, and likewiſe the Marquis his Brother, (though from him they confeſſed they had never received any injury at all) and gave the Authority of Governing the City unto the Archbiſhop, which was afterward confirmed upon him by the Duke of *Mayenne*. 1593.

By a Decree of the chief heads of the City of *Lyons*, the Duke of *Nemours* is put out of the Government, and the Marquiſs of St. *Sorlin* out of that of *Dauphine*.

But this news being come to *Paris*, many were exceedingly troubled at it, the Spaniſh Miniſters grieving that they had loſt one of the chief Inſtruments of their power; but Madam *de Nemours* being afflicted much more for the danger and ruine of her Son; and many there were who perſwaded themſelves that all the miſchief proceeded from the Duke of *Mayenne*, who not only had deſired to abate the arrogance of his Brother, but had alſo done it to get *Lyons* into his power, and join it to his Government of *Bourgogne*, that he might remain Maſter thereof, whatſoever the event of things ſhould be; it being known to every one, that in the Treaties he held with the King, and alſo with the Spaniſh Miniſters, he had demanded that *Lyons* and *Bourgogne* ſhould jointly be granted to him; wherefore though he laboured to ſeem diſcontented and angry at the accident that had happened unto his Brother, there was not any body that believed him, ſeeing he not only omitted to treat of freeing him indeed, though he talked much of it; but alſo that he had confirmed the authority of Governour upon the Archbiſhop, which thoſe Citizens had conferred upon him.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and *Guiſe* united themſelves in affection, and agree jointly to favour each other in the election to be King.

This new diſſention opened a paſſage to new troubles, which at that time were like to have ſteered a more proſperous courſe; for the Duke of *Mayenne* had at laſt reunited himſelf, and compoſed matters with the Duke of *Guiſe*, their common Friends having made them perceive that their diſcord would in the end be the ruine of them both; whereupon the Duke of *Mayenne*, to free himſelf from the aſperſions of croſſing his Nephews advancement; and the Duke of *Guiſe*, not to ſhew himſelf regardleſs of his Uncle's labour in upholding the party, were mutually agreed that if the Duke of *Mayenne* found means to attain the Crown for himſelf, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould be obliged to keep united with him, and aſſiſt him with all his Forces; and in caſe the Duke of *Mayenne* could not obtain the Kingdom for himſelf, or for one of his Sons, he ſhould likewiſe be obliged to help the Duke of *Guiſe* to attain it either by the marriage of the *Infanta*, or ſome other way.

*Taſſis* being returned from *Flanders*, treats with reſpect and confidence with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

This accommodation did infinitely diſpleaſe the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d' Ivarra*, who ſaw themſelves deprived of the proper inſtrument to keep the Duke of *Mayenne* in jealouſie, and to be able when occaſion ſhould require by that means to keep down and ſuppreſs his greatneſs; and yet *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis* being returned from *Flanders*, who had been there to confer with Don *Pedro Enriquez* of *Toledo*, *Conde de Fuentes*, who held the Government of the Low-Countries till the arrival of the Archduke *Ernſt*, began to treat of piecing up again with the Duke of *Mayenne*, ſuch being the opinion and deſire of that principal Miniſter, who perceiving well that without his help and conſent, all other attempts would prove fruitleſs; and though the Spaniſh Miniſters at *Paris* thought themſelves deceived, and ill dealt withal by him, yet the *Conde* did not judge it a fit time to take revenge, but to manage things with patience and diſſimulation, ſince they had ſeen by experience, that the principal Deputies of the States, depended upon the will and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*. At *Taſſis* his arrival they began to treat, the Legat alſo interpoſing, though he was much more inclined to the Duke of *Guiſe*, but not being willing to digreſs from the King of *Spain*'s reſolutions,

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1593. not only by reaſon of his ancient inclination, but alſo becauſe in that State of affairs there was no breaking friendſhip and good correſpondence with him, without indangering Religion.

*Taſſis* began with letting him know the good will the *Conde de Fuentes* bore him; then he went on himſelf condemning the perverſe carriage of his Collegues; and in the end intimated and implied; but did not affirmatively declare, That the Catholick King would be content to give the *Infanta* to one of his Sons provided they could but agree in other matters. After this conference the other Spaniſh Miniſters began to change their manner of proceeding, and to bear more reſpect to the Dukes perſon and authority, and the Cardinal-Legat himſelf to do the ſame; ſo that it was eaſie for him to believe there were new orders come from *Spain* in favour of him; as it was true, King *Philip* being finally reſolved to procure the *Infanta*'s election with any Husband whatſoever, and having conceived an opinion, that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſtanding fixt in his deſign of attaining the Crown for his poſterity, would conſent to moſt profitable conditions for his Kingdom.

The King of *Spain*, provided the *Infanta* might be elected, reſolves to give her any huſband.

But that which made the buſineſs difficult was the preſent weakneſs of the Kings condition; for his Treaſures being wonderfully exhauſted, he could not make thoſe great preparations that were neceſſary to uphold ſo great an enterpriſe, and he was brought ſo low that the Merchants could no longer accept his Bills of Exchange; and the Genoueſes, to whom he was indebted many Millions, refuſed to make new payments: this weakneſs was with all poſſible care concealed by his Miniſters, and they continued to affirm that againſt the end of the Truce, twelve thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe ſhould be in a readineſs to enter into *Picardy*, and one hundred thouſand Crowns ſhould be paid to the Duke of *Mayenne* every month to maintain as many French Forces; and, to gain the greater belief, they ſtrained themſelves to pay him twenty thouſand in preſent, and give him Bills for ſixty thouſand more upon their credits, ſtriving in all things to win, and ſtill to increaſe new hopes in him every day more and more.

This piecing up with the Spaniards, beſides the accommodation with the Duke of *Guiſe*, was the cauſe of interrupting the Treaty of Peace which had been continued many days with the Kings Deputies, in which though not only Monſieur *de Villeroy*, but alſo Preſident *Jannin* had laboured very much, yet was there not any concluſion agreed upon; for the King was grown jealous, that the Duke of *Mayenne* treated but feignedly, without any deſire to conclude; and this ſuſpition grew from ſome of the Legat's Letters to the Pope, which were intercepted, wherein though he ſpoke very ill of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and imputed it to his ambition, and malignity that the *Infanta* and the Duke of *Guiſe* were not elected; yet he affirmed he had tyed him up in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould never conclude an agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and that he had taken a ſecret Oath to that purpoſe in a Writing ſigned by him, the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbœuf*, the Count of *Briſſac*, the Mareſhals of *Roſne*, and St. *Paul*, and many others of the principal men, a Copy of which Writing was incloſed in the ſame Letters, wherefore *Villeroy* going to the King to treat on ſtill about the Peace, he would do nothing elſe but ſhew him the Letters, and the Writings, whereof he alſo gave him a Copy to ſhew the Duke of *Mayenne*, who not being able to deny, but that the Oath was true, excuſed himſelf yet for it with ſaying, that he had always intended to conclude the Peace with a reſervation of the Popes conſent; and if he ſhould approve it, he was then immediately looſened from the obligation of that Oath; nor did the ſight of the evil which the Legat wrote concerning him, at all withdraw him from his reſolution; for he interpreted thoſe to be old opinions, and that the new orders from *Spain*, had varied all things; wherefore applying himſelf to join cloſe with the Spaniſh Miniſters, from the Treaty of Peace, he came to negotiate the prolonging of the Truce, to give things time to ripen; nor was it hard to obtain the lengthening of it, for the other two months, *November* and *December*, becauſe the King alſo deſired, before he moved any farther, to know the event of the Duke of *Nevers* Embaſſy, and the Popes reſolution.

The Truce is prolonged for two months more.

But this accommodation made up betwixt the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Spaniards, made the Pope more wayward to the Kings entreaties, not being willing to admit his reconciliation, whilſt he doubted the French of the League would not follow his judgment, but continue the War, being united with *Spain*; it being fit for the reputation of the Apoſtolick See, for the ſecurity of Religion, and for the ſatisfaction of the World, that

that he ſhould be the moſt wary, the moſt conſtant, and the laſt man that ſhould approve the King's converſion; leſt thoſe miſchiefs which might proceed from the eſtabliſhment of a K. not yet well ſetled in his Religion ſhould be imputed to his lightneſs and credulity; wherefore the Duke of *Nevers* being come near to *Rome*, he ſent *Paſſevino* to him again, to let him know, he intended not he ſhould ſtay above ten dayes in the City, and that he had forbidden all the Cardinals, either to ſee him, or treat with him; which things, though they ſeemed wonderful hard to the Duke, yet being reſolved to proſecute the buſineſs to the utmoſt, and believing all theſe were but ſhews to ſet a higher price upon his favour, he went on and entered privately into *Rome*, at *Porta del Borgo* upon the twentieth day of *November*. 1593.

The Pope ſends the D. of *Nevers* word, he intends not he ſhall ſtay at *Rome* above ten dayes.

He went the ſame evening privately to kiſs the Pope's feet, and at the firſt audience deſired only that his time might be prolonged, the term of ten dayes being too ſhort to treat of a matter of ſo great moment, and that he might have leave to viſit the Cardinals, and to deliver the Letters he had to them from the King, offering to treat of that buſineſs in the preſence of the King of Spain's Ambaſſadors, and of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Agents, and to ſhew them that a King of *France* could not but be received, who humbly ſuing, and being converted, deſired to return unto the obedience of the Church. He had no other anſwer from the Pope, but that he would conſult with the Cardinals, and with their Council would reſolve; but in his following audiences the Duke endeavoured, with many reaſons, and great eloquence, to perſwade the Pope, firſt of all, that as being Pope, and the Vicar of Chriſt, he could not reject one who being converted return'd into the boſome of the Church; and then, that as a prudent experienced Prince, he ought not to refuſe the obedience of the ſtronger, and more powerful party; and finally, that as a Protector of the Common liberty, he ought not to permit, that the Kingdom of *France*, by the continuance of a ruinous deſperate War, ſhould run the hazard of being divided and diſmembred, with manifeſt danger of the liberty of all Chriſtian Princes, and particularly of the See of *Rome*. He enlarged himſelf upon the firſt point with proofs of Scripture; and with many examples, and authorities of the Primitive Church, and the Fathers; but knowing the difficulty did not conſiſt in that, he enlarged himſelf much more in the other two; and thinking the Pope perſiſted to be ſo obdurate, particularly becauſe he doubted of the King's Forces, and that the Catholicks of the League, united with the King of *Spain*, were ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs him, he took much pains to ſhew, that the major part of the Parliaments of *France*, all the Princes (except thoſe of the Houſe of *Lorain*,) the flower of the Nobility, and two thirds of the Kingdom followed his party, that his adverſaries were few and of mean quality, diſagreeing among themſelves, and full of deſperation; ſo that to the King's perfect eſtabliſhment, and the total quiet of the Kingdom, there wanted nothing but the conſent of the Apoſtolick See, and the benediction of his Holineſs. He reckoned up all the King's Victories, which did indeed proceed from his valour, but alſo from the power and ſtrength of the Nobility and people that followed him; he exaggerated the weakneſs of the Spaniards, who might well keep the Civil diſſentions alive by art and induſtry, but could not ſuſtain them by force of Arms. He ſtrove to ſhew the articles and artifices they uſed, and that their aim was to uſurp the Kingdom, as they had lately diſcovered their ſecret in the propoſition of the *Infanta*: he excited the piety and juſtice of the Pope, not to make himſelf author of violating the *Salique-Law* and the other fundamental ones of the Kingdom; not to aſſiſt thoſe who laboured to diſpoile the lawful blood of the Crown; and finally not to permit, that diſcords ſhould be ſowed under his name to the utter ruine of the foundations of a moſt Chriſtian Kingdom, and firſt-born of the Holy Church. Laſt of all he concluded, that he brought along with him ſome of thoſe Prelates who had given the King abſolution, and who deſired to preſent themſelves at his feet, to give him an account of what had been done, their mindes giving them, that they ſhould make him clearly ſee, they had not ſwerved from the obedience of the Apoſtolick See, nor from the rites and cuſtomes of it, and that what they had done was conformable to the Sacred Canons, and the mind of the Holy Church.

The Duke of *Nevers* being entred privately into *Rome*, goes the ſame evening to kiſs the Pope's feet.

The Pope was conſtant in his determination, and though the Dukes reaſons moved him, yet being reſolved howſoever not to be too haſty; and ſo much the rather becauſe the Duke ſeemed to urge, that the Abſolution given to the King in *France*, might be confirmed and approved, but not to propoſe the ſubmitting of the King to the cenſure and judgment of the Apoſtolick See, he ſaid, he would think upon an anſwer, and

1593. two dayes after, not having the heart to talk any more with the Duke, and to answer his reasons, he let him know by *Silvio Antoniani*, that he could not prorogue the term of ten dayes, lest he should discontent those Catholicks, who, being obedient to the Church, had ever, and did yet uphold Religion, and that that time was sufficient, having nothing else to treat of; that it was not fit he should speak unto the Cardinals, having been admitted as a private man, not as an Ambassador; and that as concerning the Prelats that came along with him, he could not admit them to his presence, unless first they submitted themselves to Cardinal *Santa Severina* the chief penitentiary, to be examined by him.

The Pope lets the Duke of *Nevers* know, that he cannot prolong the term of ten dayes, and that he could not admit the Prelates who came along with him to his presence, unless they submitted themselves to the *Penitentiero Maggiore*, who is the chief Officer that hath power to absolve a Penitent.

This was the Popes last resolution: for, though the Duke obtained another audience, yet could he not alter his determination, but he sent Cardinal *Toledo* to let him know the same things, with whom, having had many long discourses, the substance of the business varied not; and though the Duke, very much troubled with a Catarrhe, was of necessity fain to stay beyond the time of ten dayes, yet could he not prevail any thing at all; and finally, being brought to his last audience in the Popes presence, after having at large repeated all his reasons, he fell upon his knees, and beseech'd him, that at least he would give the King absolution in *Foro Conscientiæ*: but neither could he obtain this, and departed exceeding ill satisfied, having finally, with more liberty and spirit than he was wont, aggravated the wrongs that were done unto the King, and the injuries that were put upon his own person, who, forgetting his want of health, his age, and quality, had taken the pains to come that journey, for the safety and quiet of Christians.

The Duke of *Nevers* falling upon his knees beseeches the Pope at least to give the King absolution in *Foro Conscientiæ*, and it is denied.

After he was gone from his audience, Cardinal *Toledo* came to him again, and told him, that if the Prelats did so much abhor the face of Cardinal *Santa Severina*, they should be heard by the Cardinal of *Aragon*, Chief of the Congregation of the *Holy Office*; but the Duke answered, that they being come as Ambassadors in company with him, he did not mean they should be used as Criminals, but that the Pope should admit them to his presence; for, to him, as Head of the Church, they would give a good account of their actions: but the Cardinal replied, that it was not decent for them to contend and dispute with the Pope; the Duke added, that he would be content, if the Pope would but admit them to kiss his feet, and that then they should render an account to Cardinal *Aldobrandino* his Nephew.

But neither would the Pope accept of this condition; whereupon the Duke of *Nevers* having distinctly set down in writing all that he had done, departed from *Rome*, taking the Prelates with him, and went to the City of *Venice*, where the Bishop of *Mans* published a little book in Print, wherein he set forth the reasons that had moved the Prelates to absolve the King; one of which was, that the Canons permit the Ordinary, whom it concerns, to absolve from excommunication, and every other case when the penitent is hindred by a lawful cause from going to the Popes feet himself; and another, that in the point and danger of death the penitent might be absolved by any one; in which danger the King manifestly was, being every day exposed in the encounters of War, to the peril of his enemies; and besides that, conspired against a thousand wayes by their wicked treacheries, to which reasons, adding many others, he concluded, they had power to absolve him *ad futuram Cautelam*, reserving his obedience and acknowledgment to the Pope, which he at that time fully rendred him.

The Duke of *Nevers* goes away discontented from *Rome*.

The Duke comes to *Venice*, where the French Prelates print a Book of the reasons that moved them to absolve the King.

When the Duke was gone, the Pope having assembled the Cardinals in the Consistory, declared, That he had not been willing to receive the King of *Navar*'s excuses and obedience; because his conscience would not suffer him to lend his faith so easily to one that had formerly violated it; that to admit one to so potent a Kingdom, without great regard, and due caution, would have been a very great lightness; and being certain, that others would have believ'd, and follow'd his judgment, it was not fit, proceeding blindly, to make himself a guide to the blind, and to lead the good French Catholicks to the ruinous precipice of damnation; and that therefore they should be assured he would continue constant, and would not accept of false dissimulations, and politick tricks in a matter of so great consequence. Thus the Spaniards remained satisfied, and the Catholicks of the League contented; yet was not the King moved with all this, or turned aside from his first intention, the Sieur *de la Chelle*'s relation having applyed an antidote to that so bitter potion.

The King at this time was at *Melun*, in which Town one *Pierre Barriere* was

taken

taken and put in Priſon, who had conſpired to kill him; but by whom he was inſtigated is not well known; he was born obſcurely in the City of *Orleans*, and followed the profeſſion of a Waterman in thoſe Boats that are wont to go upon the *Loyre*; but being known for a man of a brutiſh cruel nature, he had been made uſe of in the acting of many villanies: from which, and the diſſolutenes of his carriage, being grown to a vagabond kind of life, he was at laſt fallen upon a thought of this fact, which having imparted to two Fryers, the one a *Capuchin*, the other a *Carmelite*, he was (as he ſaid) earneſtly perſuaded to it by them; but being yet doubtful and uncertain in his mind, he would needs reveal his Secret alſo to *Seraphino Banchi*, a Dominican Frier, born in *Florence*, but living in *Lyons*. This man ſtruck with horror, to hear the boldneſs, and wicked intent of this Fellow, diſſembled nevertheleſs, and told him, It was a thing to be well conſidered, and not to be ſo ſoon reſolved on, and bad him come again the next day for his anſwer, which he would think upon, and ſtudy to know how he ſhould determine the queſtion; in the mean time, thinking how the King might be warily advertiſed of it, he intreated the Sieur *de Brancaleon*, a ſervant of the Queen Dowagers, who was then in the City, to come to him the ſame day and hour he had appointed, and they being both of them come at the ſame time, he made them ſtay, and talk a great while together, to the end that *Brancaleon* might know *Barriere* perfectly; then having told him he could not yet reſolve what counſel he ſhould give him, becauſe the queſtion was very full of difficult doubts, he diſmiſſed him, and diſcovered the whole buſineſs to *Brancaleon*, to the end, that giving the King notice of it, the miſchief might be prevented. *Barriere* going from *Lyons*, and coming not many dayes after to *Paris*, conferred about it, firſt with the Curate of St. *Andre*, and then with his father *Vadare* Rector of the Jeſuits, who (as he affirmed) perſuaded him to do the deed; wherefore he departed reſolved to attempt the execution of it, and being come to St. *Denis*, lingered after the King, to find an opportunity to effect his deſign. But being come with the King to *Melun*, *Brancaleon* alſo came thither, by whom being known and pointed out, he was put in priſon by the Archers of the *Grand Prevoſt*, and being examined and brought face to face with *Brancaleon*, he confeſſed that he was once minded to have Killed the King, and that he had conferred about it with the Dominican Fryer at *Lyons*; but that afterward having heard of his converſion, he was reſolved not to do it; and that he was going towards *Orleans*, in which City he was born, being determined to put himſelf into a Monaſtery of Capuchins; but theſe things he ſpoke with ſo much inſolency, and contempt, as plainly ſhewed him to be guilty, having alſo a great two-edged knife about him, which gave proof of his intention to commit the fact; whereupon, having been many times examined, and tortured, he was by the appointed Judges condemned to die; which ſentence being told him, with perſuaſions to a ſincere confeſſion of his crime, he confeſſed the whole buſineſs, and related all the particulars diſtinctly; thence being brought to the place of execution, and having ratified all he had ſaid before, he ſuffered the uſual puniſhments, as a reward for his audacious raſhneſs. 1593.

*Pierre Barriere*, a Vagabond fellow, having conferred with two Fryers, reſolves to kill the King, but being diſcovered, he is taken, tortured, and put to death.

In the mean time the term of the Ceſſation was almoſt expired; and the Duke of *Mayenne*, intent to gain the moſt time he could poſſibly, had again diſpatch'd the Sieur *de Villeroy* to the King, to get it prolonged; but he not having been able to obtain any thing, he after him diſpatched the Count *de Belin*, who was perſuaded he ſhould compaſs it; but the King was utterly averſe from that intention, knowing certainly that they deſired to gain time, not to expect the reſolutions from *Rome*, but indeed the ſupplies and preparations from *Spain*; and therefore he was determined to loſe no more time, but ſince his adherents had held many practices through the whole Kingdom, he made haſte to let the War break out, that he might ſee whether thoſe Mines that were prepared, would take effect. Wherefore, though the Duke of *Mayenne*, beſides others, uſed alſo *Sebaſtiano Zametti* (who, of a Merchant of *Piedmont*, was become a man of great buſineſs in Court) and though the Preſident *de Thou*, and the Count *de Schombergh* met with him at *Paris*, yet was it not poſſible by any conditions, how large ſoever, to perſuade the King to prolong the Ceſſation, no not for a few dayes.

But, no ſooner was the term of the Ceſſation expired, when the effects of the Kings converſion, and of the practices his Miniſters had opportunely ſet on foot, began to ſhew themſelves; for Monſieur *de Vitry* Governor of *Meaux*, who being deep in arrears, had, in the time of the Truce, been with the *Conde de Fuentes* to get them paid,

1593. and having not onely failed of that which he thought it moſt reaſonable to demand, but alſo waited many dayes before he could be admitted to tell his buſineſs, a thing abſolutely intolerable to the French impatiency; he came back full of ſpite and diſcontent, often repeating thoſe words, which are almoſt grown a Proverbe, * *Point d' argent, point de Vitry*; wherefore, taking occaſion from his inability to pay the Soldiers himſelf, he called the people of the Town to a Parly, and told them, he had conſtantly followed the party of the League as long as the buſineſs was matter of Religion; but now the King was turned Catholick he would not deny him due obedience, nor follow them, who, for ambition and intereſt, would proſecute the War, and therefore delivered up the keys of the Town into their hands, and leaving them at liberty to diſpoſe of themſelves, went ſtraight to put himſelf on that ſide which he manifeſtly ſaw was in the right; and putting on a white Scarfe, and making all his Soldiers wear the ſame colour, was going to march out of the Town; but the people, excited by thoſe few words, and the example of their Governor, cryed out unanimouſly, *For the King, for the King*, and preſently choſe four Deputies to go and deliver the Town into his power.

* No Money, no Vitry.

Monſieur *de Vitry*, Governor of *Meaux*, goes over to the King's Party, and cauſes the Townſmen to ſend Deputies to the King, to deliver the place into his hands.

This place was exceeding opportune, as well by reaſon of its nearneſs to *Paris*, as becauſe it ſhut up the paſſage of the River *Marne*; but, the example of it to all the other Towns of the League, was of much greater conſequence; for being the firſt that ſubmitted it ſelf to the King's obedience, it was likely to open a way to a novelty of ſuch importance, that the ſum of affairs conſiſted in it; wherefore, the King deliberating (as his cuſtom was) in his Council what courſe was to be held, and what conditions ſhould be granted to it, was in a little ſuſpence, becauſe the opinions of his Counſellors were different among themſelves; ſome of a more fiery nature (who could not ſo eaſily forget the paſt inſolencies of the Common people, and the inveterate enmity of the factions) with the adherents of the Hugonots, (for yet ſome of them came to Council) would have had them that returned unto their obedience, bridled with ſevere conditions, and that they ſhould redeem their former faults, and offences by ſharp repentance, being deſirous to wreak their long ſetled hatred, and proudly to triumph upon the enemies which they already accounted conquered. But the more wiſe and moderate men conſidered, that theſe return'd unto their obedience, neither through the neceſſity of a Siege, nor for fear of force, but out of the inſtinct of their own will, and that it was therefore fit, the example ſhould be ſuch as might invite and allure other places of greater importance to follow it, that this beginning was to ſerve for a rule to other Compoſitions, and Agreements; wherefore, ſince the King uſed all poſſible endeavours to win the People to acknowledge him, it would have been a croſs Counſel, now to reject, and fright them with ſharpneſs, and ſeverity; that it was neceſſary to help this firſt motion to bring forth a happy obedience; to accommodate ones ſelf to the imperfections of the ſubjects, and with the baite of good uſage to promote thoſe wavering thoughts: they called to mind how pernicious the pardon granted to the Flemmings by the Duke of *Alva* had been by reaſon of his ſtrictneſs, exceptions, ambiguities, and want of ſincerity in the conditions, whence it came to paſs, that that ſtrictneſs and doubtfulneſs of pardon alienated more Cities and more People from the Catholick King, than ſo many puniſhments, ſo much blood, and ſo many violences had done before; therefore, they exhorted the King to grow wary at his Neighbours coſt, and not to run into thoſe errors which they heard the Spaniards reproached with every day.

The Duke of *Alva*, by granting a ſtrict ambiguous pardon to the Flemmings, alienates more Cities from the Catholick King, than his former puniſhments and rigours had done.

This opinion being without doubt the beſt and moſt fruitful, ſuited wonderfully with the King's nature inclined to gentleneſs and clemency, and with the neceſſity of his affairs; and the knowing that his enemies, though weak and divided, were not yet ſuppreſſed, and utterly ruined, induced him to conſent unto it, and to reſolve to open that ſo large gate, that all others might run willingly to paſs in at it; wherefore, having received the Deputies with kind demonſtrations, he graciouſly granted the Citizens of *Meaux* all conditions they knew how to ask, among which, that the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion alone ſhould be allowed in their Town; he granted them alſo exemption from many impoſitions, the confirmation of the offices and benefices granted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the continuation of the immunities and ancient Priviledges of the Place; he confirmed the Govenment upon Monſieur *de Vitry*, and after him upon his eldeſt Son; and gave him a certain ſum of money to pay his debts, and alſo paid the Soldiery that followed him, and entertained them in his ſervice.

The Deputies of *Meaux* are graciouſly received by the King, who grants them many Priviledges, and confirms the Government upon Monſieur *de Vitry*, and his Son.

This

This blaze of liberality, and clemency, ſpread a wonderful luſtre through all parts of *France*, ſo that upon the fame thereof, many others reſolved to follow the example, and to try if they could find more quiet in the King's goodneſs, than in the troubles of the War, and ſo much the rather when they ſaw the King's Edict publiſhed upon the fourth of *January*, 1594. Wherein, with a great and ſpecious flouriſh of words, he confirmed the foreſaid Conditions; which Edict was alſo received without any kind of delay, and approved of in the Parliament. 1593. 1594.

The Sieur *d'Eſtrumel* and Monſieur *de la Chaſtre*, compound with the King for themſelves and their Government.

About the ſame time the Sieur *d' Eſtrumel*, Brother in law to Monſieur *de S. Luc*, and Governor of *Peronne*, *Mondidier & Roye* made agreement for himſelf, and thoſe three principal Towns of *Piecardy*, to put themſelves under the King's obedience; but to make his revolt more ſpecious, he would firſt make a Truce for many months, whereby thoſe aforeſaid Towns remained neutral. The ſame did the Sieur *d' Alincourt* and Monſieur *de Villeroy* with *Pontoyſe*; for the King was content they ſhould remain neutral by a particular Truce, that he might make uſe of *Villeroy* in drawing on the treaty of Peace, which was yet kept alive with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

But Monſieur *de la Chaſtre*, one of the principal men of the League, declared himſelf for the King freely, and without any pretence in the beginning of *February*; for having in vain demanded ſupplys of men and money from the Spaniſh Miniſters, being incenſed at the repulſe, and weary of the diſcords, which he ſaw in his party, he agreed with the King, by means of the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, for himſelf and the Cities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, obtained for them the ſame conditions that had been granted to *Meaux*, and for himſelf the confirmation of the degree of Marſhal of *France*, conferred upon him by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and of the Governments he had in poſſeſſion, which after him were to come to his Son the Baron *de la Maiſon*.

The City of *Lyons* declares for the Kings Party.

In the ſame month happened the compoſition with the City of *Lyons*; for the people of that place having expected that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould either come thither in Perſon, or ſend a man of great authority to accommodate the buſineſs with the D. of *Nemours*, and to remove him from that government, by giving him a convenient recompence, he not being able to leave *Paris* in the condition it was in, and not having an equivalent recompence to offer, (for the Government of *Guienne* which the Duke of *Nemours* would have accepted, was already promiſed to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Marquiſs of *Villars* who commanded there, would not hear of ſubmitting himſelf to any other body,) he could neither remedy the popular Commotion, nor oppoſe the force of the Marquiſs *de S. Sorlin*, who, to recover his Brother, moleſted the whole Country of *Lyons* with exceeding great plunderings, and alſo ſtraitned the City; wherefore, after the people had in vain expected many months, not knowing what reſolution to take, they at laſt called Collonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, who was near that place with a good number of men, and having brought him into the City, publickly ſet up the Royal Standard, having thrown and beaten down all the Arms and Monuments of the League every where.

The City of *Aix* in *Provence* beſieg'd by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, being not relieved, ſubmits to the Kings obedience.

A while before the City of *Aix* in *Provence* being ſtraitly beſieged by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and ſeeing they could receive no relief, neither from the Duke of *Savoy*, nor from any other part, the Count *de Carſy* being in it, who had married a daughter in law of the Duke of *Mayenn*'s, and was Commander in Chief of the forces of that Province, took a reſolution, ſince the King was turn'd Catholick, to ſubmit himſelf to his obedience; but upon condition that the Duke of *Eſpernon* ſhould not come into the Town, to whom both the Citizens, and the Count himſelf profeſſed a particular enmity, in which point they were ſatisfied by means of Monſieur *Les-diguieres*, and of Collonel *Alfonſo Corſo*.

In this ſo violent a motion of the principal Heads and Cities of the *Union*, part whereof had already agreed to obey the King, and part talked of agreeing, the Cardinal's Legat was in great fear and trouble, for he having promiſed at *Rome* that there ſhould follow no alteration upon the King's converſion, was now in great perplexity, for fear the Pope ſhould account him, either a light, or a negligent man, and having perſuaded and urged, that the King's Embaſſy might not be received by the Apoſtolick See, he doubted not that all ſiniſter events would be imputed to his evil Counſel, and was extremely vexed that ſo much labour, and ſo great endeavours uſed by him to bring the affairs of the League to the end he pretended, ſhould now prove vain and unprofitable, and that all the engins of his contrivance ſhould be overturn'd in a moment; wherefore, being fallen into a profund conſideration, he,

1594. The ſubſtance of a Writing ſet forth by the Cardinal Legat, to keep the Catholick League on foot.

he, after long conſultation, reſolved to ſet forth a Writing, wherein he informed and aſſured the people of *France*, that the Pope, judging the King of *Navar*'s converſion to be feign'd, and counterfeit, had neither approved it, nor admitted the Duke of *Nevers* as his Ambaſſador, but as an Italian Prince, and a private perſon. He proteſted moreover, that the Pope would never approve of that converſion, nor admit the King into the boſome of the Church: upon which ground he exhorted all Catholicks not to ſwerve from the judgment and union of the *Apoſtolick See*, nor from the obedience of the Pope. With this Writing he thought he might ſtop the motion of mens minds, that inclined to ſubmit themſelves to the King, and judged, that the ſcruple of Conſcience would be ſtronger to withhold them, than the conſideration of temporal Laws to ſpur them on; but this Counſel produced a contrary effect; for moſt men were incenſed, that ſo great a Prince ſhould be refuſed to be received to repentance, whereas the Church is wont, with ſo much pains, to endevour, and with ſo much tenderneſs to embrace the converſion of every meaneſt ſinner; and the people being perſuaded, by a deſire of Peace, and reſt, and abhorring civil diſcords, which had produced ſo many miſchiefs, both in publick and in private, were much the more ready to take a reſolution, and ſhelter themſelves under the Kings obedience; and yet the Legate, either perſevering in his old opinions, or his heart not ſuffering him to unſay what he had writ and adviſed at *Rome*, continued firmly to uphold the League, as well with the Pope, as among the French Lords themſelves, with whom he was every day at cloſe conſultations.

Equal to his was the trouble and terror of the King of Spains Miniſters, who ſeeing ſome of them were fallen off, whom they accounted the moſt confiding men; and though pieced up, yet not totally truſting to the intelligence they held with the Duke of *Mayenne*, not ſeeing that the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf was very well ſatisfied, they knew that all their hopes would vaniſh, if the preſent need were not ſpeedily ſuccoured, which was very difficult, as well by reaſon of the want of money, as the ill conditions of the affairs of *Flanders*; and though they beſtirred themſelves with all their power, they could neither find any that would pay their bills of exchange, nor that would have to do with them; and to be fain to ſtay for thoſe proviſions that came ſlowly out of *Spain*, was a remedy too late, and too far off; they reſolved therefore to make uſe of the neareſt aſſiſtance, which was that of *Flanders*, and diſpatched many meſſengers to haſten the advance of the Army, and at laſt *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis* went thither himſelf: but beſides that, there was no way to pay their Forces; for want whereof, ſome Spaniſh *Tertia*'s, and a great many Italian Horſe had mutined. Count *Charles* of *Mansfield* alſo, who was to command the Army (deſiring, for his own intereſts, not to ſtir from *Flanders*, either becauſe he inclined not to obey the Duke of *Mayenne*, or elſe not thinking, that with ſo few men, and no money, he could come off with honour,) interpoſed many delays, and many hinderances, ſo that the Spaniſh Camp, ſmall in number, ill provided, and diſagreeing, durſt not advance from their own confines.

The Duke of *Mayenne* wavering in ſo many adverſities, thinks to make his peace with the King.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* was more afflicted and troubled than all the reſt. He ſaw the Count *de Carſy*, and the Mareſchal *de la Chaſtre* loſt, in whom he was formerly wont to confide more than in any others; the City of *Lyons* gon, to which place he had reſolved, what ever happened, to reduce the reliques of his fortune; his Brother the Duke of *Nemours* no longer Priſoner to the City, but to the King himſelf; *Meaux* and *Pontoyſe* in the Kings hands, which Town ſo nearly bridled the City of *Paris*, the people whereof, allured on the one ſide by the benefits of Peace and Plenty, and on the other ſpurred on by their ancient inclination, and reſpect of Conſcience, wavered in their reſolutions, and it was uncertain to which Party they would at laſt incline. For all theſe cauſes he was many times thinking to make his peace with the King, before he was forſaken of all, to which the Sieur *de Villeroy* perſuaded him with frequent Letters, propoſing to him honourable and advantageous Conditions; which he ſhewed him, that when he was brought lower, he could not be able to obtain; but would be forced to capitulate, not as the Head of the *Union*, nor as Lieutenant-General of the Crown, but as a particular Prince, and private perſon; but on the other ſide, he knew not how to quit his old hopes, in which the Spaniards did all they poſſibly could to confirm him; beſides that, to make his Peace without the Popes conſent, to whoſe judgement he had reſerved himſelf, ſeemed to him ſo undecent a thing, and ſo contrary to his reputation, that he could not accommodate his mind unto it, and whatſoever the event of buſineſſes ſhould be, he was reſolved rather to periſh, than

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ſhew that the paſt War had been imbraced by him, out of an ambitious end, and not for the maintenance of Religion; and he made leſs reckoning of his own ruine, and the deſtruction of his Family, than of the loſs of his honour and reputation, which he thought he ſhould loſe, if he digreſſed it never ſo ſmall a matter from the will and determination of the Pope, and the Apoſtolick See; for which reaſons he depended wholly upon thoſe informations that were expected from *Rome*, and from the Court of *Spain*, and in the mean time had ſent Monſieur *de Roſne* into *Flanders*, not onely to haſten that Army, but alſo that by him he might be ſincerely advertiſed of the quality of thoſe ſupplies which he might certainly hope for from thence. 1594.

In this interim, Cardinal *Joyeuſe*, and the Baron *de Senecey*, ſent laſt of all by him to the Pope, and the Abbot of *Orbais* ſent by the Duke of *Guiſe*, were come to *Rome* upon the Two and twentieth of *January*, and being brought to have audience of the Pope, after the narration of all things that had paſt (the ſiniſter courſe of which they imputed to the evil Counſel, and the too evident covetouſneſs of the Spaniards,) they beſeeched him that he would be Mediator, to know King *Philip's* laſt reſolution, and firm determination; and that he himſelf would be pleaſed with men and money to ſuccor the danger of Religion, and the urgent neceſſity of the League, as his Predeceſſors had done; to which Propoſitions, the Pope, after having related what had paſt with the Duke of *Nevers*, anſwered, That as concerning the Catholick King's determination, he would endeavour to know what it was, and to confirm him in the good intention of defending the Faith, and upholding the League; but as for his aſſiſting with men and money, he began to excuſe himſelf from that, by the emergent occaſion of the War with the Turk in *Hungary*, in which he was neceſſitated for the univerſal ſafety of Chriſtians, to imploy the ſinews of his ſtrength; and yet he ſaid, That in as much as he was able he would not fail to lend his aſſiſtance alſo to the affairs of *France*. It was not very difficult for the Ambaſſadors, and particularly for the Baron *de Senecey*, a man of a quick underſtanding to apprehend the Popes meaning, he being very backward to ſpend money, and not well ſatisfied in the affairs of the *Union*; wherefore they wrote unto the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he muſt think to furniſh himſelf by other means; for from the Pope there was nothing to be hoped for, nor was he to depend upon him for the obtaining of any conſiderable Supplies.

The Pope being ſued to by the Duke of *Mayennes* Ambaſſadors, for ſupplies of men and money, excuſes himſelf by the War of *Hungary* againſt the *Turk*.

In the like courſe alſo went the negotiation in *Spain*; for the Sieur *de Montpezat* having, after many delayes, treated with the King himſelf, and beſought him, that without referring himſelf to his Miniſters that were in *France*, he would declare his pleaſure, as well in matter of the election and marriage of the *Infanta*, as of the ſupplies of men and monies, for the eſtabliſhment of the Princes that ſhould be elected, and alſo of the Conditions he would grant the Duke of *Mayenne*, he could never draw any other concluſion from him, ſave that he would write to *Rome*, and to the Arch-Duke *Erneſt*, to ſettle what ſhould be reſolved on, and done, and that it was neceſſary to expect the informations and anſwers from both places, which coldneſs and irreſoluteneſs openly ſhewed, that the King, either through wearineſs, or weakneſs, was little inclined to go on with the War; but, on the other ſide, *Don Bernardino Mendozza*, by his long abode there, well verſed in the affairs of *France*, having before this written to the Sieur *de Rombouillett*, that if any body were ſent to the Court of *Spain*, to treat in the name of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, it was very probable that the Catholick King would agree to Peace, the King not paſſing by that occaſion had cauſed the Sieur *de la Varenne* (a Gentleman of great underſtanding, and deep reach, and one whom he truſted) under pretence of going to ſee that Court, and travelling through ſeveral parts of the World (as the French uſe to do) to joyn himſelf even with the company of *Montpezat*, and to go to the Court of *Spain* along with him, where, having conferred oftentimes with *Mendozza*, and others of the Council of State, he brought back word at his return, that the Spaniards would certainly conclude a Peace, if means could be found that it might be propounded and negotiated with their reputation; which, though it was attributed to the arts of that Counſel, to make uſe of the ſame engines againſt the Duke of *Mayenne* that he uſed againſt them, yet being come to his knowledge, either purpoſely, or by chance, it confirmed him in the ſuſpition he was fallen into, by reaſon of the doubtful anſwers which his Ambaſſador had received from the Kings own mouth.

The King of *Spain* ſhows the ſame coldneſs in aſſiſting the League, to the Sieur *de Montpezat*.

But whilſt at *Rome* they refer the reſolution of Affairs unto the Court of *Spain*, and in *Spain* they are referred to the Advertiſements from *Rome* and *Flanders*, the humour of the French which was not capable of ſo much patience, wrought ſo effectually in

1594. in favour of the King, that all things were in great commotions, and the *Union* of the Confederates diſſolved of it ſelf in all places. The people of *Paris* murmured, and kept a noiſe, being reduced to exceeding ſcarcity, and the benefit they had felt a while before, during the Truce, made their preſent ſufferings more troubleſome, more intollerable, the dearth grew every day more neceſſitous, and the interruption of commerce, and the decay of trading had brought the common people to extreme miſery for want of victual, inſomuch, as that powerful incentive failing, wherewith the Chief among them were wont to keep them to the League, which was the danger of Religion, ſince that by many ſignes the King's converſion was ſeen to be real and unfeigned; every one inclined to free himſelf from trouble, and by peace to make an end of the continued ſufferings of ſo many years. They ſaw, that in thoſe places that ſubmitted themſelves to the King's obedience, the Catholick Religion was maintained, the Clergy-mens goods reſtored to them, Garriſons taken away from thoſe places that belonged to Churches, the exerciſe of the Hugonot Religion excluded, the Corporations maintained in their priviledges, the Catholicks had their Offices confirmed upon them, the Governments put again into the hands of the ſame Commanders, and that there appeared no innovation nor danger of any kind whatſoever. The fame of the King's devotion flew abroad, and his inclination to the benefit of the Catholick Religion, that his Council was compoſed of all Prelats, and perſons bred up in the ſame Faith; his clemency and benignity were exalted; his mind far from revenge commended, and beſides all this, the plenty and quiet they of his party enjoyed, were envied by thoſe of the League in the extremity of their ſufferings. The covetouſneſs of the Spaniards, and the ways they had gone in, had filled every one with diſcontent, the diſcords that raigned among the heads of the Faction, put every underſtanding man in deſpair of expecting any proſperous end after ſo long toyls, and labours; wherefore the people began to make many Conventicles and Meetings, and the *Politicks* failed not to repreſent fitting conſiderations to all degrees and qualities of Perſons; nor did the Count *de Belin*, who, as Governor, had the charge to hinder the progreſs of this inclination, ſeem to take any care of it: either becauſe he was indeed unſatisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Spaniards; or becauſe he thought it impoſſible longer to withhold the City from revolting, and therefore agreed to get the King's favour, that he might by him be confirmed in that Government.

The Pariſians murmur by reaſon of their ſufferings, which they begin again to feel, and ſo much the more, becauſe the point of Religion being taken away, they every day hear of the Kings good uſage of the Catholicks.

But the Duke being preſent, it was not hard for him to find out what way the Governor went, and being inſtigated by the importunities of the Legate, and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, he reſolved to remove him from the Government, which when it was known, the Parliament oppoſed it ſtifly, but in vain, becauſe the Duke of *Mayenne*, after having ſeverely reprehended the Counſellors of Parliament, would by all means have the Count *de Briſſac* accepted, whom he deſired to ſatisfie by that means, his wonted Government of *Poictiers* having been violently taken from him a while before by the Duke of *Elbœuf*, in which change the Duke was very much deceived; for *Briſſac* (though he depended upon, and had been antiently bred up in his family, yet) having ſpent all his own, to follow the Duke's fortunes, he had alſo lately been deprived of that Government which he onely loved; whereupon he was full of ſecret diſcontent, and was not likely to omit thoſe occaſions that ſhould repreſent themſelves to ſet his fortune right again; nor was the Government of *Paris* propoſed to make him amends; for beſides the expence which the ſplendor of that charge carried along with it, which was very unproportionable to his preſent ability, he was alſo certain that he ſhould not continue in it; for there was a Treaty already of giving the Government of the Iſle of *France* to the Marquiſs of S. *Sorlin*, and though they talk'd that it ſhould be given him excluding the City of *Paris*, yet was it very probable, that by the importunities of his Mother he at laſt would obtain it.

The Count *de Belin* is removed from the Government of *Paris*, and the Count *de Briſſac* elected in his place.

But the Duke after he had ſettled *Briſſac* in the Government, confiding abſolutely in him, reſolved to go from *Paris* to *Soiſſons*, and from thence to the Army, believing (as it was true) that his lying idle leſſen'd his reputation, and gave the people greater conveniency to revolt; and yet at his departure many things croſſed him, and he was put in a ſuſpition of the new Governors fidelity, and of the intelligence which the *Prevoſt des Merchands* held with many *Politicks* that were affected to the Kings party. The Legate, and the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors exhorted him likewiſe not to go, but their words were not taken in good part, he thinking they deſired his abode in the City, that they might confer the charge of the Army and of managing the war upon

The Duke of *Mayenne* being reſolved to lie no longer idle, to the leſſening of the reputation of his Party, goes from *Paris*.

upon the Duke of *Guiſe*; indeed he was ſomething moved by the perſwaſions of his Mother Madam *de Nemours*, ſhe telling him that the ſum of all things conſiſted now in the conſervation of *Paris*, and that ſhe had diſcovered ſome practiſes that paſt between the *Politicks* of the City and the new Governor; but neither was that able to diſſwade him from his departure; for it diminiſhed his reputation, and prejudiced the courſe of affairs too much to ſtand with his hands at his girdle, and let himſelf be ſtraightned to the laſt neceſſities without ſeeking any remedy; and he conſidered, that if the King being Maſter of *Pontoyſe* and *Meaux*, and by conſequence alſo Maſter of the Rivers, and having *Dreux*, *Orleans* and *Chartres* in his power, ſhould have a mind to beſiege *Paris*, he ſhould be locked up in the City, and not be able to do any thing to relieve it; and having notice that the King had made a Levy of Six thouſand Switzers which were ready to enter into the Kingdom, and knowing that the Queen of *England* was ſending new ſupplies of Men and Ammunition, he thought it neceſſary to draw the Forces of the Confederates together, to make oppoſition in the Spring-time, if the King ſhould take the Field with a great Army, which could not be done unleſs he himſelf in perſon were active in the buſineſs, not judging the Duke of *Guiſe*, or the Duke of *Aumale* either for authority or experience ſufficient to raiſe, or command the Army, in which charge the ſecret intentions of men, now more ſuſpected by him than ever, would not ſuffer him to truſt any other perſon. Moved by theſe reaſons, and not being able to perſwade himſelf that the Count *de Briſſac* would forſake him, and change that Faith which he, his Father, and his Grandfather had ever conſtantly kept, he at laſt departed and took his Lady, and his Son with him, leaving his Mother, his Siſter, the Cardinal-Legat, and the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors at *Paris*. 1594.

But he was no ſooner gone, when the Governour finding himſelf alone, and little valuing all the reſt that were in the City, thought that occaſion for the raiſing of his fortune again, was not to be loſt; wherefore having drawn *Jehan Viller*, the *Prevoſt des Marchands*, and the two chief *Eſchevins*, which were *Guilliaume du Ver*, Sieur *de Neret*, and *Martin l' Anglois*, Sieur *de Beauripaire* unto his party, he went on to deal with the firſt Preſident, and the other Counſellors of the Parliament. Theſe were diſpleaſed with the Duke of *Mayenne*, becauſe in many occaſions, and particularly in the laſt of changing the Governour, he had (as they ſaid) uſed them ſharply and ingratefully, and openly derided and abuſed them, and much more were they diſguſted at the Spaniards, by reaſon of the Propoſition of the Infanta, againſt whoſe election they had ſhewed themſelves openly; but that which imported moſt of all, was, That the Preſidents and Counſellors of the Parliament, (as men diſtruſted and diſaffected) were ill uſed by the Catholick Kings Ambaſſadors, and by the Gariſon of Italians, Walloons, and Spaniards, which depended on them ſo, that they not only heard proud threats, and opprobrious ſpeeches againſt themſelves to their very faces, with often mentioning the name of *Briſſon*, but their Servants and Caterers were abuſed in the Markets by the Souldiers, even to the violent taking away from them whatſoever they bought; for which they having often complained to the Duke of *Mayenne*, had not gotten any remedy, but only perſwaſions to be patient; but at laſt from this long ſufferance, they turned to fury, which wakening mens minds, (as it was wont) had made them ſee how near they were to the hated ſervitude of ſtrangers, and how much better it was to ſecure their own fortune with the ſtronger party, and free themſelves at laſt from anguiſh and trouble; wherefore it was not hard to draw them to the opinion of the reſt, and bring them to conſent to ſubmit the City to the Kings obedience.

The Count *de Briſſac* preſently begins to deal with the chief men of the City, to perſwade them to ſubmit to the Kings obedience.

Things being thus ſetled within, and the Governour thinking himſelf to be in ſuch a condition as to diſpoſe of the people his own way, began to treat with the King by means of the Count *de la Rochepot*, with whom he had an exceeding near affinity and friendſhip, and being come from the beginnings of a Treaty, to agree upon the conditions, the Count *de Schomberg*, Monſieur *de Bellievre*, and the Preſident *de Thou*, were employed in the buſineſs, who within a few days concluded what was to be done as well to ſatisfie the Count *de Briſſac*, as to gain the City without tumult, or bloodſhed, and finally the Count himſelf having conferred in the Field with the Sieur *de* St. *Luc*, who had married one of his Siſters, under pretence of treating about her Portion, about which they had been long in ſuit, it was jointly agreed upon, That in the City of *Paris*, the Fauxbourgs thereof, and ten mile round about, there ſhould be no publick exerciſe permitted, ſave of the Roman Catholick Religion, according to all the Edicts of former Kings: That the King ſhould give a general pardon to all of what ſtate

Conditions of agreement concluded between the King and the Governour of *Paris*.

1594. or condition ſoever, that had in word or deed upheld and fomented the League, ſtirr'd up the people to ſedition, ſpoken evil of his perſon, written or printed againſt him, thrown down or deſpiſed his Royal Arms, or the Arms of the Kings his Predeceſſors, or that were guilty in any kind whatſoever of the paſt ſeditions, excepting thoſe that had traiterouſly conſpired againſt his Perſon, or that were acceſſary to the murther of the late King: That the goods and perſons of the Citizens, ſhould be free from violence and plunder, all the Priviledges, Prerogatives, and Immunities confirmed, and kept in the ſame degree they were wont to be in the times of former Kings: That all Places, Offices, and Benefices into which the Duke of *Mayenne* had put men when they were vacant by death, as well within the Parliament as without, ſhould be confirmed unto the ſame perſons, but with an obligation to take new Patents from the King: That all the preſent Magiſtrates of the City ſhould be confirmed if they would ſubmit themſelves to the Kings obedience: That every Citizen that would not ſtay in the City, might have free liberty to depart, and without further leave carry away his goods: That the Cardinal-Legat, Cardinal *Pellevé*, and all the Prelats with their Servants, might with their goods and furniture freely ſtay, or go, how, and when they thought it ſeaſonable: That the Princeſſes and Ladies that were in the City, might ſtay, or go in like manner with full liberty and ſecurity: That the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors with their attendants, goods, and families, might alſo have Paſs-ports and Safe-conducts, from the King, to go ſecurely whither they pleaſed: That the Souldiers of the Gariſon, French and ſtrangers of any Nation ſoever, might march out of the City armed in rank and file, their Drums beating, Colours flying, and light Match, to go whither they thought good: That two hundred thouſand Crowns ſhould be paid to the Count *de Briſſac* in recompence of his expences, and loſſes, and that he ſhould have twenty thouſand Franks of an annual penſion, the Charge of Marſhal of *France* conferred upon him by the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould be confirmed, and the perpetual Government of *Corbie* and *Mante* granted to him; which things with many other of leſs moment being agreed upon, both ſides applyed themſelves to the execution of them.

Particular conditions concluded in the favour of the Count *de Briſſac*.

The King deſires to be crowned; ſome object that it cannot be done but at *Reimes* where the *Sante Ampoule* or holy Vial is kept which (they ſay) was brought from Heaven by an Angel to anoint King *Clouis*.

The King at this time was at *Chartres*, where he had cauſed himſelf to be Crowned, and Anointed, or (as they call it) *Sacré*; about which there had been many difficulties, which nevertheleſs by the authority of the Council were ſeaſonably removed; for he, that he might take away the doubts of ſcrupulous minds, deſiring to his Converſion to add this Ceremony, which is wont to be uſed to all Kings, ſome objected that the Conſecration by an ancient cuſtom could not be but at the City of *Reimes*, nor by the hands of any other than the Archbiſhop of that Church; but having diligently over-looked the Hiſtory of former times, the learned found that many Kings had been Conſecrated in other places; and ſince that City was not in the Kings power, reaſon conſented not that he ſhould therefore remain without that due Ceremony which they thought neceſſary for his perfect Eſtabliſhment. This difficulty being removed, there ſucceeded another, how the King could be Anointed without the Oyl of St. *Ampoule*, which was kept in the Cathedral of that City, and which (as fame reports) was brought down by an Angel from Heaven, purpoſely for the Conſecration of King *Cloüis*, and the other Kings of *France* his Succeſſors; but neither of this was there any other neceſſity ſave bare tradition: whereupon it was determined that neither the City, nor the Oyl being in the Kings power, the Oyl ſhould be brought that is kept in the City of *Tours*, in the Monaſtery of the Friers of St. *Martin*, of which there is a report (confirmed by the authority of many Writers) that it was likewiſe brought from Heaven to anoint that *Saint*, when, falling from the top of a Ladder, all his bones were broken, and ſhattered in pieces; wherefore Monſieur *de Souvray* Governour of *Tours*, having cauſed that Vial to be brought out in Proceſſion, by thoſe Monks that had it in keeping, and having placed it under a rich Canopy of State, ſet round pompouſly with lights, in the top of a Chariot made expreſly for that purpoſe, and guarded by four Troops of Horſe, he himſelf going before it all the journey, brought it along with him to the City of *Chartres*, and with that Oyl they Anointed the King at his Conſecration, cauſing it afterward to be carried back to its place, with the ſame Ceremony and Veneration.

There aroſe alſo a Competition among the Prelates, Which of them ſhould perform the Act of Conſecration; for the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* pretended, that Function belonged unto him, as Primate; and on the other ſide, *Nicholas de Thou*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, alledged, That the Ceremony being to be Celebrated in his Church,

Church, it could not be taken away from him. The Council ſentenced in favour of the Biſhop of the Dioceſs; and ſo upon the Twenty ſeventh of *February* the King was conſecrated with great Solemnity and Pomp, both Eccleſiaſtical and Military, the twelve Peers of *France* being preſent at the Ceremony; ſix Eccleſiaſtical, and ſix Secular, which were, the Biſhop of *Chartres*, *Nantes*, * *Mans*, *Maillezays*, *Orleans*, and *Angiers*, repreſenting thoſe of *Reimes*, *Langues*, *Laon*, *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, and *Chalons*: and for the Secular Peers, the Prince of *Conty* for the Duke of *Bourgogne*, the Duke of *Soiſſons* for the Duke of *Guienne*, the Duke of *Montpenſier* for the Duke of *Normandy*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* in ſtead of the Earl of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Retz* in ſtead of the Count *de Toulouſe*, and the Duke of *Vantadour* in ſtead of the Count *de Champagne*; the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* did the Office of *Grand Aumoſnier*, the Mareſhal *de Matignon* of High Conſtable, the Duke of *Longueville* that of High Chamberlain, the Count *de St. Paul* that of *Grand Maiſtre*, and the High Chancellor *Chiverny* holding the Seals in his Right Hand, ſate on one ſide of the Cloth of State. 1594.

* The French ſays Dinan.

The King, according to the cuſtom of the Kings of *France*, upon the day of this Solemnity, received the Communion in both kinds, took the Oath which all the Kings of *France* are wont to take, to maintain the Catholick Faith, and the authority of the Holy Church, and at his coming out of the Church, touched thoſe that had the Kings Evil, to the number of three hundred; from the Church he went unto the Feaſt, where, according to the cuſtom, ſate the twelve Peers that had been preſent at the Ceremony, the Princeſs *Katharine*, Siſter to the King, with the other great Ladies that were at Court, and the Ambaſſadors of the Queen of *England*, and the Republick of *Venice*. After Dinner the King went to *Veſpers*, where he received the Order of the St. *Eſprit*, renewing his Oath for the conſervation of the Faith, and the perſecution of Hereſie; which Ceremonies as they filled the hearts of his own party with great joy and gladneſs; ſo did they the more move the inclination of the others to acknowledge and obey him.

The obligation of *France* upon the day of their conſecration.

In the mean time the Treaties in *Paris* were ripening for the reducing of that City, being managed with great dexterity and ſecreſie by the Governour, the *Prevoſt des Marchands*, and Preſident *le Maiſtre*; but thwarted more than ever by the violent perſwaſions of the Preachers, who ceaſed not to cry from their Pulpits, that the Kings Converſion was feigned and diſſembled, and no body could acknowledge him with a good Conſcience. The buſineſs was likewiſe croſſed by the practices and boldneſs of the *Sixteen*, who ſince the accident of Preſident *Briſſon*, having remained with ſmall credit, and leſs power, being now fomented by the Legat and the Spaniards, and no leſs by the Dutcheſſes of *Nemours* and *Montpenſier*, (who had turned their Sails according to the Wind) they began to riſe again, meeting frequently, often ſtirring up commotions, and proceeding audaciouſly againſt thoſe that were ſuſpected to be of the Kings party; but the Governour making uſe of his authority, and alſo of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Name, laboured to diſſipate and ſuppreſs them, under colour that he would have no Conventicles, nor armed inſurrections in a time of ſo great ſuſpition: and finally, having accorded with the Parliament, they cauſed publick Proclamation to be made, That upon pain of death, and confiſcation of goods, none ſhould go to any Meeting, except in the Town-Houſe, and in the preſence of above five Magiſtrates. Upon the foundation of this Decree, the Governour ſharply uſing force, did within a few days deſtroy and take away the oppoſition of the *Sixteen*, inſomuch, that being at laſt in ſuch a condition, that he was able to diſpoſe of the City, he reſolved that he would receive the King upon the Twenty ſecond of *March* in the Morning; and to this end, having ſpread a report that the Duke of *Mayenne* was ſending Men and Ammunition from *Soiſſons* to re-inforce the City, and that it was neceſſary to ſend to meet them, he cauſed Colonel *Giacopo Argenti* to go forth the day before with his French Regiment, in which he confided not, ſending them toward *Beauvais*, by which way he ſaid thoſe Supplies were coming; *Martin l' Anglois* had already dealt with, and by the promiſe of a great ſum of money, drawn St. *Quintin* over to his party, who commanded the Tertia of Walloons that was in the Town: But the ſuſpicion of it being come to the Duke of *Feria*, he cauſed him to be laid hold on upon the One and twentieth day, and removed that whole Tertia, as likewiſe that other of Spaniards into the quarters near his own houſe, which being about the *Rue St. Antoine*, in the remoteſt place from that part where it was intended the King ſhould be brought in, it proved very

By an artifice of the Governour of *Paris* a Proclamation is made that upon pain of death, and confiſcation of goods, none ſhould aſſemble but in the Town-houſe.

The Count *de Briſſac* having agreed to receive the King into *Paris*, ſends forth the Forces he diſtruſts, feigning that the Duke of *Mayenne* was ſending Supplies, and that it was neceſſary to meet them.

1594. very much to the purpoſe, that the ſtrongeſt Forces were quartered at ſo great a diſtance. The Neapolitan Tertia commanded by *Aleſſandro de Monti* was ſent by the Governour into that part of the City which lies beyond the River, ſaying, He would keep them there in a readineſs to receive a great quantity of Victual which was to be brought in on that ſide the next day. Only the Germans were retained toward the quarters of St. *Honore* and St. *Denis* as being more eaſie, either to be perſwaded, or defeated; the Governour not being willing by emptying that quarter utterly, to increaſe the ſuſpicion that already began to ſpread hotly in all places.

The Evening being come, the Governour having at his houſe aſſembled the *Prevoſt des Marchands*, and thoſe Heads and Magiſtrates of the People, which he hoped would conſent, laid open to them his intention, the Articles of Agreement made with the King, and the neceſſity they were reduced to of freeing themſelves by peace from thoſe ſufferings and dangers which had no other remedy; and having found them all unanimouſly diſpoſed to follow his advice, he exhorted them to do it freely, and with a good heart, and to provide, that the alteration of things, and the introducing the King might be effected without ſtir or tumult; to which every one there preſent being ready, they, about Nine of the Clock at night, diſpatched Tickets ſubſcribed by the *Prevoſt des Marchands*, to the greater part of the Maſters of the ſeveral Wards, whom they had changed and choſen their own way, advertiſing them that the Peace was made, and that the Accommodation being to inſue the next morning, they ſhould take care there were no uproar, but that every one imbracing Peace, which was ſo neceſſary, and ſo long deſired, ſhould raiſe no tumult, the ſafety and goods of the Citizens being certainly ſecure.

This order being given, (which paſt with infinite ſecreſie, and was willingly executed by all) the Governour went to *Porte Neufue* about midnight, and having brought the Germans thither, ſet them in order with their Arms, and in a ſhort time cauſed the Earth to be taken away wherewith that Gate had been dammed up long before. The like did the *Prevoſt des Marchands* at the *Porte St. Denis*, where having left *Martin l' Anglois* to guard it, he went to meet with the Governour at *Porte Neufue*. The night had been exceeding rainy, and with thunder and lightning very ſtormy and dark; wherefore the King having marched with his Army from *Seulis* to St. *Denis* the night before, was two hours after the time appointed before he appeared; and in the interim the whole City being in a commotion, the noiſe was heard by the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, of which the Duke of *Feria* preſently drew the Infantry that lay about him into arms, and *Diego d' Ivarra* riding haſtily on horſeback to *Porte Neufue*, asked in his wonted haughty manner, What was doing there? But the Count *de Briſſac* no leſs haughtily anſwered him, That he was not obliged to give him an account what was done: But in courteſie he would tell him, that the Men and Ammunition which were coming from the Duke of *Mayenne* were to be received there; for that to avoid falling into the Kings hands, they were come a by-way on that ſide, and therefore he might be quiet, and go take his reſt. *Diego* either believing this, or knowing there could not be any oppoſition, went alſo to the quarter of the Spaniards.

The manner uſed by the Governour to bring the King into the City of *Paris*.

It was already Four of the Clock in the morning, when Monſieur *de St. Luc* arrived with the firſt Troops of the Army at the *Tuilleryes* without the Gate, and having given the ſign by three Rockets that were fired in the Air, as they had agreed, the Count *de Briſſac* advanced to ſee if it were he, and to ſpeak with him; and being come back to the place where the *Prevoſt des Merchands* ſtaid, they preſently cauſed the Gate to be ſet wide open, at which Monſieur *de St. Luc* entred firſt of all, marching on foot with his Piſtol in his hand, and placed Captain *Favas* with an hundred armed men in two rows to guard the ſame Port, and he himſelf with the Sieur *de Vic*, and Four hundred Souldiers of the Gariſon of St. *Denis* poſſeſſed the *Rue St. Thomas*; then followed Monſieur *d' Humieres* and the Count *de Belin*, (who was already gone over to ſerve the King out of anger for being put out of his Government) and Captain *Raullet* all on Foot with their Arms ready, and advancing with Eight hundred men, made themſelves Maſters of the *Pont St. Michel*. Thirdly, entred Monſieur *d' O*, Governour of the Iſle of *France*, and deſtined to be Governour of *Paris*, who with the Baron *de Salignac*, and Four hundred Souldiers marching along the Wall, went to poſſeſs the *Porte St. Honore*; the Mareſchal *de Matignon* who led the Switzers, having at his entrance ſeen the German Foot in Arms, cried out to them aloud to throw down their Arms, which they refuſing to do, he having commanded thoſe that followed him to charge their

The manner how the King and his Forces entered into *Paris*.

After eight years ſpace (for ſo long it was ſince King *Henry* the III. fled from thence) the City of *Paris* returns into obedience, and *Henry* the Fourth enters into it.

their Pikes, cauſed about twenty of them to be ſlain, and as many caſt into the River; whereupon the reſt throwing down their Arms, were taken and brought by him to St. *Thomas* Church; from whence he ſpread himſelf with his Switzers as far as the *Croix de Tiroir* in the midſt of the *Rue St. Honore*. After him entred the Sieur *de Bellegarde*, and then the Count *de St. Paul* with two other Squadrons, who made a ſtand before the *Louvre*, ſpreading themſelves as far as St. *Germains* Church. After theſe marched the King himſelf on foot likewiſe, compleatly armed at the head of Four hundred Gentlemen, and incloſed between two rows of the Archers of his Guard; and having found the Count *de Briſſac* at the entry of the Bridge, he preſently took off his own white ſcarf he wore, and having put it over the Counts ſhoulder, embraced him cloſely; and at the ſame time the Governour crying out aloud, *Vive le Roy*; the word was taken up firſt by the *Prevoſt des Merchands* who ſtood behind him, and then from one to another was doubled thorow all the Wards of the City; and even they themſelves that were not privy to the buſineſs, joyfully reiterated the ſame cry. The King paſſing on in the midſt of a Lane made by his own men, commanded that none upon pain of death ſhould do injury to any body, and with the ſame attendance went ſtrait to the Church of *Noſtre-Dame*, where he was received by the Prieſts with no leſs applauſe than he had been in other places. The laſt that came in, was the Mareſchal *de Retz*, who advancing in excellent order to the utmoſt parts of the City, to ſecure thoſe quarters, met *Diego d' Ivarra*, who with two Companies of Spaniards was coming towards the tumult; but the Kings Forces coming in ſo much a greater number, they retired where the reſt of them were, and the Mareſchal poſſeſſed the *Rue St. Martin*; that of St. *Denis* being already poſſeſſed by Monſieur *Vitry*, and the Sieur *de la Noüe*, who entred at that Gate. At the Kings coming out of the Church, the people already certain of what was come to paſs, and aſſured of their own ſafety, took up the cry of *Vive le Roy* again, more joyfully than before, and began with very great emulation of one another to put on White Ribbands, and Croſſes of the ſame colour in their Hats, ſtriving with joy and gladneſs who ſhould be the firſt to open their Shops; ſo that within two hours the City was as quiet, as if there had been no innovation at all.

1594.

The Count *de Briſſac* cries *Vive le Roy*, and the ſame cry runs thorow the whole City.

The people ſtrive who ſhall mark themſelves firſt with white Ribbands and white Croſſes in their Hats, and open their Shops, the City being quiet within two hours.

Before the King went to the *Louvre*, he ſent Monſieur *du Perron* (a while before returned from *Rome*) unto the Cardinal-Legat: Letting him know, that it was in his own liberty either to go or ſtay; but that he prayed him to find out ſome means that they might confer together, ſince the Pope had refuſed to admit Ambaſſadors; to which he anſwered, that ſince he was at liberty, he would not only go out of the City, but quite out of the Kingdom, which though the King endeavoured to diſſwade, yet was it not poſſible to hinder him, as well becauſe he would not be conſtrained to treat any thing with a Prince that was not acknowledged by the Pope, as becauſe of his old inclination; which even when all things were in deſperation (perhaps to ſhew himſelf conſtant) he could not diſſemble; and yet being uſed with great reſpect, he ſtaid ſix days in the City, and thence being accompanied by the ſame *du Perron* as far as *Montargis*, he continued in his way to go ſtraight out of the Kingdom.

The Cardinal-Legat goes out of the Kingdom.

At the ſame time the King entred, Cardinal *Pellevé* was drawing his laſt breath, who having heard the reſolution of buſineſſes, ſaid angerly, that he hoped yet the Arms of the Spaniards and good Catholicks, would drive that Hugonot out of *Paris*; and as ſoon as he ſaid thoſe words, he departed out of this life.

The Count *de Briſſac* went to the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, and gave them charge from the King to ſet St. *Quintin* at liberty, which they refuſed not to obey; and having recalled *Aleſſandro de Monti* to join with the Spaniſh Forces, they reſolved to be gone the ſame day; wherefore in the afternoon being accompanied by Monſieur *de St. Luc*, and the Baron *de Salignac*, they came in the midſt of their Forces, which marched in order toward the *Porte St. Martin*, at the entrance whereof the King ſtayed on horſe-back to ſee them depart. They bowed down exceeding low, and were courteouſly ſaluted by him again; ſo without more words they went forth of the City, and being convoyed by the Kings Forces as far as *Bourget*, they took the way toward *Saiſſons*, and ſo travelled to the Frontiers.

The King with the ſame affability ſent the High Chancellor, and Monſieur *de Bellievre* to viſit the Dutcheſſes, and to make his excuſe if that day he had not time to viſit them in perſon, who having accommodated their affairs, departed, being very civilly

1594. civilly uſed, and honourably accompanied; the King with his courteſie exceeding the obligation of his promiſes.

Many out of jealouſie depart with the Cardinal-Legat, and with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador.

The Biſhop of *Senlis*, one *Orleans* an Advocate, *Boucher* a Curate, *Nicholas Varade* a Jeſuite, *Chriſtopble Aubre* Curate of St. *Andre*, *Pelletier* the Curate of St. *Jaques*, *Jaques Culli* Curate of St. *Germaynes*, *John Hamilton* Curate of St. *Coſme*, Father *Guerin* a Franciſcan, and divers others of the Preachers, and *Eſchevins* of the City went away, ſome with the Legat, and ſome with the Spaniſh Miniſters, all the reſt of the people, and many of thoſe that had been the Kings bitter Enemies remaining, againſt whom (according to his promiſe given) he ſuffered not any commotion at all to be made.

The *Baſtile* after five days reſiſtance is ſurrendred to the King by the Sieur *du Bourg*.

The *Baſtile* remained in the Enemies hands, governed by the Sieur *du Bourg*, who for the firſt and ſecond day was ſo far from making any ſhew of yielding, that on the contrary with many Cannon-ſhot he laboured to infeſt the Town; but after that a Battery was raiſed againſt him, and that he found he wanted Victual and Ammunition, he ſurrendred it the fifth day, and having left it in the Kings power, followed the journey of the reſt.

Thus without tumult, without difficulty, and without blood, the City of *Paris* was recovered abſolutely to the Kings obedience, who having cauſed a general pardon to be publiſhed, ſent his Army forth of the Town, to quarter; recall'd the Parliament, open'd the ways for proviſions, to the publick comfort of men of all qualities; and within a few days ſetled the City again in its former populouſneſs and ancient ſplendour.

The Example of *Paris* was followed by Monſieur *de Villars* Governour of *Roüen*, who having treated and concluded by the means of *Maximilian de Bethune* Sieur *de Roſny*, agreed about the ſame time to acknowledge the King, bringing with him the free navigation of *Seine*, *Harfleur*, *Havre de Grace*, and all the Coaſt of upper *Normandy*. The Treaty of his Agreement had been ſomething difficult; for *Villars* demanded the confirmation of the degree of High Admiral, which Office he executed in the party of the League, and the Baron *de Byron*, who a while before had obtained that dignity of the King, was very unwilling to let it go; but in the end it being clear that thoſe who returned to the Kings obedience, were to be allured by the Confirmation of the Offices, and Governments whereof they were in poſſeſſion, the Baron was fain to quit it, receiving in ſtead thereof the degree of Mareſhal, which his Father had held very long; and yet was it not without his exceeding great diſcontent, though the King made him a gift of Twenty thouſand Crowns, and promiſed him many Governments, he pretending his merit to be the chief in all the Kings Victories, and that it was not fit to deprive him of his honour and revenues to give them to Enemies; which though he with his wonted freedom of ſpeech exaggerated oftentimes, ſaying he would give his Office of Mareſhal for a Nag of Fifty Crowns, yet could he not divert the Kings determination, whereupon he conceived ſo great diſdain, as in after-times brought forth wonderful great inconveniences. But *Villars* having got the charge of Admiral, the confirmation of his Governments, entertainment for the Provencial Souldiers that followed him, and the Government of *Havre de Grace* in reverſion for his Brother the Chevalier *d' Oyſe*, declared himſelf in the end of *March*, and put thoſe places under the Kings obedience, which obtained all things fit, as well for the maintenance of Religion, as their particular intereſts.

Monſieur *de Villars* Governor of *Roüen* ſubmits himſelf to the Kings obedience.

Thus the whole Province of *Normandy* being come into the Kings power, there remained only *Honfleur* in the lower Province which held for the party of the League. That Town ſtands in a corner which like a *Peninſula* thruſts it ſelf forwards and advances into the Ocean Sea, over againſt *Havre de Grace*, lying on the other ſide juſt in the place where the River *Seine* falls into the Sea, ſo that between the two Fortreſſes there is nothing but the current of the River which receiving the flux of the Sea, and largely overflowing, is two great French Leagues in breadth. The Commander of this place was *Commendatory Grillon*, who as being a Provencial had got thither a great Gariſon of that ſame Country, and there being with him in it one of the Sons of the Sieur *de Fountaine Martel*, a principal man in the Country of *Caux*, Captain *la Tour*, a valiant and expert Warrior, Captain *Glaiſe* Nephew to the Governour of *Caen*, one *Truville* a Curate, who from a Prieſt was become a famous Commander, and many other Souldiers and Gentlemen who followed the ſame faction, they had made it a principal retreat, and over-running and pillaging the Country, and taking any priſoners without

without regard, impoſing taxes upon rich men, and with a good number of barks well manned, making prize of thoſe veſſels that paſt at the mouth of the River, had filled the place not only with ſtore of Souldiers, and all preparations for War, but alſo with abundance of riches: wherefore the Duke of *Montpenſier*, deſiring to take away that obſtacle, that ſtood in the midſt of his Government, and to free the neighbouring people from thoſe ſufferings, reſolved to beſiege it in the beginning of *April*; wherefore he ſummoned in the Gentry of all the Province, and with two thouſand Engliſh Foot that were newly landed to go into *Bretagne*, eight hundred Germans who had ſerved in thoſe parts a great while, four French Regiments drawn together out of the Gariſons of that Province, which amounted to the number of three thouſand, three hundred Harquebuſſiers on horſe-back, and eight hundred Gentlemen marched from *Liſieux* upon the tenth of *April*, and appeared before the Town upon the eleventh in the morning. 1594.

The Duke of *Montpenſier* lays ſiege to *Honfleur*, which was the only place that held for the League in lower *Normandy*.

The Town on the land-ſide, is encompaſſed with a Moat of forty paces broad, through which the Sea ebbs and flows, and over it ſtands a ſpatious Bridge, upon Pillars of Stone, but covered above with planks, and timber which the Duke had deſigned to poſſeſs himſelf of, at his firſt arrival; wherefore while the Army drew near with an eaſie march, Colonel *la Liſerne* advanced with his Regiment towards the Bridge, being ſeconded by Monſieur *de Fervaques* with two hundred and fifty Horſe, but they of the Town foreſeeing the deſign, had placed two Falconets upon the Bridge, and had given the charge of making it good upon *Truville* the Curate with one hundred Foot; whereupon at the arrival of the Kings Infantry, they began a fierce skirmiſh; to which Captain *la Tour* coming on the Towns ſide with another hundred of the ſtouteſt Souldiers, *la Liternes* Foot began to retire, when the Sieur *de Fervaques* (perchance with more courage than diſcretion) ran full ſpeed to beat back the Enemy, who already was advanced into a large place without the narrowneſs of the Bridge; but *Truville* and *la Tour*, when they ſaw him ſo far engaged, that he was come within ſhot of their Falconets, made ſo ſeaſonable uſe of them, that being laden with **Tarling*, they killed above twenty of his men at a clap, and wounded twenty more, among which *Henrico Davila* who wrote this Hiſtory having his Horſe killed under him, was in very great danger of being ſlain; but *Fervaques* wheeling off, the Engliſh came up to the skirmiſh, which (being reinforced ſometimes by the French Foot, ſometimes by the Harquebuſiers on horſe-back, ſometimes by *Fervaques* with his Horſe again) laſted that whole day, without being able to beat the Defendents from the Bridge.

* *Tarling* is ſmall peeces of Iron; for which kind of Charge, the narrow bore of Falconets is not very proper; and therefore I rather gheſs they were Periers, which are commonly uſed for that purpoſe.

Monſieur *de Surrenne* one of the Field Mareſchals, cauſed a Fort to be caſt up that night, over againſt the Bridge; which though the Artillery from within annoyed it very much, was yet made defenſible the next day, and having planted four pieces of Cannon in it, they played ſo hot upon the Enemies, that *Truville* the Curate being killed with a Culverin Bullet, they were forced to forſake the Bridge; but they ſhewed ſo firm reſolution, that they would not leave it to retire into the Town till they had ſeen all the wood-work burnt, or thrown into the water. The three days following, the Artillery were planted, which to the number of fourteen Pieces battered from the Gate to the Sea-ſhore on the Weſt-ſide; but they were ſo much deſpiſed by the beſieged for ſome few days at firſt, that Captain *la Tour* feared not between ſhot and ſhot to appear upon the Wall, nor, for all the Cannoniers could do, (who interpreted that action to be in ſcorn of them) was it poſſible either to hit him or daunt him; and yet within five days they had made ſo great a breach with their Artillery, that upon the two and twentieth day, the Foot advanced to give the aſſault.

The Moat had been very ill diſcovered, (a thing more pernicious than all others in matter of aſſault) and the Commanders believed it had been full of Sand, brought up by the flowing of the Sea, that might have been able to bear the weight of thoſe that ſhould fall on; ſo that watching the opportunity of the Tyde, the Engliſh and the French, when the Water was at the loweſt, gave on in ſeveral places of the Moat; but though they found firm Sand at the firſt, and ſo went on; yet being come into the middle, they ſunk in ſo deep, that many of them ſtuck faſt, without being able to get out, and ſo like wild Beaſts catched in a Net, were with cries and hiſſings pelted to death with ſmall ſhot by the Enemies that were upon the Wall. Captain *Gaſconet* was ſlain there with eighty French; and of the Engliſh above 150, with their Lieutenant Colonel.

The Kings Forces going on to the Aſſault without having well diſcovered the Moat, are killed in it with ſhowers of Musket-Bullets.

But

1594. But the Duke vext at this ſo great miſchance, would needs after that be preſent himſelf in all buſineſſes, and with very great art, and no leſs diligence cauſed certain Bridges to be made of a middling length, which reached from the edge of the Moat as far as the Mud, each having in the Front of it a little Gabion filled with Earth, under favour whereof, caſting great bruſh Faggots, Stones, and other rubbiſh into the hollow of the Moat, they laboured to fill it up by little and little, though it was done with evident danger, and the loſs of a great many of the beſt Souldiers, by reaſon of the continual ſhowring of Musket-ſhot, Stones, Fire-works, and other inventions, with which the Defendents uſed inceſſantly to offend them. But the work being finiſhed in four days, they found the Enemy had caſt up a great Trench within, wherewith they had made up and covered all that ſpace of the Wall that was battered: Whereupon the place being viewed, it was judged very difficult, and in a manner impoſſible to enter it. Wherefore the Duke making all their endeavours to be imployed that ſame night at the Bridge which was broken down, cauſed it to be ſo pieced up with new Beams and Planks, that it might be paſſed over, though with ſome difficulty, and but few in Front, which was effected beyond every ones belief; for the night was ſhort, and they wrought in the dark, except only the light the Defendents made by throwing great ſtore of Fire-works to diſcover what was doing. The ſame night five pieces of Cannon were drawn thither from the next Battery, and they began furiouſly to give fire by break of day, in ſuch manner, that they beat down the Tower of the Gate, and a great part of it before the beſieged had time to make any *Retrenchments. Scarce was the breach ſo wide, that two or three might enter abreſt, when the Sieur *de Pompiere* and the Baron *d' Ailly*, with two valiant Squadrons ran furiouſly to the Aſſault; but finding a no leſs valiant reſiſtance from the beſieged, there began a ſhort, but furious conflict, wherein they of the Town prevailing, by reaſon both the Commanders that made the Aſſault were ſorely wounded, the Infantry within half an hour drew off from the Wall; which that it might not be repaired, the Artillery began to play again without intermiſſion; ſo that toward the evening Colonel *la Liſerne*, and Colonel *Colombiere*, two Brothers, renewed the Aſſault in the ſame place, which though conſtantly ſuſtained by thoſe within, yet the ſtouteſt Provencials being ſlain, Captain *Glaiſe* wounded, *Fountaine Martel* lamed, their Fire-works ſpent, and four of the beſt Pieces they had broken, Commendatory *Grillon* began to think of ſurrendering; ſo that news coming thither opportunely by Sea, that the Admiral *Villars*, and the City of *Rouen*, *Monti-villier*, *Honfleur*, and *Havre de Grace*, ſtanding on the other ſide of the River, had imbraced the Kings party; being by that means deprived of all hope of being relieved, he bent his mind to think of ſaving the abundance of riches they had there gotten together: For which purpoſe it was neceſſary to make compoſition, and not ſtay till they were brought to the utmoſt weakneſs. Wherefore having ſent to parley with the Sieurs *de Fervaques* and *Surene*, he at laſt concluded to ſurrender upon condition to go forth, their goods and perſons ſafe, laying down Twelve thouſand Crowns for the payment of the Army, and to march on the other ſide of the River, to thoſe Towns that held yet for the League. Thus the Town being put into the hand of the Sieur *d' Aleret*, Governour of *Tuques*, a Servant of the Duke of *Montpenſier*'s, the whole Province of *Normandy* remained in the Kings obedience; for *la Fountaine Martel*, who was Governour of *Neuf-Chaſtel* in the County of *Caux*, ſubmitted himſelf in like manner about the ſame time.

* *Or Cuttings off.*

*Honfleur* is delivered up to the Duke of *Montpenſier.*

But already the people, and the Governours being weary of the troubles of War, and allured by the Kings clemency, and the liberal conditions he gave, who with full ſatisfaction contented the deſires of all thoſe that came over to his Party, made haſte in all places to acknowledge him; and the Court was full of thoſe that negotiated the Peace, either of their Friends and Dependents, or of the Cities and Towns that came into the Kings obedience. *Abbeville* and *Montrevil* followed this counſel in the Province of *Picardy*; *Troys*, a great City, and well-peopled, in the Province of *Champagne*; *Sens*, a City and Archbiſhoprick, in the confines of *Brie* and *Bourgongne*; *Agen*, *Ville-neufue*, and *Marmande*, in the confines of *Guaſcogne*; and finally, the City of *Poictiers* was reduced to the Kings devotion by *Scevole de St. Marthe*, Treaſurer of *France*, a man no leſs adorned with excellent Learning, and ſweetneſs of Eloquence, than with Experience and Civil Prudence.

Places that yield themſelves to the Kings obedience.

*Charles*

*Charles de Lorain*, Duke of *Elbœuf*, compounded alſo by means of the ſame St. *Marthe*, to come over to the Kings Party, with promiſe, that the Government of that Town ſhould be reſerved for him, and that he ſhould have Thirty thouſand Franks in Penſion: But he deſired the Agreement might for ſome time be kept ſecret, hoping that even the Duke of *Mayenne* alſo would come in within a while, and deſiring, if it were poſſible, not to ſeparate himſelf from him. 1594. The Duke of *Elbœuf* is the firſt of the Houſe of *Lorain* that makes his peace with the King.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* was quite of another mind; for being ſtill intangled in his long-ſetled hopes, or thinking it ſo befitted his reputation, he was reſolved to look Fortune in the face, and not to come by any means to terms of Agreement, unleſs the Popes judgment and conſent preceded. Wherefore after he went from *Paris*, going ſtraight to *Soiſſons*, he began with infinite diligence to reunite his Forces, and ſet them again in order, and had ſent to the Duke of *Lorain*, that together with the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Aumale*, he would come and confer with him in ſome convenient place, to take ſome reſolution about their common affairs; judging, that if they would keep united with him, they might gather ſo many Forces again together, as being aſſiſted with Supplies from *Spain*, they might eaſily, either ſet their own Fortune on foot again, or advantage themſelves in a beneficial and honourable Accommodation, in caſe the Pope ſhould reſolve to approve the Kings Converſion.

The Duke of *Lorain* came to *Bar-le-Duc*, in the confines of his State, and there were the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale*; but the Duke of *Guiſe* could not be at the meeting, becauſe the Province of *Champagne* was all in a tumult, not only by reaſon that the City of *Troys* had driven out his Brother the Prince of *Jainville*, and declared for the King, but becauſe the Count *de St. Paul*, anciently bred up in, and depending on his Family, was ſuſpected to plot new deſigns: Wherefore not to leave thoſe places that yet acknowledged him, he was fain to ſtay in the Province, and to ſend *Pellicart* his Fathers old Secretary in his name unto the Meeting. There the opinions diſagreed; for the Duke of *Lorain*, weary of the War, to the end, that he might not ſee his ſtate more deſtroyed by the continual paſſing of Foreign Forces, inclined wholly to Peace. But on the contrary, the Duke of *Aumale*, a man of a fierce obſtinate nature, was more than ever inflamed to follow the War, and had determined rather to put himſelf and the place he held in his hands, under the Dominion of the Spaniards, than ſubmit himſelf to the diſcretion and obedience of the King. The Duke of *Guiſe* kept his opinion the more ſecret by not being preſent, and his Secretary with excuſe of giving him information of the things in Treaty, and of expecting his Orders thereupon, held his ſentence ambiguous and unreſolved. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, in whom the ſum of the buſineſs conſiſted, and who was able to turn the reſt to his opinion, as he was firmly reſolved not to make Compoſition without the Popes conſent, ſo thinking that might without much difficulty be obtained, if it were but endeavoured, was in that caſe uncertain what he ſhould demand; and whether it were better counſel to follow the hopes of the War, or accommodate himſelf to the ſecurity of Peace: But becauſe he ſaw the Duke of *Lorain*, and thought he found the Duke of *Guiſe* more inclined to Peace, he took a middle Reſolution; and permitting the Duke of *Lorain* to manage a Treaty of Agreement in the name of them all, he cauſed them all jointly to determine that their Forces ſhould draw together, and that Supplies from *Flanders* ſhould be earneſtly laboured for, that they might have means to expect what end the Popes judgment would have, and that by the reputation of their ſtrength, and by force, they might extort more advantageous conditions of Agreement. Wherefore the Duke of *Lorain* preſently diſpatched Monſieur *de Baſſompier* into *France*, to treat with the Count *de Schombergh* and *Villeroy* of an Agreement, and at the ſame time gave order that two hundred Lanciers, and three hundred Harquebuſiers on horſeback ſhould go to *Laon*, to join with the forces of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who having till then, by the means of Monſieur *de Roſne*, treated with the Archduke *Erneſt*, who was newly come to Govern the Low-Countries, going now to *la Fere*, he ſent the *Vice-Seneſchal de Montlimar*, and his Secretary *Des Portes* to him.

The Lords of the Houſe of *Lorain* meet at *Bar*, to treat of their common intereſts.

The Duke of *Mayenne* ſeeing the Lords of his Family were inclined to peace, permits the Duke of *Lorain* to treat of it in all their names, and in the mean time endeavours to reinforce himſelf, that being armed, he might obtain the better Conditions.

The opinions of the Spaniſh Miniſters were no leſs entangled, yet very different from what he believed; for Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, and Count *Peter Erneſt* his Father, a man of long experience, and much reputation, Preſident *Riccardotto*, and the major part of the Fleminſh Councellors, were of opinion, that at laſt, giving over the vain and ruinous hopes of *France*, and agreeing with the King in ſome advantageous reſolution, they ſhould apply their utmoſt forces to their own intereſts in the

1594. Low-Countries, where the united Provinces with the opportunity of the Armies being diverted, and of the Commanders being far off, had in a few years made exceeding great progreſſes, ſo that the Catholick King, according to the common ſaying, loſt his own State by attempting to get another's; but on the contrary the *Conde de Fuentes*, and the other Spaniſh Counſellors, wrong informed of the affairs of *France* by the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d' Ivarra*, perſiſted ſtill in the thoughts of getting the *Infanta* elected, or at leaſt to make themſelves Maſters of many places, and get firm footing in *Picardy* and *Bourgongne*, Provinces confining upon *Flanders*, which in the end ſhould either remain to the Crown of *Spain*, or if the King of *France* got them by compoſition, he ſhould be neceſſitated to lay down money in exchange, and to piece up the vaſt expences which the Catholick King had profuſely been at for the ſpace of ſo many years. While the minds of the Counſellors were in this doubtfulneſs, came the news of the loſs of *Paris*, which made the Archduke reſolve upon this laſt Counſel of the Spaniards; for now all hopes failing that the League ſhould be longer able to ſubſiſt, having loſt the City of *Paris* its firſt *Baſis* and principal Foundation; and on the other ſide, not judging that the Catholick King, either could very eaſily obtain, or for his reputation ought to demand Peace, he thought it a very prudent Counſel (diſintangling themſelves from the ingagement and impediment of the League in which it was neceſſary to ſpend without meaſure, to maintain many who at laſt proved either faithleſs, or almoſt fruitleſs) to make war in King *Philip*'s own name, to imploy all their forces in one place and ſpend for their own intereſts, and ſince to talk longer of the *Infanta*'s election would be but ridiculous, to endeavour at leaſt with the preſent opportunities to get poſſeſſion of the places of *Picardy* and *Bourgongne* that they might be a limit to the affairs of *Flanders*, and ſerve partly to make amends for their paſt expences.

The Archduke *Erneſt* at the news of the loſs of *Paris* reſolves to think no longer of the Infanta's election, but to ſeize upon ſome places in the Provinces, confining upon *Flanders* to make amends for the paſt expences.

With this reſolution he preſently dealt with Monſieur *de Roſne*, who agreed to ſerve the Catholick King for eighteen thouſand Crowns of annual penſion, and without much difficulty compounded alſo with the *Vice-Seneſchal de Montelimar*, that for the recompence of thirty thouſand Crowns, and retaining the title of the Government for himſelf, he ſhould bring a Spaniſh Gariſon into *la Fere*, the principal Fortreſs of all *Picardy*. They treated at the ſame time with the Duke of *Aumale*, who was inclined more than any other to follow them, and with the eſtabliſhment of forty thouſand Crowns Penſion they brought him over with the Towns he poſſeſſed, and with an hundred Curaſſiers, and two hundred Light-horſe; nor did they fail to work with the other Governours in both Provinces, and to give warmth unto thoſe practiſes; the Archduke gave charge to Count *Mansfelt*, that drawing the Army together without delay, he ſhould advance, and make War reſolutely upon the Confines of *Picardy*.

The *Vice-Seneſchal* for money put a Spaniſh Gariſon into *la Fere*. The Duke of *Aumale* for 40000 Crowns Penſion revolts unto the Spaniard with the places under his Government.

The Archduke wrote all this diſtinctly to the Court of *Spain*, ſhewing that this was the moſt profitable and moſt expedient reſolution; but offering to conſideration at the ſame time, that it was neceſſary to reinforce the proviſions both of men and money, to maintain it; that till then they had ſpent unprofitably to feed the inſtability of the French, who as long as they had been able to ſuck their milk, had made themſelves fat at the expences of others, and now they ſaw the breſt dry, revolted another way, and returned to their own nature; that their natural enmity with the Spaniſh Nation and their own lightneſs, could never conſent they ſhould think of any thing either profitable, or honourable for the Crown of *Spain*; that the propoſition of the *Infanta*, though born of a Daughter of *France*, and gotten by that King who had emptied his Kingdoms to ſuccour their neceſſities, ſeemed to them as ſtrange and monſtrous, as if the Dominion of a *Scythian*, or an *Indian* had been propounded; that when to mitigate it, they propounded that ſhe ſhould marry a French-man, to ſhew clearly there was no deſign of ſubjecting them to the Spaniſh Empire, the diſcords and ambition that reigned amongſt them had not ſuffered them to conſent; but they had rather thoughts of making peace with their common Enemy, than to yield to one another; that the little reſiſtance which had been made in not ſatisfying their devouring greedineſs profuſely with Spaniſh Gold, had in a moment not only diſguſted them, but put them in an uproar; for their natural impatience had brought ſo many Cities, and ſo many great Lords to ſubmit themſelves without regard to the faith and diſcretion of their Enemy, that already the principal Foundations of the League were fallen away; the Cities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Roüen*, *Bourges*, and *Lyons* revolted; the Admiral *Villars*, the Count *de Briſſac*, the Mareſchal *de la Chaſtre*, and the Sieur *de Vitry*, principal

The Archduke *Erneſt* informs them in *Spain* of the ſtate of affairs, and lets them know his determinations.

principal Heads of the Union, and who had ſuſtained the weight of the late War, were gone over to the Kings obedience, and already the Duke of *Elbœuf* of the very Houſe of *Lorain*, notwithſtanding his ſharp inveterate enmity to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, either treated or had concluded an Agreement; that therefore it was no longer time to refer the Infanta's rights to the arbitrement of the French, but to uphold them by force of Arms, and proſecute the enterprize under his own name, and with his own hopes; that already in *Bretagne* (a member apart, in which the *Salique Law* had nothing to do) the forces of the Spaniards were vigorous and powerful, which (if they were aſſiſted, and by help of the Sea opportunely recruited) would be able to maintain that Province; that in *Picardy* they held many places gained by means of the Duke of *Aumale*, *Montelimar*, and *Roſne*; that endeavours ſhould be uſed to draw the Duke of *Mayenne* to ſerve in the ſame manner, not as Head of the League, but as a Commander for the King of *Spain*; and by his means the attaining of many places in the Dutchy of *Bourgongne* ſhould be attempted; that the ſame ſhould be done with the Duke of *Guiſe* for the places of *Champagne*, and with the Marquiſs *de St. Sorlin* for thoſe of *Dauphiné*; that the Sieur *de Montpezat* might be treated with in *Spain* to obtain ſome places, to get footing in *Provence*; that Count *Charles* was already advanced with the Army to the Confines of *Picardy*, in which Province they might make very great progreſs before the King could draw an Army together ſufficient to oppoſe them; but that it was neceſſary to cut off delays, to haſten the raiſing of moneys, to make Leavies in *Italy* and *Germany* to encreaſe the Army, and to labour now in good earneſt to do themſelves ſervice, and no longer to uphold the pretenſions and intereſts of others; that by poſſeſſing themſelves of many places, eſpecially upon the Confines, where they might be relieved and maintained, a War would be prepared for the King of *France*, who would be fain to ſpend many years in the regaining of his own, and by keeping him buſie at home, that might hinder him from having time to think of the affairs of the Low-Countries, and of the recovery of the Kingdom of *Navarre:* and finally, if it ſhould be convenient for the Crown of *Spain* to deſire peace, the King by having that pawn in hand, might make himſelf be partly ſatisfied for his expences and loſſes; ſo that the profit and reputation which would enſue from that Counſel being preſent and manifeſt, the Expedition likewiſe ought to be preſent, and the Supplies quick and reſolute. 1594.

Theſe Letters, very conformable to the humour and deſigns of the Spaniards, prevailed to cauſe a reſolution in the Court of proſecuting the enterprize according to this determination: Wherefore, though the Sieur *de Montpezat* ſtrove to get a favourable return to the Duke of *Mayenne*'s demands, he was anſwered much more reſolutely than before; that Orders were given to the Archduke, and that determinations were to be ſetled there, at which the Duke of *Mayenne* being near might be preſent himſelf: And King *Philip* was ſo pleaſed with this Counſel, that applying his whole mind unto it, and with a more than ordinary brevity diſpatching the execution of buſineſs, in which he was wont to be very ſlow, he gave fitting Commiſſions in *Flanders*, *Italy*, and to his own Council, concerning what ſhould preſently be done.

The Archdukes reſolutions are approved and imbraced in *Spain*.

But this deſign which (by many conjectures) was found out by the Duke of *Mayenne*, made him more ſollicitous than before, ſeeing himſelf reduced between two extreams, to the hard neceſſity, either of agreeing with the King, without expecting the Popes determination, or elſe to put his own liberty and the places that depended upon him into the hands of the Spaniards, contrary to what from the beginning he had firmly reſolved. On the other ſide, it afflicted him that the Duke of *Elbœuf* had made his peace with the King; on the other, that the Duke of *Aumale* had made a Compoſition with the Spaniards, and in this doubtfulneſs ſometimes he inclined to follow the Duke of *Lorain*'s counſel, and conclude *Baſſompier*'s Treaty; ſometimes to meet with the Archduke, who had invited him to come to *Mons*, and there jointly to treat of their common Affairs; but before he determined to make peace with the King, he thought beſt to ſtay for new informations from the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe*, and the Baron of *Seuecey*; and before he treated with the Archduke, he deſired to ſee a new diſpatch from *Montpezat*, that might certifie him what was reſolved on in *Spain*; and amidſt theſe ambiguities he was well pleaſed that Madam *de Guiſe* ſhould treat for her Son with her Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Nevers*, to the end, that ſhe might interpoſe to make his peace with the King; and he was glad to hear that the Queen Dowager was gone into *Bretagne*, to treat an Agreement with her Brother the Duke of *Mercœur*; nor did it diſpleaſe him,

The Duke of *Mayenne* ſeeing the thred of his hopes broken, and knowing himſelf to be conſtrained to one of two Reſolutions, wavers in determining and interpoſes obſtacles to gain time.

1594. that his Mother Madam *de Nemours*, and his Siſter Madam *de Montpenſier*, being departed from *Paris*, where they had often diſcourſed with the King about the preſent affairs, were come to him to propound Conditions of Peace: But in all theſe things, he not only interpoſed delays, but ſecret obſtacles and impediments, to the end, that buſineſſes might be drawn out at length, and that between Peace and War, the Progreſs of Arms, and the Reſolutions of the Towns that remained of his Party cooling, might allow him the benefit of time, to which, being by nature a Friend, he now thought it the only remedy for the ſafety of the preſent conjuncture. But that which kept him moſt of all from inclining abſolutely to an Agreement with the King, was, the obdurateneſs of the Pope, who though (after the Duke of *Nevers* his departure, leſt he ſhould utterly break off the Treaty of the Kings Abſolution) he had given way that Cardinal *Gondi* might come to *Rome*, yet had he done it with expreſs command, that he ſhould not open his mouth concerning the Affairs of *France*, whereby the Popes ſecret intention being hid, it was in appearance manifeſt, that he continued in the thought of rejecting the Kings earneſt deſires: And on the other ſide, that which withdrew him from agreeing with the Spaniards, was the obſtinate perſecution of him by the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d' Ivarra*; who after their departure from *Paris*, had diſcourſed with him at *Laon*, and attributing all things that had come to paſs amiſs to his fault, uſed him ſcurvily, and openly threatned him, which he not enduring, but imputing the ill ſucceſs of things to their imprudence, deſpiſed and abuſed them no leſs both in words and actions.

The Pope permits Cardinal *Gondi* (who had ſtayed ſome time in *Florence*) to come to *Rome*, but with a command, not to ſpeak a word about the Affairs of *France*.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*'s doubts were removed, and he neceſſitated to take ſome reſolution by Count *Mansfelt*'s entry into *Picardy* with Ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, and a convenient Train of Artillery; and though the Duke of *Aumale* counſelled him to advance into the Province, and beſiege *Corbie*, yet he reſolved to fall upon *la Cappelle*, a place near the Frontiers of the Dutchy of *Terriache*, accounted reaſonably ſtrong, but at that time (as they had intelligence) in as great want of Ammunition, as it was full of abundant ſtore of Victual; ſo that they hoped, the taking of it on the one ſide would prove very eaſie, and on the other very profitable for the future ſuſtenance of the Army.

Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* enters into *France* with his Army, and beſieges *la Cappelle*.

*La Cappelle*, ſituate in a ſpacious Plain, is of a Quadrangular form, of no great circuit, and flanked in the Angles with four Bulwarks: It hath a deep Moat, and full of Water, which coming rather from a Rivulet than a River, that runs through the Field, is ſwelled and raiſed by a Bank or Dam, placed upon the edge of the Moat: It was likewiſe encompaſſed with a covered way, and a Counterſcarp after the Modern Faſhion; ſo that if to the ſtrength of the place, there had been ſtore of Ammunition, and conſtancy in the Defendents, it would have held the Spaniſh Army long in play. But the coming of the Enemies having been altogether unexpected, (for firſt, it was not believed they would come into *France* without the Duke of *Mayenne*, and then it was thought they would ſit down before *Corbie*) the Defendents had ſo little Courage, or ſo little Conduct, that at the very firſt arrival, *Agoſtino Meſſiaes* Tertia of Spaniards, and the Marquiſs of *Trevicoes* Tertia of Italians, made themſelves Maſters of the Counterſcarp without diſpute, and yet not having lodged themſelves in the place where the dam of the Water was, they fought two days with very great loſs of men, before they could poſſeſs themſelves of it; for the beſieged having placed their greateſt hopes in the defence thereof, ſtrove with ſtore of Cannon-ſhot, Fire-works, and an inceſſant Hail of Muſket-bullets, to keep the Enemy far from thence. But the third day Colonel *la Berlotte* advancing ſuddenly with his Walloons in another place, came at laſt to the dam, and having broken the Engins that ſtopt the Water, and by the help of Pioneers made a deſcent to drain the Moat, it remained quite empty within a little time; wherefore the two following days, the Trenches were made, and perfected; and with a Platform which it was eaſie to raiſe in reſpect of the ſoftneſs of the Earth, they planted Fourteen pieces of Artillery, Ten that battered right upon the Wall, and two at each Flank, that cleared and took away their defences. The Artillery plaid twelve hours together, and the breach having been viewed, *la Berlotte* with his Walloons advanced to fall on; but they within having thrown down a certain old Tower, and made the ruines of it fall into the Moat, the Water was thereby ſtopt in ſuch manner, that riſing in an inſtant, it drowned above ſeventy of the aſſailants, and the reſt had much ado to ſave themſelves, being plaid upon in their retreat with three Falconets laden with Tarling, which the Defendents had turned toward the breach. The next

day

day they laboured to make a new paſſage for the Water to run out, which though it was effected more eaſily than before, yet there were ſlain ſeven Captains, and above one hundred Souldiers; but the defence of the Water being utterly taken away, and a very great ſpace of the Wall being beaten down, the Sieur *de Mailleraye*, Governour of the place, not ſtaying for the utmoſt force of the Army, reſolved to ſurrender, and marching out with his Gariſon, their Goods and Perſons free, delivered up the place into Count *Charles* his hand. 1594.

The Sieur *de Mailleraye*, Governour of *la Cappelle*, ſurrenders to Count *Manſfelt*.

In the interim the King laboured with infinite diligence to ſet the affairs of *Paris* again in order, for the eſtabliſhment whereof to the general ſatisfaction, it was neceſſary to increaſe the number of the Parliament, and of the other Magiſtrates; he not being willing to break his word, or pay them with ingratitude, who having been nominated by the Duke of *Mayenne*, held the degree of Preſidents or Counſellors, and who had lent their effectual endeavours, as well in excluding the Election of the Infanta, as in reducing the City to his obedience: And on the other ſide, not thinking it fit to put out them who in the worſt times had kept the Parliament in the City of *Tours*. Wherefore Preſident *le Maiſtre* who had held the firſt place, yielding to Preſident *Harley* and his other Seniors, took the ſeventh place; and *Jehan Huillier*, *Prevoſt des Marchands*, was created Preſident of the * *Chambre des Comptes*; as *Martin l' Anglois* Sieur *de Beaurepaire*, and *Guilliaume du Ver* Sieur *de Neret*, obtained the degree of Maſters of the Requeſts of the Palace Royal. The Parliament being ſetled, and reformed, and the High Chancellor with the Officers of the Crown ſitting in it, it was ſolemnly decreed, That obedience ought to be yielded to King *Henry* the Fourth, as lawful Succeſſor of the Kingdom, declaring all thoſe to be Rebels, who ſhould deny to acknowledge and obey him; and with another Decree they deprived the Duke of *Mayenne* of the Office and Title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown. The like Decree was made by the Colledge of Divines of *Sorbonne*, who to the number of Seventy, declared the Abſolution that was given the King to be good, and valid; and that, without mortal ſin, none could deny him the obedience that was wont to be yielded to the other moſt Chriſtian Kings of *France*; and going to the *Louvre* with the ſame company, they did him ſolemn homage, *Jaques d' Amboiſe*, Rector of the Univerſity, ſpeaking for them all; which Ceremony was the more welcome to the King, becauſe they were the Men that had even oppugned the lawful Title of his Succeſſion.

* *The Court of Accompts or Exchequer; there is one of them in every Parliament.*

The Parliament of *Paris* decrees, That the King ought to be obeyed as lawful Prince, declares them Rebels that diſobey; and takes away the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Office of Lieutenant General.

The Colledge of *Sorbonne* declares the Kings Abſolution valid, and the Doctors thereof come to do him ſolemn homage at the *Louvre*.

But the affairs of *Paris* being ſetled, he received news that Count *Charles* had beſieged *la Cappelle*, and having preſently diſpatched the Mareſchals of *Byron* and *Matignon* to draw the Army together, he himſelf with Monſieur *de Guiry*, Two hundred Gentlemen, and Four hundred Light-Horſe went towards *Picardy* the ſame day that he was advertiſed of it. But being come to *Chauny*, word came to him that the place was loſt; to make amends for which, he began to think of ſetting himſelf upon ſome enterprize.

If the news of the ſiege and taking of *la Cappelle* was very ſad and diſpleaſing to the King, it was not much more welcome to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who apprehended clearly, that ſince the Spaniards had not made any application to him, they were reſolved for the future to manage the War of themſelves: which thing grieving him extreamly, becauſe it not only deprived him of the remainder of his hopes, but alſo took away from him both his reputation and force, by means whereof he thought to better his condition for the accommodation, which he might have occaſion to make with the King, and judging that all proceeded from the ſiniſter relations of the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d' Ivarra*, he reſolved at laſt, laying all reſpects aſide, to have an enterview with the Archduke, and try to ſet his affairs right again with the Spaniards.

The Archduke likewiſe deſired this enterview, not for the ſame end the Duke of *Mayenne* had, but to ſee if he could induce him to put himſelf under the Catholick King, as the Duke of *Aumale* had done, and to deliver up into his hands thoſe Towns and Fortreſſes, which yet depended on him: and therefore with courteous friendly Letters, and with meſſages full of truſt and confidence, invited him to come to *Bruxelles*; which not being longer to be deferred, the Duke leaving his ſecond Son the Count *de Sommerive* at *Laon*, with part of the Forces commanded by Colonel *du Bourg*, (he that came out of the *Baſtile*) went with the remainder as far as *Guiſe*, where having left all his Souldiery, he paſſed on with a Train of only threeſcore Horſe to meet

The Duke of *Mayenne* goes to *Bruxelles* to treat with the Archduke.

1594. meet the Archduke, who having received him with all the moſt exquiſite demonſtrations of Honour, in other matters ſhewing himſelf very averſe from the beginning, to the demands which he made. The Duke thought that the ſame Spaniſh Miniſters, who had croſſed him in *France*, did ſo likewiſe in his preſent Treaty; and therefore being in private with *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis*, and Preſident *Riccardotto*, he began at large, with the narration of all particulars, to ſhew that the adverſeneſs of buſineſſes had proceeded wholly from the imprudence, and perverſe managery of thoſe Miniſters; to whom it not being obſcure what was imputed to them by the Duke, (for they were provoked to clear themſelves of many things) they went on ſo far in anger, that they began to counſel the Archduke to keep the Duke of *Mayenne* priſoner, and truſt the managing of affairs of *France* unto the Duke of *Guiſe*, accuſing the Duke of *Mayenne* of perfidiouſneſs, and too crafty and diſſembling a nature, and that only minding the object of his ambition, he was much a greater Enemy to the Catholick King, than to the King of *Navarre*. But the Archduke not only thought that a counſel too unworthy, and ſuch an one, as he believed, would gain him the general hatred of all men; but alſo judged that in many things the Duke had reaſon on his ſide, and that thoſe Miniſters had indiſcreetly abuſed him beyond meaſure; nor did it ſeem ſtrange to him, ſince the Spaniſh Miniſters had treated of making any other man King of *France*, without conſenting to his perſon; that he on the other ſide paying them in their own coyn, ſhould think of any other reſolution, rather than to content and ſatisfie the Spaniards; and as he was a Prince of great vertue, and a Friend to what was juſt and fit, he counted it too great a fault, to deny the principal recompences and honours to ſo principal a Head, and, one that had done ſo much for the common benefit: Beſides, he was of opinion that thoſe Miniſters counſelled very croſly, to take away the management of affairs from a man of ſo great reputation, and ſuch experienced wiſdom, to put it into the hand of the Duke of *Guiſe*, a young man, and though of a high ſpirit, yet by reaſon of his youth, and want of experience, little able to rule ſo great a weight. To all this he added the continual treating of the Dutcheſs of *Guiſe*, to make her Sons peace with the King, which beſides that it was known in the Archdukes Court, was likewiſe dexterouſly mentioned by the Duke of *Mayenne* at convenient times; for which reaſons, there having been many meetings between the Princes, the buſineſs in hand began to change its form, the Archduke knowing that the Duke of *Mayenne* was not in ſo weak a condition, as that he would eaſily ſubmit himſelf to the Spaniſh yoke: and on the other ſide, that he abated much of his former pretenſions by reaſon of the urgent neceſſity which preſſed him at that preſent; ſo that both of them reſerving themſelves for the opportunity of after-times, determined that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould go with his forces to join with Count *Manſfelt*, and that jointly with a common conſent they ſhould manage the War, to oppoſe the Kings proceedings, deferring till another time, both the eſtabliſhing of conditions, and the manner how they ſhould order matters for the future.

The Spaniſh Miniſters adviſe to keep the Duke of *Mayenne* priſoner in *Flanders*.

It is reſolved at *Bruxelles*, that the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhall join with Count *Manſfelt* to oppoſe the King together

The King beſieges *Laon*, in which the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Son was, with much of the Dukes wealth

The King (to whom the Duke of *Nevers* (lately returned out of *Italy*) and the Duke of *Bouillon*, were joined) was already marched from *Chauny* with twelve thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, with intention to beſiege *Laon*; where beſides the Duke of *Mayenne*'s young Son, there was alſo the greateſt part of his Perſonal Eſtate; but to come upon it the more unexpectly, and catch the Defendents unprovided, he marched with the Army before, and by the way of St. *Quintin* and *Creſſy*, came near to *la Chappelle*, making ſhow as if he would aſſault the Spaniſh Camp; but while ſtanding near and facing the Enemy, they were skirmiſhing with one another, he gave order that the Reer led by the Mareſchal *de Byron* ſhould march off, and go back to beſiege *Laon*, whither not many hours after, having firſt ſent away the Sieur *de St. Luc*, and then the Baron *de Salignac*, he with the Duke of *Nevers* departed the next morning, and came laſt of all before the Town.

In it with Colonel *du Bourg*, and the Count *de Sommerive*, there were many Commanders of note, ſix hundred French Foot, two hundred Germans, three hundred Neapolitans, ſixty Cuiraſſiers, and two hundred Light-Horſe, and beſides the Souldiers of the Gariſon, the Towns-men alſo concurred willingly to defend the place; they had great ſtore of Ammunition and Fire-works, and the Commanders (who had ſuſpected a ſiege) had prepared and fortified all convenient places in ſuch manner, that the ſiege ſeemed like to be of great difficulty, and uncertain event; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Spaniſh Camp being near, it might keep the Kings Army in jealouſie

jealouſie many ways; nor was it to be doubted, but that the Duke of *Mayenne* would uſe his utmoſt Forces to relieve and diſingage his Son. Wherefore the King, intent before all things to ſhut up the paſſage againſt the relief which might come from many places, ſent Monſieur *de la Chaſtre*, with the Troops under his command, to lie upon the way that leads from *Reims*, and the other places of *Champagne*, doubting that the Duke of *Guiſe* with the Forces he had in that Country, and perchance reinforced by the Duke of *Lorain*, might come on that ſide: on the other ſide, the Duke of *Nevers* places himſelf upon the other way that leads from *Soiſſons* right unto the Town; the Duke of *Longueville* with his Troops of the Province, quartered upon the way of *Noyon*, and of *la Fere*, and all theſe cauſing the field to be ſcowred with infinite diligence, were ready to oppoſe and fight with them that ſhould advance to bring either victual or other relief to the beſieged. The principal Paſs by which the Spaniſh Army might come directly remained yet, upon which the King lay himſelf; and becauſe the way was incumbred with an Hill that had a Wood upon the right hand, and a great Village upon the left, he took up his Quarters within the Village, and made Count *Soiſſons* and the Sieur *de Vic* encamp on the other ſide, at the entry of the Wood; and upon the top of a Hill, where the way was, Monſieur *de Humieres* lay in the Field with three hundred Curaſſiers, and the Baron *de Giury* with five hundred Light-horſe: beſides, to the end the Enemy might not come unexpectedly, he ſent the Sieur *de Clermont* of *Amboiſe* with five Companies of Harquebuſiers on horſe-back to lie at *Creſſy*, and ſtrengthened the Gariſon of St. *Lambert*, a Caſtle ſtanding upon the ſame way the Enemies might come directly. 1594.

The Paſſes ſecured in this manner, five Redoubts were begun to make approaches to the Moat; of the firſt of which the Mareſchal *de Byron* had charge, Monſieur *de St. Luc* of the ſecond, the Baron *de Salignac* of the third, Monſieur *de Montmartin* of the fourth, and the Count *de Granmont* of the laſt; and in every one of them the Infantry being ſet on work, beſides many of the Country people, they laboured with wonderful great diligence, though they of the Town, both with their Artillery and ſtrong Sallies, ſtrove to hinder their Works in every place; inſomuch that the two firſt days, before the Beſiegers had time to recover themſelves, there were above four hundred Souldiers ſlain, and among them the Sieur *de Forcade*, one of the Mareſchal *de Byron's* Lieutenants, and there were wounded the Baron *de Termes*, who loſt a leg, and the Marquiſs *de Cœuvres*, who within a few days died of his hurt.

Count *Manſfelt* having received order from the Archduke to relieve *Laon* with his forces as the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould think fit, marches within a league of the Kings trenches

But in the mean time the Spaniſh Army (which had received order from the Archduke reſolutely to relieve *Laon*, according as the Duke of *Mayenne* ſhould think fit to manage the buſineſs) having left *Creſſy* and St. *Lambert* on the left hand, took upon the right, and came upon the thirteenth day of *June* within a league of the Kings trenches: the Duke and Count *Charles*, as ſoon as the Quarters of the Army were entrenched and fortified, intended to make themſelves Maſters of the Wood that was before them, and by means of it to draw ſo near the Town, that they might relieve it without venturing the ſum of affairs. The Sieur *Montluet* was fortified in the Wood with four Companies of Foot, who, when upon the fifteenth day, two Captains, the one an Italian, the other a Spaniard, advanced with fifty men to diſcover the quality and ſituation of the place, and of the way, repulſed them valiantly, but without any great difficulty, becauſe there came ſo few of them, and had no deſign to take that Poſt: But the next morning the event of the buſineſs was quite contrary; for *la Berlotte* entering unexpectedly into the Wood with two thouſand Foot, did with ſmall reſiſtance beat out *Montluet*, who making his retreat in the Reer of all his men, was taken priſoner; and the Kings Regiment of Guards being advanced to oppoſe the Enemy, three Captains and many valiant Souldiers were ſlain in the firſt encounter: So that they being thus handled, would have retired, if Monſieur *de Vic*, with the Regiments of St. *Ange* and *Navarre*, had not come up to reſiſt the Enemy: But the Tertia's of *Agoſtino Meſſia*, and the Marquiſs *de Trevico*, being likewiſe advanced, the ſervice was exceeding hot at the entry of the Wood; and to ſecond theſe, Count *Soiſſons*, and the Baron *de Giury* advanced on each hand; and on the other ſide, the Duke of *Mayenne* with his own Troop, and the *Lorain* Light horſe appeared in the entry of the Wood, to back the Foot of his own party. But the courage of the Infantry was not equal, and the Horſe by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the place, fighting among Shrubs and Trees, could do but little ſervice; whereupon the Kings Regiments receiving very great loſs in the fight, began to ſtagger; and ſo much the rather, becauſe the Duke of

The Spaniards beat the Kings forces out of a Wood, where they had fortified themſelves

*Mayenne*

1594. *Mayenne* ſeeing a Wing of Muskettiers advance in the opening of a Meadow, had faln upon them with threeſcore Horſe, and cut them all in pieces; whereby it not only appeared, that the Enemies would have poſſeſſion of the Wood, but alſo the Foot was in exceeding great danger of being defeated. Thus difficult and dangerous was the ſtate of the encounter, when the Mareſchal *de Byron* came up, and knowing the hazard of the Infantry, and of utterly loſing the Wood, drawn by his wonted fierceneſs, he alighted from his Horſe, cauſing the Count *de Torignyes* and Sieur *de la Curée*'s Troops to do the like, and placing himſelf in the Front of the Battel, ſuſtained and ſtopt the violence of the Spaniard. At the ſame time the King alſo came up, who though the Trees and Hedges hindred him very much, would needs have the Baron *de Guiry* advance with all his Horſe, to attack the *Lorain* Cavalry, which being gallantly received, for the Duke of *Mayenne* himſelf was there in perſon, the conflict was as difficult, as bloody; and ſupplies haſtening upon both ſides from all parts, Count *Mansfelt* came into the Wood, and the Sieur *d' Humieres* went down from the Hill, ſo that the buſineſs grew to a certain kind of battel, in which though all fought not, yet the major part was either engaged or hindred by the unfitneſs of the place. The fight laſted with various ſucceſs, and ſeveral encounters till the evening, at which time, the King having cauſed all his Infantry to lie upon the very way near the Wood, to fortifie againſt the Front of the Enemy, and ſtop up their paſſage, ſent back his Horſe to their wonted quarters. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, and Count *Mansfelt* conſidering that the moſt part of their Foot were advanced to make good the Wood; whereby their quarter was left ſo weak, that it might with danger be aſſaulted by the King in the Rear; and ſo much the more, if he ſhould reſolve upon it by night, they quitted the Wood by little and little, and drew off their men to the Camp, the Wood being left free, and expoſed to the incurſions, and skirmiſhes of both Armies.

The Kings forces take a great deal of Victual and Ammunition which were brought from *Noyon*, to be put into *Laon*.

While they fought here and kept the Kings forces buſied, the Duke of *Mayenne* had given order, that *Nicolo Baſti*, and the Sieur *d' Eſcluſeaux*, Colonel of a French Regiment, ſhould move from *Noyon* with abundance of Victual and Ammunition, to put it into *Laon*, for the relief of the place; but the Duke of *Longueville*, who ſcoured the ways on that ſide, having notice of it, laid an ambuſh for them not far from the Town, which though it was diſcovered by the Scouts that went before, yet the Convoy being either affrighted at that unexpected encounter, or thinking all the Kings Cavalry was there, took a reſolution to retire, which not being able to do without time, and much confuſion, by reaſon of their carriages, the Sieur *d' Eſcluſeaux*, who was in the laſt Ranks, as ſoon as his men were routed remained priſoner; the Powder was divided among the Souldiers, and the carriages of victual burnt, but *Nicolo Baſti* got back ſafe to *Noyon*.

The greateſt difficulty of the Spaniſh Camp was want of victual, without which they could not lie long in that place, where while they ſtaid, they did ſo incommode the King, that he could not proſecute the beſieging of the Town; wherefore the Duke of *Mayenne* had cauſed great ſtore of proviſions to be made at *la Fere*, having determined to have them brought to the Camp, the ſtraight way, which was in a manner behind them; for this purpoſe Six hundred Spaniſh Foot, a thouſand Italians, and an hundred Light-horſe were gone thither, the Commanders thinking that guard ſufficient, becauſe they believed not the King would dare to paſs by their Camp, and leave it behind him, to go to a place, ſo far off, and ſo dangerous to fall upon them; but the thing proved otherwiſe, for the Mareſchal *de Byron*, taking with him the Sieur *de Montigny*, eight hundred Switzers, and as many French Foot of the Regiments of *Navarre* and St. *Ange*, two Companies of Engliſh, the Baron *de Giury* with the Light-horſe, and four hundred Horſe of the Count *de Torignyes*, and the Sieur *de la Curées*, departed by night from the Camp before *Laon*, and being come with wonderful ſilence within a League of *la Fere*, cauſed the Horſe to lie hid in two little Woods, which were on each ſide the way, and he with his Foot hid himſelf in the Fields, which being full of Corn almoſt ripe, gave them conveniency to lie unſeen. The Spaniſh Camp was not above two Leagues from that place, and people going continually from thence to *la Fere*, they were often like to have diſcovered the ambuſh, if the Mareſchal very patient, beyond his own nature, had not with marvellous ſilence withheld his men, who many hours being already paſſed, began to be hungry, and were with much ado kept in by him; yet they perſevered ſo long, that towards evening certain Carriages began to appear; having intended to have gone under favour of the night: Much more difficult

The Mareſchal *de Byron* having placed himſelf in ambuſh, falls upon and takes great ſtore of victual, which were going from *la Fere* to the Enemies Camp.

difficult was it then to withhold the Engliſh from falling upon the enemy before the time; but in the end, part of the Carriages being paſt, they roſe up furiouſly and aſſaulted the Guards on all ſides. The Van which was of Italian foot, made reſiſtance valiantly, and the ſame did the Battel which was of Spaniards; but the Rear finding themſelves nearer *la Fere*, faced about precipitately to retire; but with ſo ill fortune, that falling among the Horſe, which was already come out of the Wood, it was in a moment cut in pieces. The defeat of them was a wonderful diſadvantage to the reſt of their companions, who, drawn into a Body, bravely withſtood the fury of the Kings Infantry; for, being left unguarded in the Rear, they were aſſaulted alſo on that ſide by the Harquebuſiers on Horſe-back, and yet facing every way, and ſheltring themſelves with their Carriages, they made it good a great while, and that with no ſmall loſs to thoſe of the King's party, among which, Colonel St. *Ange*, and Monſieur *Faveroles* Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of *Navar* were wounded, and ſtill marching on, fought valiantly with their Pikes and Swords, being partly defended and covered by their Carriages, till the Mareſchal *de Biron*, fearing leaſt the noiſe of it being heard, the whole Spaniſh Army ſhould fall upon their backs; and therefore making haſte to put the buſineſs to an end, cauſed the Gentry to alight, and advancing at the head of the Switzers, charged with ſo great violence, that the leſs number, not being able longer to reſiſt the greater, the Italians and Spaniards ſtoutly defending themſelves, were all ſlain upon the place: The Horſe that fled were purſued by the Baron *de Giuri*, even to the Gates of *la Fere*; and of all thoſe that were about the Carriages, very few were taken priſoners. On the Kings ſide were killed above Two hundred, and few leſs wounded, among which, in the laſt bruſh, the Sieur *de Caniſy*, Son-in-law to the Mareſchal *de Matignon*, and the Sieur *de la Curee*. In this place alſo *Henrico Davila* (who was one of thoſe that alighted from their horſes with the Count *de Torigni*) put his Ankle out of joynt with getting over one of the Carriages, and was in very great danger, of being lamed for his whole life. The Mareſchal *de Biron* conſidering, that by reaſon of the enemies nearneſs, he might be aſſaulted every moment, ſet fire on the Carriages to the number of Four hundred; and having ſpoiled ſome, and bringing away others of the Teams that drew them, retired with infinite celerity the ſame night. 1594.

But the Spaniſh Army failing of this hope, the Commanders were no longer able to ſubſiſt, and therefore determined to take ſome reſolution, before they were further ſtraightned by the neceſſity of hunger; but they diſagreed among themſelves, about the manner of their retreat; for Count *Mansfelt*, for the greater ſecurity, would have raiſed the Camp by night; and the Duke of *Mayenne* fearing both confuſion, and diſhonor, would needs have the retreat made by day: And becauſe *Mansfelt* perſevered in his opinion, he was content, that the Vanguard, led by the Sieur *de la Motte*, and the Battel commanded by the Count himſelf, ſhould march away, with the greater Artillery, before it was light, and he, with the Rere, undertook to make the retreat by day. In this occaſion, both the diſcipline and valour of the Duke of *Mayenne* (qualities for the moſt part obſcured by ill fortune in his military enterpriſes) appeared clearly; for being to retire four Leagues, through an open Country, in ſight of the Enemy, who had ſo much a greater number of gallant horſe, he did it with ſo great order and reſolution, that he received no damage at all in his retreat. He placed eight *Corps de Garde*, part Italians, and part Spaniards, commanded by *Ceecho de Sangro*, and *Don Alonzo Mendozza*, and behind theſe he put the flying Squadron, in the Rere of which, he himſelf, with his Pike in his hand, and with him the Prince of *Avellino*, the Marquiſs of *Trevico*, *Agoſtino Meſſia*, *Don Antonio de Toledo*, *Don Juan de Bracamonte*, and above 100 Reformadoes, and a little before *la Berlotte* retired with his *Tertia* of Walloons, who had ſix Field-pieces with them, ready to be turned againſt the Enemy: As ſoon as it was broad day light, the Walloons began to march; and after them the flying Squadron; at which time the King (who had notice of it from *Parabere*, being encouraged by the Mareſchal *de Biron*, who affirmed, he had left ſo many broken Carriages, and ſo many dead bodies upon the way, that the Enemies would find it extreme difficult to make their retreat) advanced with his Cavalry to fall upon them in the Rere; but the eight *Corps de Garde*, who were the laſt that moved, retired with admirable expertneſs; for as ſoon as the Wings of Musketiers had given fire, they fell off into the Rere of the Pikes without facing about, but fronting ſtill towards the Enemy, and in the mean time the ſhot played that were among the Files,

The Duke of *Mayenne* makes his retreat by day in the face of the Enemy, much ſuperior to him in number, with ſo good order, that he receives no loſs at all.

1594. who had no ſooner ended their volleys, but the hinder Wings were come to be the Front, and while they gave fire, the Squadron retired without turning their backs: after which, the ſecond following, and after the ſecond the third, and ſo the reſt one after the other, drew off all by little and little to the Rere of the flying Squadron; which, when the Baron *de Giury* was come up unto, with the Count *de Soiſſons*, and the reſt that were at the Head of the Kings Cavalry, they fiercely charging their Pikes, and powring forth a terrible thick hail of Musket-ſhot, repulſed them in ſuch manner, that they wheeled about, not daring to charge in amongſt them; which having been done ſeveral times, the retreat went on with particular honor to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, very tall of ſtature, and compleatly armed, ſtirred up the courage of all by his words and example, and alſo with his own hand over-turned the Sieur *de Perſy* upon the ground, who, with a Troop of Light-horſe had the boldneſs to charge his Squadron. But being come (already tired with ſervice, and with heat) unto a narrower way, *la Berlotte* preſented his Artillery, placed on each hand upon the banks of ditches, in ſuch manner, that the Kings Horſe were conſtrained to make an halt, letting the whole Camp march off ſafe unto *la Fere*: Nor did the obſtacles alledged by the Mareſchal *de Biron* prove any hinderance; for the retreat proceeding ſlowly and warily, without hurry or confuſion, the Pioneers had time to free and clear the way.

But the enemies Army being gone, the King returned unto the Siege, and began to batter the Town; and while the Artillery played upon it, from every redoubt, they made a mine, to blow up the Ramparts, and make a breach with more ſpeed and Security; but the beſieged, not being willing to loſe themſelves, without making due reſiſtance, ſallied out at the *Skyt-gates* upon the firſt of *July*, and fell into the Mareſchal *de Biron*'s and the Sieur *de Montmartin*'s Trenches, with ſo much violence, that making themſelves maſters of the Redoubts, they made a very great ſlaughter there, Eleven Captains, and above Two hundred Soldiers being left dead upon the place; But the Mareſchal *de Biron* coming happily at the noiſe, and the ſoldiers running armed from all parts into the Trenches, the enemy was at laſt beaten in again, who, taking another courſe, made a furious counter-battery, from whence they diſmounted and ſpoiled many pieces of Cannon, and yet all things being repaired with marvellous diligence, there was already a great part of the Wall beaten down, after which, the Rampart appearing high, it was neceſſary to ſtay till the mines and works under ground were brought to perfection; which, while they were about, the Baron *de Guiry*, who, with extreme diligence haſtened the work, was ſhot in the head with a Musket in the flower of his age, and to the infinite grief of every one, loſt his life; a Gentleman of great courage, and exceeding worth, but of ſo ſweet behaviour, and ſo pleaſing a wit, improved with additions of Learning, that forcing a general affection, he was praiſed and beloved by his very enemies; The mines (which had been many dayes in hand) being perfected, had very different effects; for the Sieur *de* S. *Luc*'s proved fruitleſs, becauſe the water got into it; the Count *de Grammont*'s had vent given it by the beſieged; the Sieur *de Montmartin*'s threw down the Wall, but did no hurt at all to the Rampart; only the Mareſchal *de Biron*'s, and the Baron *de Salignac*'s wrought very great effects, and yet being aſſaulted, one by Colonel *Grillon*, and the other by the Count *de Torigny*, they were valiantly made good by the defendents, who having at the ſame time ſprung * a *Fougade*, and blew up many of thoſe, who inconſiderately were advanced upon the Rampart; the next day the aſſaults were redoubled ſeveral times, the Duke *de Bouillon* and the Mareſchal *de Biron* having the care of them: in which, though the aſſailants could not lodge themſelves upon the Rampart, yet the beſieged loſt ſo many men, that without relief it was not poſſible for them to hold out longer; wherefore they began to parley, and upon the 22th of *July* Capitulated to ſurrender, if within twelve dayes the Duke of *Mayenne* did not either raiſe the Siege, or put at leaſt ſix hundred Foot into the Town: but in ſuch manner, that the beſieged might not aſſiſt the relief any way, except onely in opening the Gate to it when it came, nor might receive leſs than Three hundred Foot at a time; Which Articles being made known unto the Duke, the King ſent the Duke of *Montpenſier*, the Admiral *Villars*, and the Sieur *de Balagny*, (who had newly ſubmitted himſelf to his obedience) to poſſeſs the wayes as far as *la Fere*, and hinder the paſſage of relief, which not being come within the time preſcribed, the Count *de Sommerive*, Colonel *de Bourg*, Preſident *Jeannin*, and the whole Garriſon marching out with their Armes, and Baggage, were convoyed

The Baron *de Giury* ſlain.

The mines are ſprung, *Laon* is aſſaulted, and valiantly defended.

* Fougade *is a kind of mine of about eight or ten foot ſquare, covered with ſtones, peices of Timber, bricks, and ſuch things as may do miſchief to the aſſailants, being fiered when they come upon it.*

The number of the defendents being diminiſhed, they, not longer able to hold out, Capitulate and Surrender.

convoyed as far as *la Fere*, the King honouring the Duke of *Mayennes* young Son with great demonſtrations of courteſie. 1594.

The beſieged of *Laon* had hoped, the Duke of *Guiſe* would bring them ſome relief by the way of *Champagne*, and the King had ſuſpected the ſame; but the affairs of that Province were ſo diſtracted, that it was not poſſible for him to think of ſtirring at that time; for there were not onely practices on foot in every Town, but with every Governor in favour of the King; and not onely the people were inclined to acknowledge him, as had been clearly ſeen in the Commotion at *Troyes*; but more pernicious thoughts reigned even among thoſe of the very party.

Monſieur *de St. Paul*, a man of mean parentage, had, by all the degrees of War, raiſed himſelf to the Office of Colonel in the time while the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Father was living, and had ſerved him with ſo much valour and fidelity, that he deſerved not onely to hold one of the firſt places in his favour, and alſo to be advanced to higher charges of Command; but being favoured by his protection, had, by the marriage of a very rich Widdow, ſetled himſelf in a gallant and plentiful fortune. He, after the accident at *Blois*, having, as one of the principal dependants, taken part with the D. of *Mayenne*, continued to ſerve with ſo much diligence, and ſo proſperous ſucceſs, that he not onely was appointed Lieutenant to the Government of *Champagne*, which Province was governed under the name of the Duke of *Guiſe*, though a priſoner; but alſo in proceſs of time he was by the Duke of *Mayenne* created and declared Mareſchal of *France*: He, when *Paris* was beſieged, having gathered together great ſtore of victual in the Province of *Brye*, put them happily into the City, while the King ſtood facing the Duke of *Mayenne*, and he thence drew ſo great a profit, that, added to the Dowry of his Wife, he made himſelf poſſeſſor of very conſiderable riches, which, together with his pay from the Spaniards, (who at firſt proceeded with an open free hand) gave him conveniency to gain many followers and dependents, and to ſet himſelf in a condition of high reputation. His proſperity of fortune was accompanied (as it is wont) with pride of mind, and haughtineſs of carriage, in ſo much, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, being at liberty, and come into the Province, he who was accuſtomed to rule of himſelf, did very unwillingly hear of ſubmitting himſelf to his command: and ſince the obligation of benefits received, and the greatneſs of his blood did not permit him to refuſe obedience, he endeavoured at leaſt to keep at a diſtance from him, and interpreting his Orders and Commiſſions his own way, onely executed what ſuted with his own fancy, and excuſed himſelf for the reſt under ſeveral pretences. The declining of the affairs of the League increaſed his Pride and his Ambition; and ſeeing the Princes of *Lorain* diſagreed among themſelves, and were ill-grounded, he took the greater boldneſs, and in his thoughts went on to a deſign of making himſelf Maſter of certain places, whereof he had the command.

He began with ſeizing upon the Dutchy of *Retel*, belonging to the Duke of *Nevers*, and with intolerable arrogancy aſſumed of himſelf the title of Duke of *Reteloys*; nor ſtopping here, he went on plotting which way to make himſelf Maſter of *Vitry*, *Rheims*, *Rocroy*, and St. *Diſier*; and he was the more fixt upon his thought when he ſaw the Spaniards intent upon gaining the French Lords and Commanders, and getting them into their pay; intending, as ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of thoſe places, or ſome of them, to put himſelf under the protection of the Spaniard, and labour to eſtabliſh himſelf in his uſurped greatneſs.

Col. St. *Paul* takes upon him the title of Duke of *Reteloix*, and while he plots to get alſo the City of *Rheims*, he is killed by the D. of *Guiſe*.

To this end he began to introduce a Gariſon of his adherents into the City of *Rheims*, and to deſign the building of a Citadel, which might ſerve for a curb to keep the Citizens in obedience, who, not being accuſtomed to be commanded by a *Militia*, fearful of loſing their liberty, and of being made ſubject to many burthens and inſolencies of the Soldiers, (to keep whoſe affection St. *Paul* cared not, though they plundered and oppreſſed the people) oftentimes took recourſe, and made their complaints thereof unto the Duke of *Guiſe*, who having written alſo about it many times, and ſeeing he was not obeyed, not onely took a wondrous great diſguſt at it; but alſo began to perceive St. *Paul*'s arts and his intentions. Wherefore, departing from *Paris* after the Truce was expired, and being come into that Province with an intent to remedy ſo great a danger, he wrote reſolutely that there ſhould be no more ſoldiers brought into that City, the fidelity whereof he ſuſpected not: But St. *Paul* continuing his deſign, without making reckoning of the command he had received, and the complaints of the Citizens multiplying, the Duke went thither well

1594. accompanied to bridle the insolency of the attempt; but so far was St. *Paul* from forbearing. that on the contrary, being either in greater necessity or suspition, he persisted yet to call some Companies into the Town; which being come to the Dukes knowledge, and he inflamed with a generous disdain, not thinking to endure it, was the cause, That coming one morning out of the Church, and meeting with St. *Paul*, who daigned not to company him, he asked him the reason, Why, contrary to his Orders, he yet brought more Soldiers into the City? to which he answering, That he did it for the common security, and because he had notice of some practices that were on foot in the Town; the Duke seeking to make a quarrel, replied angerly, and with high injurious words, That those were inventions of his own; but that he would teach him to obey. St. *Paul* being incensed with these contumelious speeches, and not enduring such a publick affront, told him, That being Mareschal of *France*, he acknowledged no superior in matters of War: And in saying those words, whether by chance, or by way of boasting, put his hand upon his Sword; at which action, the Duke running upon him with his Sword drawn, and thrusting him quite through the body, instantly took away his life: With him fell his ill grounded greatness; but the Soldiery was displeased at it, which, by reason of his indulgence to them, and of the profit they made under his command, loved and honoured his name; nor were the Citizens (though they rejoyced at his death) any way satisfied afterward; for the strength of the League still declining, the Duke of *Guise* resolved both to keep the Soldiers there, and prosecute the design of making a Cittadel.

But the example of *Rheims* stirred up all the other Cities, and many Governors of the Province; in such manner, that all of them were in a commotion, and had an inclination to put themselves under the King's obedience, to free themselves from imminent dangers. So that scarce could the Duke of *Guise* withstand the troubles of his own Government, much less was he able to succor or assist the necessity of others: Nor was his stay there, and his diligent care sufficient to keep them all faithful; for the Sieur *de Peschay*, Governor of *Chasteau-Thierry*, at the same time when *Laon* was surrendered, made composition with the King, and with the same conditions the rest had, keeping his Government, went over unto his party.

The Sieur *de Peschay*, Governor of *Chasteau-Thierry*, submits himself with that place to the Kings obedience.

Almost about the same time happened the revolt of the City of *Amiens*; for, the People stirred up by the Kings adherents, who told them, That the Duke of *Aumale* having made agreement with the Spaniards, was likely to put the City under the dominion of strangers, attempted to drive out the Duke who was in the Town without a Garrison; for the inhabitants alledging their privileges, would not receive any; but the tumult having lasted four dayes without any certain resolution, the Duke of *Mayenne* came thither, who being admitted only with the company of his Guard, appeased (as he thought) the tumult, and reconcil'd the Chief Citizens to the Duke of *Aumale*; but, after he was departed, to return again to the Army, the people took up Armes afresh, crying out openly, *For the King, for the King*; and having brought Monsieur *d'Humieres* into the City, drave out the Duke of *Aumale*, who, having lost the hope of being able to uphold himself, chose to depart, before he should enter into a thought of seizing upon his person.

The Citizens of *Amiens* raise a tumult against the D. of *Aumale*, and put themselves into the Kings hands.

The Sieur *de Balagni* was before this gone over to the King's party, with the City of *Cambray*; which having been in the power of the French, ever since the time of the Duke of *Alancon*, and after his death possessed by his mother, as inheritrix of what her son had gotten, had been put under the Government of the Sieur *de Balagny*, who, the Queen being dead, and the revolution of *France* following, chose to take part with the League, to the end the Spaniards might be kept from troubling him; and, of Governor, by little and little made himself absolute Master, both of so noble and famous a City, and of its most fertile Territory; but now the affairs of the League declined, he desiring to keep that dominion, held a Treaty with the King, that if he would declare him Prince of *Cambray*, and after his declaration protect him from the Spanish Forces, he would submit himself to his obedience, and to the Soveraignty of the Crown of *France*, and that moreover he would receive the King's Garrisons into the City, and Castle, obliging himself to serve him in time of War, with Two thousand Foot and Five hundred Horse, and that on the other side the King should pay Seventy thousand Crowns every year to maintain the Garrison at his devotion. It was not hard to obtain these conditions from the King, as well because of his desire to keep the supream dominion of that Principality unto himself, as to oppose such

The Sieur *de Balagny*, who had had the Government of *Cambray* from Queen *Katherine*, as heiress to the D. of *Alancon*, and after adhering to the League, had made himself Master of it, makes composition with the King, upon very large conditions.

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a difficult encounter unto the enemy upon the frontiers; and though theſe reaſons were manifeſt and apparent, yet many ſtuck not to ſay, that the King condeſcended to grant *Balagni* that Principality which was already in the power of the French, to pleaſe Madam *Gabrielle d' Eſtree*, whom he ardently loved, and who was nearly allied to *Balagni*: However it was, the King having cauſed the Patents to be diſpatched, and allowed in the Parliament before he went from *Paris*, ſent the Mareſchal *de Retz* about this time to make him be elected, and declared Prince of *Cambray* by the City, confirming the Title to his Wife, his Sons, and his poſterity, and after the taking of *Laon*, he entred perſonally into the Town with his Army, received the homage of obedience, and having ſetled a Garriſon, and the affairs of the City, returned to *Amiens*, where, being received with wondrous pomp, he granted the ſame conditions to the Citizens, which, with his wonted liberality, had been granted to the other Cities. In this expedition, the King created two Mareſchals of *France*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Sieur *de Balagni*, intending to make uſe of them both in the War, which he already deſigned to make againſt the Spaniards. 1594.

The news of the King's proſperous ſucceſſes, which, from ſeveral parts came ſucceſſively to *Reme*, moved, but did not much trouble the Pope; for, having already ſecretly given the King hopes, that he would give him his Benediction, and ſignified ſo much unto him, not onely by the Sieur *de la Clielle*, but alſo by words that might receive a double interpretation, intimated as much to *Paulo Paruta*, the Venetian Ambaſſador, a prudent man, who was well able to apprehend the Pope's intentions; he was pleaſed to hear buſineſſes went on in ſuch a way, that he might not prevent, but be prevented by the motion of the people; and that he might come to his laſt determination, in ſuch manner, as he might ſeem to be drawn unto it by neceſſity, and that the Spaniards might not condemn him of too inconſiderate forwardneſs, nor accuſe him of want of inclination to the intereſts of their greatneſs; For this cauſe he had from the beginning of the year, permitted Cardinal *Gondi* to come to *Rome*, and though he did it with a manifeſt injunction, that he ſhould not open his mouth about the affairs of *France*, yet ſecretly in their private meetings he gave him leave to alledge and repeat all the King's reaſons to him, to repreſent the diſorders, and wants of the Clergy, to put him in minde of the cauſes, why Religion would be in danger, if he ſhould not ſatisfie the King, and finally, to inform him of every ſmall particular, that he might make uſe thereof to the advantage of his deſign; For this ſame cauſe (though he knew it) he was not offended at the Decree of the Divines at *Paris*, in favour of the King, but rather was well pleaſed, thoſe very men, who had made the preamble and way to make him be excommunicated, ſhould now be as active in ſmoothing the paſſage to his reconciliation; and though upon all occaſions he ſhewed anger and diſdain in his words, in his private actions he did not ſo, but rejoyced as often as he heard that his perſeverance was interpreted obduratneſs, telling the Spaniards, as well Cardinals, as Ambaſſadors, who were at his ear every day, that he ſuffered much, and expoſed his own reputation to a general blame, becauſe he would not diſſent from their deſires; in the mean time, he alſo ſatisfied his own conſcience, by making himſelf certain of the King's conſtancy, and of the truth of his converſion, and by means of *Sauneſio*, and *d' Offat* had let him know, that many conditions were neceſſary to his rebenediction, and particularly, that he not having any lawful heir male, the young Prince of *Conde*, who was neareſt to the Crown, ſhould be taken out of the hands of the Hugonots, and bred up in the Catholick Religion, to the end that whatever ſhould happen, they might not fall again into the former dangers and inconveniences; which having been alſo intimated by way of diſcourſe, both to Cardinal *Gondi*, and the Venetian Ambaſſador, the King was not only advertiſed of it, but counſel'd to take away that ſcruple, becauſe it might hinder the progreſs of what was in Treaty; wherefore he began to think, by what means he might get him out of the Hugonots hands, who, after the King's Converſion, eſteemed him much more dearly, that they might breed themſelves up a head, and ſupport unto their faction.

Cardinal *Gondi* being returned to *Paris*, commands as ſuperior of the Clergy of that City, that they ſhould uſe again the Prayers that were wont to be made for the King of *France*, and that they ſhould acknowledge *H. the Fourth*, their lawful King.

But Cardinal *Gondi* thinking himſelf informed of all thoſe things that might take away the Popes doubts, and facilitate the King's reconciliation, reſolved to return into *France*, and to endeavour the execution of them, by ſpeaking with the King himſelf in perſon; ſo being come to the Camp before *Laon*, he was two dayes in cloſe conference with the King, and going from thence to *Paris*, feared not to command the Clergy to uſe thoſe Prayers again, which were wont to be made for the moſt Chriſtian Kings,

1594. Kings, and abſolutely to acknowledge *Henry the Fourth* for their true and lawful Lord, ſharply alſo reprehending, and driving from his preſence, certain men of Religious Orders, who dared to oppoſe that determination; which, though (as other things) it was written to *Rome*, and amplified, the Pope made no other ſhew of reſenting it, than to tax *Gondi* for no good Cardinal, and to threaten, that with time and opportunity he would puniſh him for his fault; adding, that the affairs of *France* were in ſuch a condition, as it was not fit to put more fuel to that fire, which was already kindled; ſince the buſineſſes of the Catholick Union went on ſo ill, that it would be no ſmall matter to be able to uphold it; but the news of the taking of *Laon*, and the retreat of the Spaniſh Camp being come, the Pope made ſhew to be very angry; and deſiring to find means to make it appear, that the fault was the Spaniards, he told the Duke of *Seſſa*, that the Catholick King deſired to have him to reſiſt onely with ſpiritual Arms, but that he in the mean time was not careful to make uſe of Temporal ones; that he ſhould remember, though Excommunications are pernicious to the Souls of the obſtinate, yet are they not deſtructive of their corporal affairs; and that whoſoever would have buſineſſes effected, muſt unite the two Swords, and proceed equally with both hands; that he ſaw, or thought he ſaw, the Catholick King was already weary of expence, and of the War, and that if it were ſo, he deſired to be made privy to it, that he might in time find the beſt remedy that might be for the danger of Religion, ſince the French Union was already in a manner diſſolved, and the Spaniſh Armies either could not, or did not care to ſuſtain that weight. Theſe ſtinging words of the Pope, deeply pierced the minds of the Spaniards; who, ſuſpecting the end to which he tended, and not being willing to give him that occaſion, which they were of opinion he ſought, they wrought with the ſame heat not only into *Spain*, ſhewing the King the neceſſity, either of yielding, or of doing ſomething in good earneſt, but alſo to *Bruxelles*, to the end the Arch-Duke might ſuſtain the manifeſtly falling affairs of the League.

Words of Pope *Clement* the Eighth to the Duke of *Seſſa* the Spaniſh Ambaſſador.

Wherefore the Duke of *Mayenne*, after the loſs of *Laon*, being gone back to that Court, to find means to ſettle their common affairs, yielding now ſomething on both ſides to the quality of the time, they treated a little more pleaſingly to each other; for the Duke knowing himſelf in a weak eſtate, had abated much of his firſt demands, and the Arch-Duke knowing it was no time to exaſperate him, for fear he ſhould be driven into utter deſperation; and ſeeing that he could neither accommodate his mind, nor his ears to hearken to a Treaty of putting himſelf under the Catholick Kings obedience, as *Roſne* and the Duke of *Aumale* had done, he reſolved to hold him in hand with a ſhew of fitting conditions, and of a Treaty in a manner equal, ſtill keeping alive the propoſition of the *Infanta*'s election, being certain afterwards to bring matters to his own end and intention, and to behave himſelf in his ſecret deſign, in ſuch manner as time and opportunity ſhould adviſe; Wherefore, there having been a long Treaty between Preſident *Riccardotto*, and Preſident *Jeannin*, and the Princes themſelves, having often conferred together, they at laſt agreed to eſtabliſh a Capitulation, which ſeemed juſt and honourable to both parties.

The Duke of *Mayenne* goes to *Bruxelles*, where he is treated with complyance.

The Subſtance of the agreement concluded between the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Spaniards at *Bruxelles*.

The Agreement contained in ſubſtance, that the Catholick King ſhould continue to uſe the Duke of *Mayenne* as before, in the quality of Lieutenant-General of the State, and Crown of *France*, and that ſo he ſhould be acknowledged in all places and Armies, where he ſhould chance to be: That the Ten thouſand Crowns by the Moneth, ſhould continue to go on, which had been aſſigned to him by the Catholick King from the beginning: That he on the other ſide, ſhould continue to make War in thoſe Places, where he ſhould think beſt, and particularly in the Province of *Bourgongne*; for the upholding whereof, certain ſupplies of Horſe and Foot ſhould be given him; That whatſoever ſhould be acquired, ſhould be held by him in the name of the King, who, in due time ſhould be choſen, by the common conſent of the French Confederates of the Apoſtolick See, and of the King of *Spain*; That the ſaid King ſhould be obliged, to reinforce his Armies to make War in *Dauphine*, *Picardy*, and *Bretagne*, thoſe conqueſts likewiſe which ſhould be made, being to be held in the name of the future King, under French Governors: and that the Dukes of *Lorain*, and *Guiſe*, and the other Lords, and Heads of the *Union*, ſhould be exhorted to continue the War.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, thinking, that by theſe conditions (though ambiguous) he had in ſome meaſure ſtopt the precipice of his affairs, departed from *Bruxelles*, and

and with a Gentleman ſent from the Arch-Duke, went ſtraight to *Nancy* to ſpeak with the Duke of *Lorain*; His intention was to try to keep him united to the League, and to perſwade him to continue the War; but he by the means of Monſieur *de Baſſompier*, had not onely concluded a Truce with the King of *France*, but alſo being deſirous to disburthen himſelf of the expence, permitted his ſoldiers to take pay under him; wherefore the Baron *d' Oſſonville*, and the Sieur *de Tremblecourt* with Three thouſand Foot, and Four hundred Horſe, had put on white Skarfs, and were gone to ſerve the King, having obliged themſelves to moleſt the County of *Bourgogne*, which till then had been neutral, and had not been troubled on any ſide. The Duke of *Mayenne* having found things in this Condition, and not having been able to remove the Duke of *Lorain* from his inclinations to Peace, reſolved to go into the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, (the Dutchy and the County are Provinces divided one from another; that appertaining to the King of *France*, and this by antient diviſion to the King of *Spain*) and there endeavoured to eſtabliſh himſelf abſolutely, holding already the moſt part of the Towns, as Governor of the Province; for he had plotted, whatſoever event his affairs ſhould have, to retain either the free dominion, or at leaſt the Government of that Dutchy. But the King, who was very well aware of his deſign, after he ſaw the Treaties of Peace broken off, which had been held by the means of *Villeroy* and Preſident *Jeannin*, reſolved to oppoſe what he intended concerning the Dutchy of *Bourgongne*; and that he might make uſe of the boldeſt of all his Commanders, he choſe the Mareſchal *de Biron* Governor of that Province, and made him be ſet in order with convenient Forces to go to recover thoſe places. 1594.

The Duke of *Lorain* makes a truce with the King.

In the mean time *Tremblecourt* and *Oſſanville* were gone into the * *Franche Compte*, and having ſuddenly made many incurſions into the Country, took *Veſu* and *Jainville*, putting the whole Province in wondrous terror, and confuſion: for, by reaſon of the Neutrality which had made the People ſecure, there were no Forces in the Province able to oppoſe their invaſion; wherefore, having haſtily demanded ſuccors both from *Savoy* and *Flanders*, though ſome few were ſent to keep Garriſon in the principal places; yet the Winter beginning, would not ſuffer greater preparations to be made by the Spaniards, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the very ſeaſon hindred the King of *France* his Soldiers from being able, in reſpect of the ſmallneſs of their number, and the quality of the weather, to make any greater progreſs.

* *Or County of* Bourgongne.

The King ſends the *Lorain* Forces that were come to him, to make incurſions into the County of *Bourgongne*.

That which compleated the diſordering of the League, was the compoſition of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, either incenſed that the Duke of *Mayenne* had hindred his greatneſs, or elſe vext, that the Spaniard had ſhewed him a flaſh of exaltation, and then had preſently drawn in thoſe beams, ſhutting up the paſſage to all other favors; and knowing that his Fathers ancient greatneſs, was all turned upon the Duke of *Mayenne*, whereby he, both in regard of his youth, and becauſe he had no Dependents, was fain, not onely to yield the firſt place, but alſo to content himſelf with one of the inferior ones, reſolved, about this time, to eſtabliſh his own fortune with the King, and by the means of his Mother, and of the Mareſchal *de la Chaſtre*, agreed for himſelf, his Brother the Prince of *Jainville*, and Monſieur *Louis* deſtined to an Eccleſiaſtical life; to reſtore *Rheims*, *Vitry*, *Rocroy*, *St. Diſier*, *Guiſe*, *Moncornet*, and the other places in *Champagne*, and the quarters thereabout unto the Kings obedience, receiving in recompence thereof the Government of *Provence*, Four hundred thouſand Crowns, to pay the Debts their Father had ran into, and many Eccleſiaſtical preferments for the third Brother, which formerly were the Cardinal of *Bourbons*, who, after a long ſickneſs, held by the Phyſitians to be an Hectick Fever, departed this life about this time, not without ſuſpicion of Poyſon. The Treaty of this agreement had been very long; for the Duke of *Guiſe* ſtood to retain the Government of *Champagne*, and the King would not deprive the Duke of *Nevers* of it, and there were likewiſe exceeding great contentions, about giving him the Government of *Provence*: for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who had gotten it after the death of his Brother, and had, by many ſucceſsful enterpriſes againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, and againſt the League, ſetled himſelf in the command, was not willing to leave it; nor was it this alone that hindred it; but the High Chancellor, and many of the Council perſwaded the King, not to put that Province into the Duke of *Guiſe* his hands, to which he pretended right, as heir of the Houſe of *Anjou*; but the King deſired on the one ſide to have the Duke of *Eſpernon* leave that Government, into which he had skrew'd himſelf, in the greateſt diſtraction of affairs, without his Commiſſion: and on the other, he knew that it was neceſſary to remedy the preſent, without having ſo unſeaſonable a fear of the future: beſides

The Duke of *Guiſe* leaves the League, and makes his compoſition with the King.

The Duke of *Guiſe*, as heir of the Houſe of *Anjou* pretends rights unto *Provence*.

1594. beſides that, the Duke of *Guiſe*'s ingenuity and moderate nature, of which he had given clear teſtimony in the buſineſſes lately treated by the Spaniards, perſwaded the King to a confidence in him. Therefore the Agreement was eſtabliſhed, whereby, as the King's party increaſed in ſtrength and reputation, ſo the League was not onely weakned and languiſhing, but little leſs than utterly diſſolved.

The Duke of *Mercœur* is diſguſted at the Spaniards in *Bretagne*, becauſe they would not meddle in matters out of that Province.

Now, having told the principal matters of the War, appertaining to the main body and ſubſtance of affairs, the things that hapned in the remoter Provinces of the Kingdom, ought likewiſe briefly to be related. The party of the League was moſt firmly ſetled in *Bretagne*, and more powerful there than in any other place; for, beſides the Forces of the Province, which (much more united than any other) followed the Duke of *Mercœur*, who, by the proſperity of many ſucceſſes, had raiſed himſelf to a very high eſtimation, there were alſo Five thouſand Spaniſh Foot under *Don Juan de l'Aquila*, who, poſſeſſing *Blauet*, and the neighbouring places about it, were ready to help whereſoever need ſhould require in that Province. But, their mindes here were neither more agreeing, nor more ſatisfied than in other places; for the Duke of *Mercœur* was diſcontented, that the Spaniards ſhould proceed with ends and deſigns apart; nor could he frame his ears to hear talk of the pretenſions which the *Infanta* of *Spain* had unto that Province, as contrary to thoſe rights which his Wife *Margaret* Counteſs of *Pontievre* pretended alſo to it: nor did other things trouble him more, than the Commiſſion they had, not to meddle in matters out of that Province; inſomuch, that when the courſe of Victory carryed him upon ſome important deſign into the neighbouring Provinces, they clipt his wings, becauſe they ſhould not paſs beyond the limits of *Bretagne*; They, on the other ſide, were ill-ſatisfied, that he limitting them within the circuit of *Blauet*, would not ſuffer them to take footing in the Province; and becauſe going forth of that Fortreſs, ſeated in the extremity of a *Peninſula*, they had begun to raiſe a Fort in the neck of another *Peninſula*, which blocked up on the land-ſide, and hindred the entrance of ſhips into the Port of *Breſt*, a place frequented by the Northern Nations, the Duke ſeemed not to conſent unto it, and to uſe many arts, that the Fortification might not go forward.

On the other ſide, the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* Governor for the King, had more courage than ſtrength; for the wants of the near adjacent Provinces, did not ſuffer him to draw together above One thouſand Engliſh Foot, Two thouſand French, and Four or five hundred Horſe of the voluntary Nobility of the Country: but after that the King's converſion began to give him favour, and to move the humours of the Province, he advanced, and received *Laval*, a Town that voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and then having laid ſiege to *Morlais*, he took it, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Mercœur* laboured to relieve it; and being recruited with new Engliſh Foot, led by Colonel *Norris*, which had been in *Normandy*, he reſolved to aſſault the Spaniards new Foot before it was brought to perfection, and before they could ſettle themſelves in the poſſeſſion of that fertill and populous Sea-coaſt: Wherefore, having drawn the Army together, in which there were Two thouſand Engliſh Foot, commanded by Colonel *Norris, Three thouſand French, commanded by the Baron *de Molac*, Three hundred Harquebuſiers on horſe-back, and Four hundred Gentlemen, and being abundantly furniſhed with Artillery, Ammunition, and other neceſſaries, by Monſieur *de Sourdiac* Governor of *Breſt*, who, being hard by, to eaſe himſelf of the trouble of the Spaniards, ſupplyed all wants, he brought his Army before it upon the Eleventh of *October*.

The Mareſchal *d' Aumont* Governor for the King in *Bretagne*, beſieges the Fort of *Croiſil*, begun by the Spaniard.
**Sir John Norris.*

The Fort was ſeated upon a natural Rock, and incompaſſed by the Sea quite round, except onely where the *Peninſula* joyns to the firm Land; on which ſide they had raiſed two Bulwarks in form of a *Tenaille*, and between them was the Gate, with its Draw-bridge, Moat, and Counterſcarp, all deſigned with excellent skill, though not yet perfected to a defenſible condition. The Governor of the Fort was *Don Tomaſo Praſſedes*, an old experienced Commander, and he had with him Four hundred Spaniſh Foot, with plentiful proviſions of all things neceſſary for the defence of it. The difficulty of that ſiege appeared at the very firſt; for, as ſoon as they began to break ground, and make their approaches by the help of Trenches unto the edge of the Counterſcarp, they found, there was not above two foot of earth, after which they met with the impediment of the hard rock; wherefore it was neceſſary to make uſe of Gabions, in the bringing, planting, and filling whereof, they diſputed for the ſpace of nine dayes, with great execution upon the Beſiegers; they within with ſingular art making uſe of ſmall pieces of Artillery, wherewith they were abundantly ſtored,

and

and ſallying out at the *Skyt-gates* ſometime of one Bulwark, ſometimes of the other, moleſted them continually, no leſs by day than they did by night; but at laſt the conſtant reſolution of the Beſiegers, overcame the difficulty of the enterpriſe, and having planted twelve pieces of Cannon, they began to play upon the Bulwarks; and though at the firſt their Bullets, ſtriking upon the Earth, did little harm, yet their continual battering having broke the fence of Bavins wherewith the Rampart was faſtened together, and made it ſlip down, the Moat began to fill by little and little, affording better conveniency of advancing to make the aſſault. Wherefore the Baron *de Molac* with the French aſſaulted the Bulwark on the right hand; and Colonel *Norris* with the Engliſh aſſaulted the other on the left: But though the aſſault was bold and violent, the Spaniards received it with ſo much conſtancy, that after a wondrous hot fight of three hours, the Aſſailants were precipitately beaten off, above an hundred being ſlain, with three French Captains, and four Engliſh; and that loſs was much increaſed by their own Cannoniers; for they, as the Aſſailants were retiring, going to fire their Artillery againſt the Defendents that were upon the Rampart, did it with ſo little diſcretion, that they blew up their Powder, and killed many of their Souldiers. This accident gave the Spaniard great opportunity to make up their Works again; for while they ſtayed for new Supplies from *Breſt*, of powder, and new inſtruments to uſe their Cannon withal, they had time to mend up their Bulwarks again with the ſame Earth, fortifying them with two ſtrong Palliſadoes (the French call them * *Phraiſes*) which compaſſed them round about: But the Battery being furniſhed again, they began to batter again upon the fourth of *November*, with more fury than they had done before; and the Palliſadoes yielding eaſily to the force of the Cannon, they began to plain the way once more, and make it fit for an aſſault; which whilſt it was juſt ready to be given, there came ſuch a ſudden ſtorm of Thunder and Lightning, and ſuch abundance of Rain, that it was neceſſary to defer it till the next day, in which time the beſieged cut off the points of the Bulwarks, and made a retrenchment, to cover themſelves in ſuch manner, that the next morning they ſuſtained the aſſault very valiantly with ſmall loſs to themſelves, and a very great one to the Enemies, who were ſcarce gone down from the aſſault, and ſetled to their reſt, when the Spaniards ſallying out to the number of ſeventy, ſuddenly made themſelves Maſters of the Battery of the French, kill'd a Colonel, and above two hundred other Souldiers, whom they found unprovided, and laid to ſleep, and nail'd three pieces of Cannon; yet the Baron *de Molac* being come up, they were beaten back into the Moat, not having loſt above eleven of their men.

1594.

The French aſſault *Croiſil*, but are bravely repulſed by the Spaniard.

* *Storm-pikes.*

The French renew the aſſault, but are beaten off with great loſs.

The Siege went on but ſlowly; for the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* being burthened with years, but more with toil and labour, was fallen dangerouſly ſick; and yet the continual moleſtation they of the Fort received, conſumed them from day to day, in ſuch manner that they began earneſtly to ſollicite relief; but the Duke of *Mercœur* took ſmall care of them, for he was not diſpleaſed that the Fort ſhould be taken, knowing the Spaniards aim'd to poſſeſs themſelves of all that coaſt, which, full of Iſlands, ſecure Harbours, and great well-peopled Towns, by reaſon of the Supplies it might receive from the Spaniſh Fleet, was marvellous opportune to nouriſh a long War, and dangerous combuſtion in all *Bretagne*; wherefore though he had been conſtrained to grant them *Blauet*, yet he took it extream ill, they ſhould endeavour to enlarge themſelves further; for this cauſe alledging divers excuſes, and cauſing many obſtacles and impediments to ariſe, he ſtill deferred the relief; *Don Juan del Aquila*, who had not any number of Horſe with him, could very hardly move to raiſe the ſiege of Fort *Croiſil*, (for ſo they called the place) yet the ſiege ſtill preſſing, and it ſeeming to him a very great fault to let his own Country-men be deſtroyed without aſſiſtance, he advanced with four thouſand Foot, and two pieces of Cannon towards *Quimpercorantin*, to ſee whether the jealouſie of that place could move the French to draw off; but having met the Sieur *de Mombaraut*, who lay upon that way with two hundred Curaſſiers, and fifty Harquebuſiers on Horſe-back, though he retiring by little and little, drew at laſt within the Walls, yet the Town was ſo ſecured thereby, that the fear of loſing it made no neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege of *Croiſil*, beſides he had no ſuch Artillery, nor preparations, as were ſufficient for that enterpriſe; wherefore turning another way, and paſſing under the Walls of the Town, he came upon the Road that leads ſtraight from *Quimpercorantin* to the French Camp, intending to encamp in advantageous places, where the Horſe might not hurt them, and try in ſome ſort, by drawing near, to hinder

The Duke of *Mercœur* takes no care to relieve *Croiſil*.

Don *Juan del Aquila* marches to relieve his Country-men; but having neither horſe nor other preparations ſufficient, he finds the enterprize very difficult.

1594. the taking of the Fort; but *Mombraut* following them in the Rere with his Cavalry, and the Sieur *du Tremblay* advancing from the Camp with an hundred and fifty Horſe more, *Don Juan del Aquila* was forced to march not only very warily, but very ſlowly, leſt he ſhould be moleſted in open places by the Cavalry, to which the Chevalier *de Poſtonville*, and the Sieur *de Baſternay* being joined with the reſt of the Horſe that belonged to the Camp, he was conſtrained to go a great circuit of ground, to get to the *Peninſula* by Land, which if he had had Shipping, he might have done in a ſhort ſpace by Water.

In the mean time the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* recovered of his ſickneſs, having call'd Monſieur *de Sourdiac* unto the Camp, preſs'd the beſieged with his utmoſt power; and having upon the eighteenth day of *November*, battered from break of day, till the Sun began to decline, he cauſed the Baron *de Molac* to give the aſſault, who being beaten off, Colonel *du Bordet* fell on, and he being likewiſe repulſed, with a greater ſlaughter than the other, the Engliſh without delay ſtormed it on the other ſide, and a valiant Squadron of Gentlemen renewed the aſſault on the other; and though *Martin Frobiſher*, one of the Engliſh Colonels, and Colonel *Treſcane*, one of the French Commanders, were killed in the firſt fury of the aſſault, yet the Defendents being overcome more by their own wearineſs, than the valour of their Enemies, were at laſt, after two hours reſiſtance, all cut in pieces, without ſtirring one foot from the defence of the Rampart, upon which they fought deſperately to the laſt man, and that with ſo much loſs to the Aſſailants, of whom there were ſlain that day above ſix hundred, and all the beſt and ſtouteſt Souldiers of the Camp, that if *Don Juan del Aquila*, who was come very near, had marched ſtraight on, perchance the Mareſchal *d' Aumont* could not have eſcaped a very great defeat, and the Fort would the ſame day have been loſt and recovered; but he ſtaying for fear of the Cavalry, and quartering ſo near that he heard the ratling of the ſhot while the fight laſted, when he at the ſame time was told of the ſingular courage, and total deſtruction of his Country-men, he reſolved to retire the next morning; and not being followed by any body, marched away to *Blauet* without any other attempt.

After many aſſaults the defendents of *Croiſil* are all cut in pieces, but with fame of moſt remarkable valour, and very great loſs to the aſſailants.

After this the Kings forces increaſed in that Province; for the Sieurs *de St. Luc*, and *Mommartin*, departing from the ſiege of *Laon*, were come thither with five Companies of Switzers, three Regiments of French, and three Companies of Harquebuſiers on Horſe-back, who in their march having either by force, or compoſition taken many weak Towns, brought the Duke of *Mercœur* to a neceſſity of uniting himſelf with the Spaniards, to hinder theſe new Forces from joining with the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, and thinking of ſome enterpriſe of great importance; ſo that the diſguſt ceaſing which had been about Fort *Croiſil*, (which after it was taken, was by Monſieur *Sourdiac* utterly ſlighted with great forwardneſs in the Country people) the Duke of *Mercœur* reſolved to unite all the Forces in one body, and labour to reſiſt the Kings, as he had very proſperouſly done until that preſent.

Fort *Croiſil* ſlighted by the French.

In the beginning of this year there brake forth a little fire in *Provence*; the ſparkles whereof would have cauſed a wonderful great combuſtion in thoſe parts, if there had not been ſeaſonable proviſions made againſt the beginning of it. The Provencials and Gaſcons are by long and ancient emulation naturally Enemies, which reſpect not having withheld King *Henry* the Third from giving the Government of *Provence* to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, though he was a *Gaſcon* by birth, the Gentry and people of that Province were ſo incenſed at it, that it was neceſſary to force them with an Army to yield their wonted obedience; which as it was an occaſion very much to encreaſe the followers and adherents of the League, ſo would it have produced other miſchiefs, if his Brother Monſieur *de la Valette*, who was left to govern as his Lieutenant, had not with ſingular dexterity, and mild gentle uſage appeaſed their minds, and brought them to make more account of the merit of vertue, than difference of birth. But after his death the Duke of *Eſpernon* being come thither with greater Forces than his Brother had, began alſo to execute his Government, and follow the War with more vivacity, exacting a punctual obedience from thoſe of the Kings party, and fighting vigorouſly againſt the reſt, who held part with the League, among which the Count of *Carſey*, and the City and Parliament of *Aix* which he had beſieged, when they ſaw they could not reſiſt ſo powerful an Enemy, were content to yield to the King, and for him unto Monſieur *de Les Diguieres* or Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, but with expreſs condition, that the Duke ſhould have no Power nor Superiority in that Town, which though

The City and Parliament of *Aix* not being able to reſiſt the Kings forces under the Duke of *Eſpernon*, ſurrender upon condition, that the Duke ſhall have no ſuperiority in that City.

though it was promiſed them, the Duke nevertheleſs made himſelf the ſtronger, and (being the more exaſperated by the ill will they had ſhewed againſt him) began to build a Fort, which commanding the City might keep it in ſubjection; this the Citizens impatiently brooking, and the ſame humours reigning through the whole Province, they diſpatched Agents to the Court, to beſeech the King to take the Government from the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and provide another Governour. The King, who by reaſon of the uncertainty of his affairs, had till then diſſembled, nor at that preſent was willing to alienate the Dukes affections from him, and who on the other ſide ſaw the diſcontents of that Province, and the troubles that were like to come, thought it a moderate way to refer the buſineſs to the Mareſchal *d' Anville* Governour of *Languedoc*, who was newly by him made High Conſtable of the Kingdom: For on the one ſide the Provencials being well affected to his perſon; and on the other, the Duke of *Eſpernon* having married a Neece of his, he thought that by his prudence and dexterity, he might find a middle way, whereby both the people might remain ſatisfied, and the Duke handſomly removed from that Government; but after that he ſaw the Duke reſolved to maintain himſelf in that Office, and the Conſtable ſlack in finding out a remedy, he gave order to *Les Diguieres* to go, as he was wont, from *Dauphiné* into *Provence*, and with as much ſpeed as was poſſible, oppoſe the Duke of *Eſpernon*, into whoſe deſigns he thought he could not ſee very clearly. *Les Diguieres* ready to make uſe of Arms, and enclining to ſatisfie the Provencials, having drawn together ſeven thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe, marched without delay, to paſs the River *Durance*, and to enter hoſtilely into the Province againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*; but being come to the River ſide, he met Monſieur *de la Fin*, a diſcreet man, verſed in the affairs of the Court, who coming from the Duke of *Eſpernon*, perſwaded him to ſtay his voyage; for without the tryal of War the Duke was ready to obey the Conſtable's Orders, according to the Kings intention and command; which *Les Diguieres* believing, reſolved to ſtay in the ſame quarters, not being willing to precipitate matters for the delay of a few days, which were afterwards prolonged by his falling ſick of a feaver, which neceſſitated him to ſtay much longer in that place. But though *la Fin* paſſed often between them, and went alſo to know the Conſtable's pleaſure, yet could no invention be found to accommodate ſo different intereſts; for the Duke pretended, that by his Sword he had acquired the merit of that Government, having maintained it in the moſt difficult times againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, and againſt the League, at his own charge, with his own Forces, and with the blood of his own Brother; and therefore declared that he would defend it in what kind ſoever: On the other ſide, *Les Diguieres* argued, that there was no reaſon to put the whole Province in deſperation, and make it incline to caſt it ſelf into the protection of the Duke of *Savoy*, or of the Spaniard; and that the Duke of *Eſpernon* had ſo many Governments, that he might be contented without uſurping this, to the damage and prejudice of the Kings affairs: and becauſe the diverſity of Religions ſtirred up their minds one againſt another, *Les Diguieres* being a Hugonot, and the Duke ſincerely a Catholick, they were very ſharp upon one another; beſides, the one having been ſo much favoured by *Henry* the Third, and the other an Enemy who had always lived in rebellion during his Reign, there grew a private enmity between them, very prejudicial to the publick buſineſſes they had in hand; whereupon the Treaty of Agreement being broken, *Les Diguieres* paſt the River with his whole Army in the beginning of the month of *May*, and the ſame day there was a hot encounter between the Forces of the two Armies, which laſted many hours: but though the difference was not great in the event, yet *Les Diguieres* remained Maſter of the Field, and the Duke made his retreat without receiving any loſs, carrying away many of the Enemies priſoners with him.

1594.

The Mareſchal *d'Anville* is deputed by the King to compoſe the differences of the Provencials by removing the Duke of *Eſpernon*.

The Duke of *Eſpernon* declares, that he will defend the Government of *Provence*; and the Sieur *de Les Diguieres* goes with good forces into the Province to put him out.

But at laſt the Duke ſeeing the Forces of *Dauphiné* joined with thoſe of *Provence* againſt him, and (as he was very prudent) not ſeeing any ſeaſonable opportunity of forming a third party, nor no ſupport ready to which he could have recourſe for the preſent, having about the ſame time received the news of the revolt of *Paris*, and of the other Cities of the League, he thought it no wiſe reſolution to ſwerve from the Kings obedience, when others returned ſo faſt unto it; and therefore taking hold again of the Treaty of Accord, which had never been totally intermitted, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Conſtables arbitrement; who declared that he ſhould put the Fort of *Aix* into the hands of Monſieur *de la Fin*, and draw out his Gariſons from *Thoulon*, St. *Paul*, *Treques* and *Mirebeau*, till ſuch time as the King ſhould determine the manner

The Duke of *Eſpernon* refers himſelf to the Conſtables arbitrement, who declares that he ſhould go out of the Governments.

1594. of proceeding for the future: in execution of which order, the Duke delivered the Fort into the hands of *la Fin* upon the tenth of *May*, and the ſame day *Les Diguieres* entered into *Aix*, and was received with great ſolemnity by the Citizens; but whiles their Arms are ſuſpended in expectation of orders from the Court, *Les Diguieres* taking for an excuſe that ſome of the Dukes Souldiers had taken ſome of his, and pillaged the Country, and that therefore the Truce was broken, entered ſuddenly into the Fort without ſtaying for the Kings orders, and delivered it up into the hands of the Citizens, who with a wondrous concourſe of people ſlighted it ſo in two days, that there remained not any kind of Foot-ſteps of it; which being performed according to the common deſire, he having left the other places in the hands of the Count *de Carſy*, returned with the reſt of the Army into *Dauphiné*. Afterwards followed the Accommodation with the Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom the King granted the Government of that Province; which though it afflicted the Duke of *Eſpernon*, yet he thought it beſt to diſſemble the matter, reſerving himſelf to take a reſolution with the benefit of time; and being deſirous to have it believed that the buſineſſes that had paſſed were but private enmities and contentions between him and *Les Diguieres*, though he was not faulty to himſelf in neglecting any means poſſible to keep poſſeſſion of that Government.

The Duke of *Savoy* beſieges *Briqueras*, and the French not being able to paſs to relieve it, he takes it.

But in *Dauphiné*, whiles Monſieur *de Les Diguieres* in the beginning of *September* prepares himſelf to go into *Piedmont*, having received intelligence that the Duke of *Savoy* had laid ſtrait ſiege to *Briqueras*, he was conſtrained to do that by neceſſity which he would have done by choice before. The Duke of *Savoy* had got together four thouſand Germans commanded by the Count of *Lodrone*, five thouſand Italian Foot commanded by Colonel *Barnabo Barbo* a Millaineſe, and fifteen hundred Horſe under the conduct of *Don Alonſo Idiaques*, with which Body of men he reſolved to try to drive the French from beyond the *Alps*: and becauſe *Briqueras* was the principal place they held, he laid ſiege before it, and afterwards having battered it with many Cannons, he cauſed it to be aſſaulted by *Don Filippo* of *Savoy*, his Baſtard Brother; and at the ſame time a ſcalado to be given on the other ſide by *Don Sancho Salina*; wherefore the Defendents invironed on all ſides, left the Town, and retired into the Caſtle. It was cloſely beſieged without delay; in which interim *Les Diguieres* having paſſed the Mountains, came to relieve that place: but the Duke had provided againſt that; for in the narrowneſs and difficulty of thoſe ways, of themſelves ſteep and full of Precipices, he had cauſed all Paſſes to be ſo ſhut up, and had ſet ſo ſtrong Guards upon them, that after the French had made many attempts without any fruit at all, they were conſtrained to retire, and the beſieged ſtraitned on all ſides, and having no longer any hope of relief, reſolved to ſurrender; ſo upon the ſecond of *October* they delivered up the Caſtle into the Dukes hands, who having freed himſelf from that impediment, within a few days recovered Fort *San Benedetto*, which had been taken by *Les Diguieres* in his retreat; and within a while the Snows fell, which put an end to the troubles of this year in thoſe parts.

The Duke of *Nemours* eſcapes out of the Caſtle of *Pierre Anciſe*.

The Duke of *Nemours* eſcaped not long before from his impriſonment in the Caſtle of *Pierre-Anciſe*; being much more cunning in ſaving himſelf, than he had been wary in avoiding the dangers of impriſonment: for having a certain Servant that had an extream long and thick head of hair, which ſometimes hanging down covered all his face, he found means to have a perruque made like it very ſecretly, and knew how to manage his buſineſs ſo ſubtilly, that one morning having put his Servant into his bed, and covered him in his place, he went forth of the Chamber carrying a Cloſe-ſtool-pan, as if he went to empty it, and going haſtily, eſcaped out of the Caſtle-gate, hiding himſelf firſt among certain Houſes, and afterwards getting down opportunely into the Field, where being received by ſome few that waited for him, he came ſafe to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, and there being joined with the Marquiſs his Brother, continued to make War in favour of the League, and above all, to infeſt the Country, and trouble the Inhabitants of the City of *Lyons*, with which (beſides publick buſineſſes) he had a private enmity: but his, and his Brothers weakneſs, and their want of money and adherents, would not ſuffer them to do any great matter.

The year was ſhut up with an hainous fact, dangerous beyond all belief, and which was like in an inſtant to have ſubverted all that had with ſo long pains been victoriouſly atchieved; for the King being returned to *Paris* from the War of *Picardy*, upon the Seven and twentieth of *December*, whilſt having alighted from his Horſe, he, in one

one of the Chambers of the *Louvre*, ſaluted the Knights, who being elected to receive the order of the St. *Eſprit* upon *New-years-day*, were come to do their wonted obeyſance to him, a young Merchant named *Jehan Chaſtel*, born in *Paris*, being got into the ſame room with the train of the Sieur *de Ragny*, and *Montigny*, in the action the King uſed, ſtooping to imbrace one of thoſe Knights, ſtruck him with a knife in the face, thinking to ſtrike him in the throat: The blow being diverted, as it were by a Divine Hand, hit him in the lips, and having met with the hindrance of his teeth, made but a ſlight inconſiderable wound. At the commotion of the by-ſtanders, the young Merchant having dextrouſly let the knife fall, mingled himſelf in the crowd, hoping to get out of the room undiſcovered; but being known by many, he was inſtantly ſeized on, and whilſt every one tranſported with a juſt indignation would furiouſly have fallen upon him, the King commanded that the Malefactor ſhould not be hurt; and having cauſed him to be delivered into the Cuſtody of the *Grand-Prevoſt de l' Hoſtell*, he was by him carried to priſon, from whence being put into the Power of the Parliament, and examined with the wonted forms, he freely confeſſed, and afterwards ratified his confeſſion when he was tortured. That he was bred up in the Schools of the Jeſuites, and had often heard it diſcourſed, and diſputed, that it was not only lawful, but alſo meritorious to kill *Henry* of *Bourbon*, a relapſed Heretick, and Perſecutor of the Holy Church, who falſly appropriated to himſelf the Title of King of *France*; wherefore having afterwards fallen into hainous and abominable ſins, even to the attempting to lie with one of his own Siſters, he fell into ſo great deſpair of having Gods forgiveneſs, that he choſe to execute that fact, which he believed to be of ineſtimable merit, to free him from the horrour and puniſhment of his offences; that he had imparted his deſign unto his Father, who had effectually diſſwaded him from it, but that being more effectually moved by an inward Spirit, he had at laſt reſolved it, and attempted to perform his reſolution; that having in his private confeſſion conferred about it with the Curate of St. *André* in the City of *Paris*, he was by him (though ambiguouſly) confirmed in his intention, ſo that after long contriving, he had choſen that place, and time to put it in execution. 1594.

*Jehan Chaſtel* a Merchant of *Paris* wounds the King in the mouth with a knife, whilſt he was Saluting the Knights of the Holy Ghoſt in his lodgings at the *Louvre*.

*Jehan Chaſtel* being impriſoned and tortured, confeſſeth that he was moved to attempt the killing of the King by the Doctrine he had learned of the Jeſuites; whereupon ſome of them are put in priſon.

As ſoon as he had made this confeſſion, they preſently ſent to lay hold on his Father, Mother, and Siſters, with the Writings that were in the houſe, among which there was nothing found conſiderable, ſave a Confeſſion written with his own hand, wherein he had ſet down his ſins, to confeſs them to the Prieſt, which for the moſt part conſiſted in wicked and beaſtly diſſoluteneſs But the ill will the Parliament bore unto the Jeſuites, (the firſt Authors and continual Fomenters of the League) added to the conjectures drawn from the confeſſion of the Traytor, who ſaid more than once that he learned that Doctrine from them, was the cauſe that their Colledge was ſuddenly beſet, and that ſome of them were led to priſon, and the Writings which every one had in his Chamber diligently ſearched, among which in the Cloſet of Father *Jehan Guiguard* born at *Chartres*, there were many Writings found which taught the Doctrine, praiſed the murther of the late King, perſwaded the killing of the preſent, and contained many other ſuch like things, with odious Epithets and Attributes given to thoſe Princes, and many others. They likewiſe proved many things of that like nature, ſpoken in the fury of the War by Father *Alexander Haye* a Scotch-man; and others not very unlike, ſpoken in the ſame times, by Father *Jehan Gueret* Maſter in Philoſophy, and the ordinary Confeſſor of this *Jehan Chaſtel*; wherefore after many debates in the Parliament, the Counſellors at laſt agreed in this ſentence, That *Jehan Chaſtel* being bare-head, and bare-foot, before the gate of the Cathedral Church, ſhould abjure the Doctrine which till then he had believed, and confeſs the enormity of that parricide which he had attempted, and then be put into a Cart, and his fleſh pulled off with pincers in the four principal places of the City, and being brought to the place of execution, his right hand ſhould be cut off, holding the ſame knife wherewith he had hurt the King, and finally that he ſhould be dragg'd in pieces by four horſes; that the Jeſuites, as well thoſe that were profeſſed, as the others not profeſſed, ſhould be as Enemies of the Crown, and of publick tranquillity, be baniſhed out of the whole Kingdom, their goods and revenues diſtributed to pious uſes, and all Frenchmen prohibited to ſtudy or converſe in their Schools; that Father *Jehan Guigard* ſhould be condemned to the Gallows, and Father *Jehan Gueret*; and Father *Alexander Haye* perpetually baniſhed from all places under the dominion of the Crown; that *Pierre Chaſtel* the Delinquent's Father ſhould be baniſhed for ever from *Paris*, and nine years

*Jehan Chaſtell* is condemned to be dragged in pieces by four horſes.

The Jeſuites are baniſhed out of the whole Kingdom of *France*.

1594. years out of the whole Kingdom; that his Houſe ſtanding right over againſt the great Gate of the Palace of the Parliament, ſhould be razed to the very foundation, and a Piramide erected in the place, wherein the preſent Decrees ſhould be regiſtred, as well againſt *Chaſtel*, as againſt the Company of Jeſuits; the Mother and Siſters of the Criminal were let at liberty.

The Divines of *Paris* make a Decree, wherein they declare the Doctrine that teaches to kill Princes, to be Heretical.

To this decree of the Parliament, the Divines of the City being met together in Cardinal *Gondi*'s Houſe, added a Declaration, whereby they determined, that the Doctrine which taught to kill Princes was Heretical, prodigious, and diabolical, and gave expreſly in charge to all men of Religious Orders, to acknowledge and obey King *Henry* the Fourth as their lawful Prince, and Lord; and that in their Maſſes, and Canonical hours they ſhould inſert thoſe prayers, which were wont to be ſaid for the ſafety of the moſt Chriſtian Kings of *France*. In the end of the Decree they intreated the Cardinal, as Biſhop of that City, to beſeech the King in the name of them all, that he would ſend a new Embaſſy to the Pope, to hinder by his reconciliation, the imminent and manifeſt danger of Schiſm. This was procured by the Cardinal himſelf, who believing he had apprehended the Popes mind, deſired to give the King a fair colour and occaſion to try again to get his benediction.

1595. In this condition of affairs began the year 1595, the firſt buſineſs whereof after the King was cured, was the promulgation of the Edict in favour of the Hugonots. They at the Kings Converſion, had not only been much moved to their hopes loſt of having a King of their own Religion, and of obtaining by that means, that it might be the chief in the Kingdom, and that the Catholicks ſhould be reduced to be but by permiſſion; but they had alſo begun to waken new thoughts, and practiſe new deſigns, to unite themſelves more cloſely to one another, and to provide themſelves a new Head. For which having turned their eyes upon the Duke of *Bouillon*, they perceived that he, as a moſt prudent man, was very backward to ſeparate himſelf from the Kings proſperous fortune to follow the uncertainty of new, and not well grounded hopes; and therefore he protracted buſineſſes that he might take ſome counſel from the maturity of time. The Mareſchal *d' Anville* likewiſe, who in former times would have readily imbraced that occaſion, at that preſent was little inclined to ſide with them; for being already old without Sons, (for thoſe he had were unfortunately loſt) newly married to a young Wife, out of a deſire of iſſue, and as concerning the reſt of his fortunes, firmly eſtabliſhed in his Government of *Languedoc*, was not like to adventure himſelf upon new deſigns, and put that into the arbitrement of fortune, which with ſo much pains, and ſo long patience, he had attained among the difficulties of a thouſand dangers; wherefore they had neceſſarily ſet their thoughts upon the Prince of *Condé* yet a Child, who living at St. *Jehan d' Angely* with his Mother, was bred up in the rites of their Religion; but the tenderneſs of his age, and the many accidents that might happen before he could come to mans eſtate, held the whole Faction in ſuſpence and trouble; wherefore ever and anon, making meetings and aſſemblies, ſometimes at *Rochel*, and ſometimes at *Saumur*, ſometimes at St. *Foy*, and ſometimes at *Montauban*, and not abſtaining to ſpeak high injurious words againſt the King, calling him an ingrateful man, and one that did not acknowledge what they had done for him, and threatning not only to forſake him, but alſo to take that Crown away from him, which they profeſſed (though without reaſon) that they had gotten him, they put jealouſie and trouble into the mind of the King himſelf, who by long experience knowing their humours, and what they might contrive, and put in execution, doubted not only that they would alienate themſelves from him, but that before he could abſolutely conquer the forces of the League, they would ſtir up War againſt him otherwhere. And though he had gained one *Morlas* an Hugonot Miniſter, born in *Bearne*, and not *Rottan*, another born in *Piedmont*, ſubtil men, of great authority and eloquence, who diſcourſing ſeverally, among thoſe of their Religion, concerning his Converſion, exhorted the party not utterly to loſe their confidence, but expect the benefit of time, making profeſſion that they were privy to ſome ſecret deſigns of his; yet he feared theſe arts would not be ſufficient to bridle the violence of ſome new dangerous inſurrection.

The Mareſchal *d' Anville* imbraces the Kings Converſion.

The Hugonots threaten to forſake the King, and take the Crown from him which they ſaid they had gotten him.

This Doubt which had retarded his Converſion much longer than the neceſſity of his affairs required, had alſo made him yield to many things which were contrary to his own *Genius*, and inclination; for he had declared the Mareſchal *d' Anville* High Conſtable of the Kingdom; though there were many to whom he had much great obligations,

gations, that he might confirm him to his devotion, and deprive the Hugonots of the hopes of having him. He had likewiſe preferred the Viſcount *de Turenne* before the Duke of *Nevers*, in the marriage of the Heireſs to the State of *Bouillon*, whereby he had attained that Dukedom, and now he imployed him in the War upon the Confines of the Low-Countries, to divert his thoughts, and ingage him in long buſineſſes, far from the Countries poſſeſſed by the Hugonots; and finally deſiring to get the young Prince of *Conde* out of their hands, and in ſome part to ſweeten the bitterneſs which they generally had received at his Converſion, he thought of cauſing that Edict to be proclaimed and ratified, in the Parliament, which *Henry* the Third had made in favour of them, in the year 1577. which was much better regulated than all the reſt. 1595.

It was a very hard matter to get it to be received in the Parliament, where the debates were very long and diverſe; for by how much the more dexterouſly the King laboured to proceed in the buſineſs, leſt he ſhould diſcontent the Pope, and put him into an ill opinion of his inclination; ſo much the more ardently did many of the Counſellors oppoſe it: and the King not being willing that either the Chancellor, or any other ſhould go in his name to deſire it, the firſt Preſident *Harlay* and Preſident *de Thou*, who knew his intention, had much ado to perſwade the reſt (who thought they did as they ought) to conſent unto the promulgation of it. But in the end, the Counſellors whom the King had confirmed through favour, after the reducing of the City, and particularly *Lazare Coqueille* formerly a great Stickler, and a Miniſter for the League, deſirous to ſhew themſelves leſs ſharp and ſevere in what concerned the Hugonots, leſt they ſhould ſeem to perſevere in their old opinions, laboured ſo far, that the Decree was received and proclaimed; though neither did this publication much ſatisfie the Hugonots, with whom the King, both by reaſon of his paſt Obligations, and preſent need, proceeded mildly, and kindly, endeavouring to remove ſuſpicions out of their minds, and confirm them by good uſage to his devotion, and knowing by his long converſing with them, the poverty of many of the principal Hugonots, and the narrowneſs of the condition they were in, and being certain that the Heads and Incendiaries being taken away, the poor common people would be abundantly contented with quietneſs, and ſecurity, he procured that many Deputies ſhould be ſent from ſeveral places, to treat of the affairs of that party, the moſt part of which he afterwards gained to himſelf, with gifts, penſions, and promiſes, ſo that by mild and gentle ways, he inſenſibly took away the pulſe and ſtrength from the whole party; but if the Kings incredible want of money, and his own nature, frugal in expences, together with the hard auſterity of Monſieur *de Roſny*, who then manag'd the *Finances*, had given this remedy liberty to dilate it ſelf more amply, thoſe that are well verſed in the Kingdom, believe that a few years of ſuch ſweet poyſon would have extinguiſht that faction which ſo many years of deſperate War had not with the effuſion of ſo much blood been able to weaken.

After many difficulties, the Edict in ſuccour of the Hugonots, is accepted by the Parliament, and proclaimed; being the ſame which King *Henry* the III. had made *Anno* 1577.

The ſecond action of this year was the Kings reſolution to denounce open War againſt the King of *Spain*; for though in the beginning of the year before, the Duke of *Bouillon*, united with Count *Philip* of *Naſſaw*, had taken ſome weak Towns in the County of *Heinault*, and in the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, that was rather an incurſion than a formed War, and partly by reaſon of the ſharpneſs of the weather, partly for want of money, they quickly retired, having alſo received no ſmall loſs from Count *Charles* his Army in their retreat; but now the King had determined to proclaim open War, and turn all his Forces againſt the States of King *Philip*. This reſolution to many ſeemed ſtrange and unſeaſonable, conſidering that the King of *France* was ſo troubled, and ſo unſecure at home, that he had no need of foreign contentions; they ſaw the Kingdom ſo exhauſted of men and moneys, and ſo tired and worn out with Civil War, that they knew not which way he would be able to ſuſtain the weight of a Foreign War; and recalling to memory that the King of *Spain*, without hazarding at all his own affairs, had in times paſt troubled, and little leſs than conquered the King himſelf in the heart of his own Provinces, and in the midſt of his Forces, it ſeemed to them a ridiculous thing, that now with his Forces ſtill divided, and diſcords ſtill burning in his State, he ſhould dare to think of offending the States of the Catholick King founded upon the Baſis of ſo great a Monarchy; wherefore they ſhould have thought it much more to the purpoſe, for the King to have endeavoured by ſome tolerable conditions to attain Peace, than to provoke and ſtir up War, ſo much the more, by the vanity of a publick Declaration.

*Henry* the IV. reſolves to proclaim open War againſt the King of *Spain*.

But

1595. Cauſes that moved King *Henry* the IV. to proclaim Wars againſt *Spain*.

But the Cauſes that moved the King were very powerful; for he foreſaw that the overture of a Foreign War would help to cloſe the wounds of a Civil War, as skilful Chirurgions are wont with ſeaſonable Cauteries to divert the hurtful humours that corrupt and infect our Bodies; He knew there was nothing that could move the French more to a Reconcilement and Re-union, than the appearance of a War with the Spaniards, the natural Enemies of their Nation; he deſired the War might no longer carry the name of a Civil War for Religion, but of a Foreign one for intereſt of State, and that in the flame of this Controverſie between Crown and Crown, the yet remaining ſparks of the League might be extinguiſhed; he knew that howſoever he ſhould ſtill have the Catholick Kings forces againſt him, which ſince they could by no means be avoided, it was leſs hurtful to have them open and publick, than treacherous and diſſembled: He thought the Princes confederate with the Crown of *France* would have much leſs caution in lending him favour and aſſiſtance in the War, between the Spaniards and the French, for matter of Empire, than between Frenchmen and Frenchmen, whether they were real or feigned for matter of Religion: He conſidered that nothing would more pleaſe, nor ſatisfie the Hugonots, than War againſt the Spaniards, in which they being imployed with their utmoſt ſpirits, their minds might be withdrawn and diverted from the thoughts of new deſigns; beſides all theſe cauſes, having made a League offenſive and defenſive with the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, with a mutual obligation of concurring jointly in War, and hoping to draw the Queen of *England* and ſome of the Princes of *Germany* into the ſame confederacy, it was neceſſary to imploy his forces in ſome enterprize of common profit and conveniency in *Flanders*, and the County of *Bourgongne*, and being deſirous to do it for his own reputation, and to intereſs the other Confederates, he judged the Declaration of the War to be very proper to ſtir up the minds of his Subjects, and to neceſſitate the forces of the Confederates: But above all being again to treat of his Reconciliation to the Apoſtolick See, and knowing he ſhould have all the power of the King of *Spain* againſt him, he deſired to have him known for his open Enemy, and that he and his Miniſters might not be admitted to that deliberation, as being excluded, and excepted by the publick and open War, which ſhould yet be between the Crowns; and if the minds of great perſons, among ſo many intereſts of State, are ſometimes alſo moved, and driven by paſſions, the old perſecution he had ſuffered from the Catholick King, ſtirred up and ſpurred on by the ſo late danger, in which he was like to have loſt his life, by the ſuggeſtions of perſons whom he eſteemed to be dependents upon that Crown, had perchance ſome part in this reſolution; for the execution whereof upon the Twentieth day of *January*, he cauſed a Declaration to be publiſhed, and the ſame to be proclaimed by Heraulds in the Towns upon the Confines, wherein after having related all the injuries done by the King of *Spain* unto himſelf, and the King his Predeceſſor, imputing alſo the act lately attempted againſt his perſon to the ſuggeſtion of his Champions; he denounced open War againſt him by Land and Sea, took away all Commerce between the two Nations, and permitted his Subjects to invade, ſpoil and poſſeſs the States under the Dominion of that Crown.

Upon the 20th of *Jan.* 1595. *Henry* the IV. cauſes War againſt *Spain* to be proclaimed by his Heralds in all the Confines.

King *Philip* anſwers the King of *France* his Declaration about two months after.

King *Philip* anſwered this Proclamation about two months after with another Writing, wherein reckoning up the benefits and ſupplies lent to the moſt Chriſtian Kings, his Confederates and Allies, he declared and proteſted, that he would not break the peace which he had with the moſt Chriſtian Crown, and the good Catholicks of the Kingdom, but perſevere in their aſſiſtance, and defence, to the end they might not be oppreſſed by the Prince of *Bearne*, and the Hugonots his Confederates, and commanded all his Subjects not to moleſt or hurt thoſe French, that ſhould follow the Catholick party in the Kingdom, giving order on the other ſide to his Governours and Commanders, to defend his Countries, and likewiſe to offend the Prince of *Bearne*, and his adherents.

This Declaration was ſlow, but ſo were not the preparations; for not only in *Flanders* Count *Charles* his Army was recruiting, to enter upon the Confines of *Picardy* in the Spring, but alſo *Hernando de Valeſco* Conſtable of *Caſtile*, and Governour of the State of *Milan*, was preparing a great Army in *Italy*, to march into *Bourgongne*, and in *Spain* new Forces were raiſing, that they might ſend new Supplies to *Don Juan del Aquila* in *Bretagne*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit; the like preparations were made in *France*, *Holland*, and *England*, ſo that the courſe of this year ſeemed on all ſides likely to prove formidable and bloody.

In

In the mean time, the King, cured of his hurt, had celebrated the ſolemnity of the Knights of the *Holy Ghoſt*; among the Ceremonies whereof, he renewed his Oath of living and dying a Catholick, and of defending Religion, and afterwards with great pomp and demonſtrations of honor, he had received *Vincenzo Gradenigo*, and *Giovanni Delfino*, Ambaſſador of the Venetian Senate, who came to congratulate his aſſumption to the Crown, and *Pietro Duodo*, that came to reſide in the place of *Giovanni Mocenigo*, who, for the ſpace of ſeven years together, had made his reſidence with him, and the King his Predeceſſor; having, with exceeding great praiſe of ſingular prudence, managed the moſt weighty buſineſſes in the ambiguous revolutions of paſt affairs. 1594.

The Venetian Ambaſſadors ſent to congratulate the Kings aſſumption to the Crown, are received with great demonſtrations of honor.

The firſt action in the War of this year, was the taking of *Beaune*, a principal Town in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, wherein ſome of the chief Citizens having begun to mutiny from the year before, to put themſelves under the Kings obedience, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had a ſpecial jealouſie concerning the affairs of that Province, (as being his own particular government) went ſpeedily, at his return from *Lorain*, into that City, where, having found buſineſſes all in a combuſtion, he cauſed fourteen of the Citizens, which ſeemed to him more inclined to an alteration than the reſt, to be impriſoned in the Caſtle, and having removed that difficult ſcruple, he, in all things elſe, ſought to appeaſe the generality of the Citizens, without uſing any kind of ſeverity; He endeavoured to make them underſtand, that he was about to conclude the general peace, with the Popes conſent; and therefore it would be much more honourable, much more advantageous to them, to be included in the general agreement, than to compound by themſelves, and forſaking him, who had alwayes governed them gently, refer themſelves to the uncertain diſcretion of a new Governor, with which reaſons thinking he had ſetled their minds, he left a good Garriſon in the Caſtle, and a convenient one in the Town, and went with ſpeed to *Dijon*, where he feared ſome inſurrection, no leſs than in other places; but being advertiſed, that after his departure, there had been new tumults at *Beaune*, he would needs return to provide againſt them, and began to contrive how to fortifie both the Town and Caſtle, which being not to be done, according to the deſign of *Carlo Bonaventura* an Italian Engineer, without pulling down ſome principal Monaſteries, and a great many private houſes to the very ground, the Citizens oppoſed it; ſhewing the Duke, that it was no time, to come to ſo precipitate a determination; but he, entring by this oppoſition into a greater jealouſie of their inclinations, reſolved to proſecute the Fortification, and brought in a greater ſtrength of Soldiers, which were diſtributed into ſeveral parts of the Town, to bridle the People, and to ſecure them to his devotion; and having given convenient order for theſe things, he departed, to overſee the reſt of the Province, and ſecure other places, believing he had ſufficiently provided againſt that danger; but the Citizens, exaſperated by the pulling down of their houſes, and by the impriſoning of the chief of them, reſolved to uſe their utmoſt force to deliver the City to the Mareſchal *de Biron*, who, with Two thouſand Switzers, Four thouſand French Foot, and Twelve hundred Horſe, was come into thoſe quarters in the month of *January*; wherefore, having ſecretly invited him, and ſetled the agreement, that he ſhould preſent himſelf at the Gates of the City upon the fifth of *February*, they, upon the ſame day, as ſoon as it was light, took Armes, and running up and down the ſtreets with white Scarfs, began to cry out, *For the King*; to which the greater part of the common people anſwering, *Jaques Richard*, one of the Plot, ran to that Gate, which alone was wont to be kept open, and letting down the Portculliſes that were on the inſide, ſhut out the guard of Soldiers, who negligently and careleſly guarded the *Raveline*; then many others running thither arm'd, they made themſelves Maſters of the Gate, driving out the ſoldiers that were upon the guard, who, having forſaken the *Raveline* to ſave themſelves in the Fields, were, by the Country-people (no leſs exaſperated than the reſt) miſerably defeated and diſperſed. At the ſame time *Guilliaume Alleſan*, and *Michel Richard*, two other contrivers of the buſineſs, ran to the houſe of the Sieur *de Montmoyon* Governor of the Town, and ſuddenly made him priſoner, having killed *Guillermin* a Colonel of Foot, and ſome other Captains that were with him; and *Carlo Bonaventura* the deſigner of the Fortifications (who, in his own defence, had wounded *Aleſan*, and many others) being almoſt ſtoned by the fury of the people, could ſcarce, by the diligent care of ſome, be carried alive into the common Gaol. The Gate and the Governor being taken, the next work was to maſter the Quarters of the Soldiers, who, though divided in different places, had fortified themſelves there from the beginning

The Citizens of *Beaune* in the Dutchy of *Bourgongne* calling the Mareſchal *de Biron*, ſubmit themſelves to the Kings obedience.

1595. beginning of the tumult; in which combuſtion the City being all in an hurly-burly, and even the very Women and Children betaking themſelves to Arms, they began to fight in many ſeveral parts of the Town with various and bloody events: In the mean time came the Mareſchal *de Biron*, who had delayed longer than the Citizens had appointed, and being entered into the Town with his whole Army, the Soldiers, who were no longer able to make reſiſtance, yielded, ſaving their goods and perſons; and he, with very great and unuſual ſeverity reſtraining his ſoldiers from pillage, appeaſed the whole tumult that night. The next day ſiege was laid to the Caſtle, which, being battered with Twelve pieces of Cannon, after Three thouſand ſhot, and having held out Two and forty dayes, ſurrendred it ſelf into his hands.

The Baron *de Senecey* goes over to the Kings party with the City of *Oſſonne*.

The Baron *de Senecey*, with the City of *Oſſonne* followed the example of *Beaune*; for, he having been Ambaſſador to the Pope, and having found there was no hopes, either from *Rome* or *Spain*, of ſuch Supplies as were neceſſary to uphold the enterpriſe, and having diligently informed the Duke of *Mayenne* of it, and exhorted him (in vain) to imbrace peace, he took a reſolution, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Mareſchal *de Biron*, upon condition to keep the Government of that place.

The Citizens of *Autun* put themſelves under the Kings obedience.

The Citizens of *Autun* reſolved to do the ſame; but becauſe that Town was guarded with a good Garriſon, nor could the inclinations of all be ſounded without evident danger of diſcovery, the Heads of the deſign determined to call the Mareſchal, and not to make any ſtir at all till he was at the Gates; one of which being kept by them, they had reſolved to open to him: wherefore he being come ſecretly into the Suburbs upon the eighth of *May* at night, the Mayor of the Town, who had undertaken to bring him in, with great ſilence cauſed the Gate to be opened, into which a Captain entering firſt of all with Five and twenty Cuiraſſiers and Fifty firelocks, quickly made himſelf Maſter of that Poſt; and having ſent word that the Paſs was ſecure, the Sieur *de Sapiere* and the Marquiſs of *Mirebeau* entered, after whom followed the whole Army, which being drawn up in the open ſpace between the Walls and the houſes of the Town, was divided into four parts, which took poſſeſſion of the ſtreets of the City four ſeveral wayes: One of theſe having fallen upon a good number of Soldiers, which, according to the Military cuſtom were going *Patrouilles*, there began a furious conflict in the dark, at the tumult whereof all the Guards being wakened and in Arms, as likewiſe all thoſe Citizens that were not privy to the buſineſs, they continued with various uncertainty fighting all the night, till day being broke, every one perceived that the City was poſſeſſed by the whole Army; whereupon, all laying down their Arms, and hiding themſelves in houſes, *Biron* cauſed a pardon to be publiſhed through all the Streets, and having plundered the Soldiers of the Garriſon, and ſent them forth of the Town, it remained without further harm under the Kings obedience.

The Conſtable of *Caſtile* with 8000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe goes into the *Franche Comte*, and being united with the Duke of *Mayenne*, recovers ſome places, and takes others.

The affairs of *Bourgongne* being in this condition, the Conſtable of *Caſtile* having paſt the Mountains with Eight thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe, had croſſed through *Savoy*, and was come into the *Franche Comte*, where, being united with the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, with Four hundred Horſe, and a Thouſand French Foot was gone to meet him, recovered *Jaunevillet* (which they of the King's party had quitted) and reſolved without delay to beſiege *Vezu*; in which Town the Sieur *de Tremblecourt* was with Four hundred Foot, and 60 Horſe; nor was it very hard to take it, becauſe his weakneſs would not ſuffer him to make any great reſiſtance: whereupon the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, as a Soldier of greater experience, commanded in Military matters, having cauſed a Battery to be planted, made an open breach within few hours, and the Sieur *de Tremblecourt* not being obſtinate to make a vain defence, reſolved to retire into the Caſtle, and expect relief from the Mareſchal *de Biron*. But he could not receive the aſſiſtance that was needful in due time; for the Mareſchal being at the ſame time called by the Citizens of *Dijon*, reſolved to attend that as the more important occaſion; ſo that the Sieur *de Tremblecourt* not being able in a weak place to reſiſt the Forces of a whole Army, was conſtrained to ſurrender the Caſtle.

The Sieur *de Tremblecourt* not being relieved by the Mareſchal *de Biron*, ſurrenders the Caſtle of *Vezu* to the Conſtable of *Caſtile*.

But the Citizens of *Dijon*, having declared themſelves unſeaſonably, ran a very great hazard of being ſuppreſſed; for the Viſcount *de Tavanes* who governed that Province as the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Lieutenant, being advertiſed of their intention, drew all the neighbouring Garriſons together with infinite celerity; and while the chief Citizens ſtood perplext, and irreſolute, whether or no they ſhould call the Mareſchal *de Biron*, for fear of being ſcacked, *Tavanes* appeared with a conſiderable force to enter

enter into the City; but that being denyed him by the people already up in Arms, he turning towards the Caſtle, was willingly received by the Governor of it: There, after having refreſhed and ordered his men, he cauſed an hundred of his ſtouteſt Horſemen to alight, and placed them in the front of the Squadron, and then incouraging his men to fight gallantly, marched down in order the common way, to enter the paſſage towards the Market-place, where, being encountred by the Townſmen in Arms, there began between them a ſharp and obſtinate fight, which laſting ſtiffly from the morning till it was far of the day, ſome of the Heads of the people, taking a reſolution in neceſſity, determined to ſend for the Mareſchal *de Biron*, who, having already many dayes expected that opportunity, hovered up and down about thoſe quarters. But, not being able to bring the Army with that celerity, which ſo ſudden an exigent required, the Mareſchal having left order, that the Cavalry ſhould follow him with all ſpeed, entered into *Dijon* with onely Sixty Gentlemen towards the evening; at whoſe arrival the Citizens recovering courage, who not being able to reſiſt, were already reduced into a corner of the Town, and then the whole Army coming up ſucceſſively one part after another, *Tavanes* not willing to loſe the Caſtle, while he contended obſtinately to get the Town, reſolved to retire thither, and leave the poſſeſſion of the Town unto the Army; wherefore, making the Rereguard of his Squadron face about, he drew off ſoftly, and ſtill fighting, got ſafe into the Fortreſs, the day being quite ſhut in; but leaving it to the care of the wonted Governor, he retired himſelf into the Caſtle of *Talan*, a little diſtant from the Town. The Mareſchal was reduced into a great ſtraight, his Army not being ſufficient to divide it ſelf and beſiege both Caſtles; and becauſe he feared the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, having diſpatched at *Vezu*, would come ſtraight to *Dijon*, he ſolicited the King by redoubled Meſſengers, to advance into *Bourgongne*, whither the greateſt weight of arms was already inclined. 1595.

The King had ſtaid at *Paris* longer than he had at firſt intended; for Preſident *Jeannin* being come unto him, they had great hopes to conclude the lately renewed Treaty of Agreement, which afterwards was prolonged many dayes; for not onely the King was backward in granting conditions, by reaſon of the proſperity of his affairs in *Bourgongne*; but alſo the Duke of *Mayenne*, according to the variation of hopes varied alſo his determinations, and without proceeding further, would have had a Truce eſtabliſhed, to expect (as he ſaid) the Popes reſolution, and (as the Kings ſaid) the reſolution of King *Philip*; and finally, the revolt of thoſe Towns having hapned on the one ſide, and on the other, the Conſtable being come, the Treaty diſſolved without concluſion; and the King having left the Prince of *Conti* to govern *Paris*, and with him the Count of *Schombergh* to counſel him, was come to *Troyes* upon the thirtieth of *May*, to draw his Army together in that place, and to march thence whither need ſhould require. Thither the earneſt deſires of the Mareſchal *de Biron* came unto him, who ſolicited him to march ſpeedily to *Dijon*; wherefore, without interpoſing any delay, he, with the Troops that were with him, having left order that the reſt ſhould follow, took his way, with all haſte, toward *Bourgongne*, having with him the Count of *Auvergne*, the Duke *de la Tremouille*, the Marquiſs *de Piſany*, the Count *de Torigny*, the Chevalier *d' Oyſe*, the Marquiſſes of *Treſnel*, and *Mirepoix*, and the Sieurs *de Chiverny*, *Liancourt*, *Vitry*, *Montigny*, *d' Inteville*, and *de la Curee*.

Being come to *Dijon* upon the fourth of *June*, he preſently gave order, that both the Caſtles ſhould be beleagured, ſetting the Count *de Torigny* to beſiege that of the City, and the Baron of St. *Blancard*, Brother to the Mareſchal *de Biron*, to take in the Caſtle of *Talan*; but becauſe to ſhut up the Caſtle round about was a work of many dayes, all the Infantry not being yet come up (which could not march ſo faſt as he had done) the King reſolved to advance with the major part of Cavalry towards the Spaniſh Camp; for, having intelligence, that the Conſtable had caſt two Bridges over the River *Saone* at *Gray*, to paſs all his Army at once, and come to raiſe the ſiege of the Caſtles, he hoped to foreſlow him, till ſuch time that all his men were come up, and the Trenches brought to perfection. The Duke of *Mayenne* had likewiſe, partly with reaſon, partly with authority, partly by entreaty perſwaded the Conſtable to advance to recover the City of *Dijon*, telling him, that the Mareſchal *de Biron*'s Forces were much inferior to his, and that the Caſtles, in which the ſum of affairs conſiſted, afforded them a very eaſie way to drive out the Enemies; and though the Conſtable (a Lord of high birth, and great riches, but ſmall experience in the affairs of War) was very

The King comes to *Dijon*, and gives order, that both the Caſtles be beſieged.

The Conſtable of *Caſtile*, perſwaded by the Duke of *Mayenne*, advances with his Army to attempt the recovery of *Dijon*.

1595. very unwilling to do it, yet his confidence in the Dukes prudence and valor, and his not knowing that the King was ſo near, had induced him to yield unto it; wherefore, having paſſed the River the day before with his whole Army, he had quartered himſelf in the Villages on this ſide of the River, eight Leagues from *Dijon*. Things being in this condition, and neither the Conſtable, nor the Duke of *Mayenne* knowing of the Kings being come, he, without loſing time, upon the ſeventh of *June* in the morning departed from the City with Twelve hundred Gentlemen, and Curaſſiers, and Six hundred Harquebuſiers on horſ-back, and gave order that all ſhould march toward *Luz*, he being to break his faſt that morning at the houſe of the Baron of that Town, and to ſtay there for ſome intelligence of the Enemies moving: *Luz* ſtands upon the confines of *Bourgongne*, and of the *Franche Comte*, four Leagues from *Gray*, and as much from *Dijon*; ſo that he was in the way between the City and the Spaniſh Camp, between which and *Gray* there was nothing but the current of the River; As ſoon as the King was come to the place appointed, and not meeting that intelligence he expected, to know what the enemy did, he ſent forth the Baron *d' Oſſonville*, with Sixty Light-horſe, to diſcover and to bring him back the certainty of all things; and he, reſting his men, and refreſhing his horſes at leaſure, gave order, that at three of the clock in the afternoon all ſhould meet at *Fontain-Francoiſe*, a village upon the edge of his confines, there to diſpoſe of themſelves according to the information he ſhould receive. It was not yet noon, when he and the Mareſchal *de Biron*, with Three hundred horſe went that way to be upon the Rendevouz firſt of all, to order and diſpoſe the Forces as they came one after the other, but when he was two miles from *Fontain-Francoiſe*, he ſaw three Horſemen come full gallop towards him, who brought word, that the Baron *d' Oſſonville* being charg'd with Three hundred Horſe of the League, was forced to retire, not having been able to diſcover any thing, and that he deſired relief, that he might be able to withſtand the greater Forces of the enemy; The King not knowing what to believe, whether the 300 Horſe were the enemies Vanguard, or elſe but ſome party that was ſcouring the Campagne, ſent forth the Mareſchal *de Biron*, and the Baron *de Luz*, and the Marquiſs *de Mirabeau* followed by 60 horſe, to ſuccor *Oſſonville*, and to know matters more certainly; who, advancing at a large trot, out of haſte to recover *Oſſonville*, as ſoon as he was out of *Fontain-Francoiſe*, diſcovered a Troop of 60 light-horſe which were upon the ſteep of the hill, juſt upon the way that led to S. *Seine*, a village that ſtood upon the great Road which led ſtraight to the River *Saone*; wherefore he reſolved (without doubting) to charge them, and to advance to the top of the hill, from whence he thought he might diſcover all the Countrey: nor was it hard for him to obtain his intent; for the light-horſe received the charge without oppoſition, and left them the hill free, which, as ſoon as he was gotten upon, he diſcovered the whole Spaniſh Army at a diſtance, which marching in its ranks, was coming to quarter at S. *Seine*, ſtanding in a Plain, which on the right ſide is bounded with a hill, and on the other is covered with a Wood; wherefore, being deſirous to carry back certain news of the quality and order of the enemy, he reſolved to advance, that he might have means diſtinctly to obſerve the march and order of that Camp; but he was no ſooner deſcended into the Plain, when he ſaw the enemies Three hundred Horſe, who having routed and purſued *Oſſonville*, came reſolutely towards him: The Mareſchal knowing himſelf inferior in ſtrength, thought to retire without doing any more, giving the Baron *de Luz* order to make a ſtand in the Reer with twenty of his men, and endeavor to detain the enemies, if they ſhould come up to moleſt him; which the Baron courageouſly performing, their fury came upon his back with ſo much violence, that being overthrown with his horſe, and four of his men ſlain, who gallantly faced about, the reſt were conſtrained to gallop away: Wherefore, the Mareſchal being likewiſe forced to face about towards the enemy, fell in furiouſly to diſ-ingage the Baron, who, having freed himſelf from his horſe, and much more difficulty from the enemy, had got over a ditch and came towards him with his Sword and Piſtol in his hand: The encounter was very ſharp and furious in the beginning; but the Mareſchal who fought without a head-piece, being wounded with a ſlaſh in the head almoſt at the very firſt, and ſome of his men being ſlain and trampled under foot by the fury of the enemy, he began, by reaſon of the inequality of the Forces, to be in extream danger of being defeated; yet was he not at all diſmaid, nor did he ſlacken the ardor wherewith he fought, being accompanied by the Baron *d' Oſſonville*, who again was joyned with him, and the Baron *de Luz*, who was fortunately

The Baron *d'Oſſonville* ſent forth to diſcover the Army of the League, is charged, and conſtrained to retire.

The Mareſchal *de Biron* going to receive the Baron *d'Oſſonville*, puts a Troop of the Enemies Cavalry to flight.

The Mareſchal *de Biron* being without his head-piece, is wounded in the head.

nately gotten again on horſe-back, till at the ſame time there appeared out of the Village, and out of the Wood eight Squadrons of the enemies horſe, which ſeparating themſelves from the Army, came a round pace towards him; wherefore, having ſomething repreſſed the firſt violence of them, who charged him firſt, he turned his bridle, and rallying his men, began to retire, galloping to get to *Fontaine-Francoiſe*, where he believed the King to be already come, with all the reſt of his Forces: But the hour aſſigned for the Rendezvous was not yet come, wherefore the King, though he had with him onely Two hundred horſe of the Nobility, and ſixty Harquebuſiers on horſe-back that were come up before the reſt; and though he had no other Arms on but his back and breſt, yet was he neceſſitated to advance, and receive the Mareſchal *de Biron*, who was hotly purſued at the heels by a much greater number of the enemies. 1595.

The King, half diſarmed, ſuccors the Mareſchal *de Biron*.

The firſt Troops of the League were led by *Louis d' Hudan* Sieur *de Villers*, and Captain *Giovan Battiſta Sanſoni* a *Milaneſe*; the firſt one of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s field Mareſchals; the ſecond, Lieutenant of the Conſtables Light-horſe: the other French Troops were commanded by the Sieur *de Teniſſay*, and the Baron *de Tianges*, and the *Italian* and *Bourguingnon* Light-horſe, by Don *Roderigo Bellino*, and the Marquiſs *de Varambone*. An hundred Carabines marched firſt to begin the charge, and after the other Squadrons followed the Duke of *Mayenne*, with a body of *Gens d' Armes*. The King was put upon a neceſſity of fighting with all this fury of the enemies, and his Forces being not yet come up, he cloſed upon the right hand with the Dukes *de la Tremouille*, and *d' Elbœuf*, the Baron *de Termes*, and the Sieur *de la Curee*; and, upon his left hand the Mareſchal *de Biron*, though weary and wounded, with the Baron of *Oſſonville* and *Lux*; and with the Marquiſs *de Mirabeau*. Monſieur *de Villers* with his Squadron charged that part where the Mareſchal *de Biron* was; and *Giovan Battiſta Sanſoni* fell upon the other where the King himſelf was; but with different fortune, though they fought with equal courage on both ſides; for Monſieur *de Villers* at laſt beat back the Troops of *Oſſonville* and *Lux*, and forced the Mareſchal to retire as far as *Fountaine-Francoiſe*; but on the other ſide where the King was, new Troops of Gentry and Cavalry coming up ſtraglingly every minute, who, having heard the danger he was in, advanced with all poſſible ſpeed to aſſiſt him; *Sanſoni* was killed with five wounds, and his horſe being routed and diſperſed, were driven back, even to the laſt Squadron of the enemy; Nor could the Sieur *de Villers* proſecute the victory on his ſide; for having received a ſhot in his arm, he was likewiſe conſtrained to retire; For all this the King's danger leſſened not, for the Baron *de Tianges* and the Sieur *de Teniſſay* advanced with freſh and numerous Squadrons to charge, and the ſame did the Marquiſs *Varambone*, and *Roderico Bellino*, in that place where the Mareſchal *de Biron* fought; ſo that being very much inferiour in number, their men wearied, and their horſes haggled out and tired, they were almoſt in a certain danger of being overcome; yet the King, with his voice even hoarſe, and with the example of his own valour, encouraging every one; and the Mareſchal *de Biron* all bloody, and covered with ſweat and duſt, charging deſperately among the firſt, they prevailed ſo far, that each fighting beyond his own power, and above his own ſtrength, they gave time to the reſt who were upon the way to come up; amongſt which, the firſt were the Count of *Auvergne*, Monſieur *de Vitry*, and after them the Count *de Chiverny*, the Chevalier *d'Oyſe*, and the Monſieur *d' Inteville*; At the arrival of theſe (after whom the whole Army was believed to follow) the Duke of *Mayenne* cauſed the Troops to withdraw from the fight, and the King ſeeing it was no time to think of any other ſafety than what courage afforded, followed them with a gallant skirmiſh to the Plain and Wood of S. *Seine*, where they met the Spaniſh and German Infantry, which advancing valiantly in two diviſions, came to give their charge: when they appeared, the King drew back his bridle, and the D of *Mayenne* having rallied all his Horſe into one great body, made ſhew as if he would charge him: but the King's Troops were already arrived; whereupon the number of the Cavalry was not much different, and the Conſtable of *Caſtile* riding up to the head of the Army, commanded his men to make an halt, being reſolved not to hazard all his Forces, and all the *Franche Compte* to the danger of a Battel: wherefore, it being already late, the King began to retire with a gentle pace toward *Fontaine-Francoiſe*; and the Enemy, though at firſt, to conſerve their reputation, they made ſhew that they would follow him, retired alſo without doing any thing elſe.

The King follows the Forces of the League, which retire ſtill skirmiſhing.

The Conſtable of *Caſtile*, not to hazard the *Franche Comte* by a Battel, makes a halt, having reſolved not to fight.

The Conſtable retires with his Forces, though the Duke of *Mayenne* labours to the contrary.

The Spaniards lay that night at S. *Seine*, the King's Forces at *Fountaine-Francoiſe*, and his own perſon at *Lux*, having that day run one of the greateſt dangers that befell

1595. fell him in all the revolutions of the paſt Wars; in which he ought to acknowledge his ſafety, no leſs to his own valour, than the courage of thoſe were with him, among which, after *Biron*, the principal praiſes were given to Marquiſs *de Mirabeau*, the Count *de Grammont*, and the Sieur *de la Curee*: In this encounter, which fame publiſhed to be much greater than the truth, there were kill'd about forty on the Spaniards ſide, and of the King's above ſixty; the wounded were many more, nor fewer were the number of thoſe that were taken priſoners on both ſides: each party laboured to draw the fame of the victory and the honor of that day unto it ſelf; the Spaniſh Commanders, becauſe the number of the ſlain and priſoners were greater on the Kings ſide; the French, becauſe they remained Maſters of the field, and likewiſe of the dead bodies, and becauſe they made the enemies retire to their very quarters. But that which confirmed the victory on their ſide, was, the determination of the Conſtable, who, having heard from the Priſoners, that the King himſelf was there, and had been in the fight, reſolved (though the Duke of *Mayenne* laboured much to the contrary) not to paſs any further; and the next morning having cauſed his Army to repaſs the River, went to lye in a place of advantage, having *Gray* behind his Camp, and the obſtacle of the River before it. The King advanced the next morning with all his Cavalry, to ſee which way the Enemies would move, and being come to the hill from whence he diſcovered the Plain, and the Village of St. *Seine*; he ſtood there a long time in Battalia, not ſeeing the retreat of the Spaniards, in reſpect of the Wood, and of the oppoſite hill; nor would the King, being without his Foot, in a various Country, full of advantageous places, and not well known unto his men, put himſelf into the danger of falling into ſome great Ambuſcado; but it being already paſt noon, the Sieur *de Tremblecourt*, and *d' Oſſonville*, with a few horſe, went up to the very entry of S. *Seine*, where certain Peaſants that were working in the Fields told them of the retreat of the Army, whereof having ſpeedily informed the King, he advanced at a round trot to fall upon the Enemies Rere; but he found that already they were all ſafely paſt the River, and the boats taken away, upon which they had made two Bridges; wherefore, having ſcowred and beaten the wayes along the banks of the River, he returned that night to his quarters at *Lux*, and the next morning went to *Dijon* to haſten the Siege of the two Caſtles.

The Duke of *Mayenne* on the other ſide, not having been able to perſwade the Conſtable to ſtay beyond the River, began to intreat him, to let him have ſome number of men, wherewith he might go and defend his own in *Bourgongne*; but neither was it poſſible for him to obtain that; for the Conſtable, who was come onely to defend the *Franche Comte*, thought he had done enough in recovering *Vezu*, and all the other Towns the French had gotten poſſeſſion of, and would no more put himſelf to the arbitrement of fortune, ſo much the rather, becauſe his want of experience in Military matters, made him very much to fear, every ſmall encounter; and though he had a great Army about him, he thought not himſelf ſecure from the celerity and courage of the King of *France*; beſides the continual Treaty the Duke of *Mayenne* held of making his peace with the King, rendred him ſuſpected to the Conſtable, and to all the Spaniſh Miniſters, nor would they truſt any thing of moment to his fidelity: wherefore (ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of all ſuccor; and that the Conſtable, being grounded upon good reaſons, was not like to change his reſolution) he determined at laſt to cloſe up the treaty of agreement, and ſo much the rather, becauſe he was advertiſed by his Agents at *Rome*, that the Pope manifeſtly inclined to the Kings abſolution; and therefore having ſent the Sieur *de Liguerac* to *Dijon*, he concluded upon theſe terms; That he leaving the Spaniſh Camp, ſhould retire to *Chalons*, upon the River *Saone* in the ſame Province of *Bourgongne*, where, without uſing Arms, he ſhould expect the event of the deliberation at *Rome*; and that on the other ſide, the King ſhould not any way moleſt him, nor any of his followers, nor ſhould attempt any thing upon *Chalons*, and that in the mean time, while the Advertiſements came from *Italy* concerning the abſolution of the King, the difficulties ſhould be ſmoothed, and the conditions agreed upon, wherewith the Duke ſhould turn unto the Kings obedience. This truce or ſuſpenſion of Arms being eſtabliſhed, the Duke (making as if he had a minde to relieve the Caſtles of *Dijon*) departed from the Conſtables Camp with the French troops, and went ſtraight to *Chalons*, where preſently the Kings Deputies arrived to conclude the agreement, and he gave order to the Viſcount *de Tavanes* and the Governor of the Caſtle of *Dijon*, to ſurrender both the Caſtles without delay.

The Duke of *Mayenne* ſeeing himſelf forſaken by the Spaniards, and advertiſed that the Pope inclined to the abſolution of the King, makes an agreement with him.

But

But the King having diſpatched that enterpriſe, reſolved to go into the *Franche Compte*, to attempt ſomething againſt the Conſtables Army, and with Seven thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe marched towards the River *Saone*. The Conſtable lay ſtill at *Gray*, thinking it a very convenient place to hinder the paſſing of the River, and to turn which way ſoever the French Army ſhould move; which being quartered at *S. Seine*, fought all the banks for many dayes, without finding an opportunity to paſs; but, it being already the month of *July*, and the waters of the *Saone* very much fallen; by reaſon of the time of the year, the Sieurs *de Tremblecourt*, and *d' Oſſonville*, who attempted all manner of means to paſs, found that the River was fordable in a certain place about three miles from *Gray*, which was guarded onel by One hundred Spaniſh firelocks; wherefore, upon the eleventh of *July* in the morning they appeared upon that Paſs, with Two hundred Curaſſiers, and Five hundred Harquebuſiers on Horſ-back, and began to try the Ford where the River was ſhalloweſt. The Spaniſh firelocks oppoſed them, and bravely reſiſting, hindred the Enemies paſſage with their utmoſt power; but having no more Ammunition then what they carried in their Flasks, after they had fought for the ſpace of half an hour, they were neceſſitated to retire; at which, the French taking courage, paſſed reſolutely to the other Bank of the River, and after them the Count *d' Auvergne*, and the Mareſchal *de Biron* with Five hundred Horſe more: The news of the Enemies paſſing was already come to the Spaniſh Camp, and the Foot that had fought there, murmuring at the unskilfulneſs of their Commanders, who had left them without Ammunition, retired towards their Quarters, when *Hercole Gonſaga* advanced with the firſt Squadrons of Horſe to beat back the French, and make them repaſs the River, being not believed to be many in number; but having found the truth to be different from what they thought, after the firſt volley he could not withhold his men from yielding to the greater number, though he fighting valiantly, and ſharply rebuking thoſe that turned their backs, did the Office of a very gallant Commander. *Cavalliere Lodovico Melzi* followed with another Troop of Horſe, and having avoided the Incounter of the firſt, who precipitately ran away, fell in couragiouſly to oppoſe the enemy; but the French were ſo much ſtronger, there coming up new Troops of Horſe every minute to reinforce them, that it was not poſſible for him to ſtop their fury, but being routed and diſperſed, fell foul upon the laſt ſquadron of Horſe, wherewith Don *Alfonſo Idiaques* came to ſecond him, in ſuch manner, that the Squadrons mingling confuſedly with one another, being juſtled and diſordered by the violence of thoſe that fled, they that came up to charge, began likewiſe to run away without ſtop; in which flight, it being neceſſary to paſs a great Ditch full of water and dirt, to come to the quarters of the Army, the diſorder proved ſo great, that many precipitated themſelves into the Ditch; and many, not to incur the danger of being thrown down and trampled under foot, fell into the power of the French; among which, *Don Alonſo Idiaques*, his horſe having fallen under him, was unfortunately taken priſoner by the Sieur *de Chauliot*, and was fain afterwards to compound for a ranſome of Twenty thouſand duckets. The French ſeeing the Conſtable's Infantry drawn up on the other ſide of the ditch, ſtopped their purſuit, and ſtayed for the King; who, having paſt with all his Army, lodged in the neareſt Villages two miles from the Enemies Camp.

1595.

The King goes into the *Franche Comte* to moleſt the Spaniards.

The French paſs the River *Saone* at a Ford, and the Spaniards that lay to defend the Paſs, for want of Ammunition, were forced to leave it and retire.

The Spaniard's are routed and diſperſed.

Don *Alonſo Idiaques* taken priſoner.

By theſe two great diſorders the Spaniards gave the King of *France* liberty to paſs; for there was no doubt, but if the Foot that guarded the Paſs had been more in number, and better provided with Ammunition, they would have hindred the firſt that came over, in reſpect of the difficulty of the paſſage, and the height of the banks of the River; and after they were paſt, if all the Cavalry had advanced in order to beat them back, it is moſt certain, they would either have totally defeated them, or made them repaſs to the other ſide of the River: but coming up diſorderly, and in a manner ſcatteringly, they gave the French opportunity to conquer, and put themſelves in danger of being utterly cut off; and therefore knowing Soldiers cannot endure thoſe raſh runnings out of the trenches of Camps, without order or conſideration, at every little call of a Trumpet; and that which the inexpert count boldneſs and reſolution, they, with very good reaſon call raſhneſs and ignorance.

But the King of *France* his paſſage, made with ſo much fortune or valour, produced little effect; for the Conſtable keeping himſelf in his wonted quarter excellently fortified, and placed between *Gray* and the current of the *Saone*, the King not having power to force it, and not being in a condition to aſſault it, went on the other ſide to make incurſions,

1595. incurſions, and ſpoil the Country, and ſpent the time without receiving any fruit, ſave that *Beſancon*, a Town no way ſtrong nor tenable againſt his Army, to free it-ſelf from danger, compounded for many thouſands of Duckets. In the mean time the King's Camp was full of many dangerous diſeaſes, whereof, being in an enemies Country, and in the exerciſe of Arms, there died very many, among which was the Count *de Torigny*, who had the Office of Field-Mareſchal: For which reaſon, and becauſe there came every day ill news from *Picardie*, the Cantons of the Switzers interpoſing as common friends, and particular Protectors of the *Franche Compte*, the wonted neutrality was eſtabliſhed in that Province, which the King going out of, went to *Dijon*, and the Conſtable *Velaſco* having left part of his Army, returned with the reſt to his Government of *Milan*.

The Princeſs of *Conde* being dexterouſly referred by the King unto the Parliament of *Paris*, concerning an imputation laid upon her, of being privy to her husbands death, is cleared thereof by the Parliament, having promiſed firſt to turn Catholick, and that her Son ſhould be inſtructed in the ſame Religion.

At *Dijon*, the buſineſs of the Hugonots ſtill troubling the King, and he deſiring, for his own ſecurity, and for the Pope's ſatisfaction, to get the Prince of *Conde* out of their hands, cauſed a Petition to be preſented by the kinſmen of the Princeſs his Mother, wherein, relating in her name the imputation that had been laid upon her, of having been privy to the death of the Prince her Husband, and the ſentence that had been given againſt her by Judges that were not competent, nor capable to ſentence her, they demanded, that ſhe, having till then been kept in priſon, at S. *Jehan d' Angely*, the King diſanulling the firſt ſentence, would be pleaſed to grant, that the Parliament of *Paris*, a natural and competent Judge, might hear her cauſe, and, having diſcuſſed the proofs, give ſentence upon it: to which Petition the King anſwered, That if the Princeſſes Kinſmen would oblige themſelves to put her into the power of the Parliament of *Paris*, he would diſanul and make void the ſentence that had been given, and would refer the caſe to the aforeſaid Parliament, into whoſe power the Princeſs was to be delivered within the ſpace of four months. This ſerved for a colour and excuſe to take away ſuſpicion from the Hugonots, to deprive them of power to detain the perſon of the Princeſs and of her Son. And the King ſent the Marquiſs *de Piſani* to *S. Jehan*, who, though the Hugonots murmured at it, brought them both away to *Paris*, where the Princeſs having declared, that ſhe would live for the time to come in the Catholick Religion, was abſolved by the Parliament of that imputation that had been layed againſt her; the Prince of *Conde* remaining not only in the King's power, but inſtructed and bred up in the Catholick Religion.

The Duke of *Montmorancy* came likewiſe to the City of *Dijon*, and there took poſſeſſion of his Office of Conſtable; the Hugonots being thus deprived of thoſe props, wherewith they had deſigned to uphold themſelves. The Pope was by theſe lively effects very much confirmed of the King's ſincerity, who already was wholly averſe from them, and wholly intent to ſecure the State of Religion within his obedience; He ſhewed the ſame inclination by the ſtrict orders, and particular Commiſſions which he had given to reſtore the uſe of the Maſs in all thoſe places from whence it had been taken; and he laboured continually in ſeeking means to reſtore the eſtates of the Clergy poſſeſſed by others, which, by reaſon of the difficulty of the matter, proved very hard and troubleſome; for the Lords and Gentlemen, who, in reward of their ſervices had obtained them, and had already poſſeſſed them a great while, could hardly be brought to leave them without equivalent recompences; which, by reaſon of the number of the pretenders, and the narrowneſs of affairs, in a time of ſo great diſtraction, it was not poſſible to ſatisfie; yet the King, with infinite patience and dexterity ſtudied how to compoſe things, ſo that if he could not altogether, he did at leaſt in part ſatisfie the Clergy, though of neceſſity many of the principal of them could not be abſolutely contented; but diſcreet perſons commended both the King's inclinations, and dexterous manner of finding a way to compoſe intereſts that were ſo oppoſitely diverſe and repugnant.

The Pope almoſt aſſured of the Kings ſincerity, inclines towards him, and ſhews himſelf averſe from others.

Theſe things brought by fame unto the Court of *Rome*, did opportunely promote the King's intereſts; but much more were they helped on by the contrary circumſtances, which troubled the mind of the Pope, and of that Court; for Schiſm was in a manner totally ſetled; the Parliament continued diligently to hinder, that none ſhould go ſue for Benefices at *Rome*, and whoſoever procured any by ſuch ſutes, did not certainly obtain the poſſeſſion of them; the King, by ſome one of the great Council, did ſtill diſpatch Spiritual *Oeconomies* to the Biſhopricks, and other cures of Souls that were vacant; the name of the Apoſtolick See ſeemed to be utterly forgotten; and the King's Forces proſpering, it was doubted he would demand Abſolution no more; the Duke of

*Nevers*

*Nevers* having ſaid publickly at his departure, that they ſhould not look to have any more Ambaſſadors ſent to *Rome:* wherefore though the Treaty was ſet on foot again by means of Cardinal *Gondi*, and that *d' Oſſat* continued to treat with *Sanneſio*, and with Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, yet the Pope fearing the miſchief that was imminent, and conſidering the example of other States that had withdrawn themſelves from the obedience of the Apoſtolick See was wonderful anxious, by reaſon of the danger of this diviſion. To this was added the Kings confederacy contracted with the States of *Holland*; and the League which was ſtill in treaty with *England*; whereupon it was doubted that ſo near confederacy being made with Hereticks, Religion would in ſome part be injured by it. That which the more incited the Pope, was the ſharp War made by the Turk in *Hungary*; for being conſtrained to think of the progreſs of the common Enemy on that ſide, he deſired to appeaſe the tumults of *France*, that he might turn all his Forces for the maintenance and benefit of the Commonweal of Chriſtians; for all theſe reaſons being reſolved within himſelf to condeſcend to the Kings benediction, to which he thought himſelf obliged in Conſcience, he began to think of ſoftning the Catholick King; and therefore beſides ſatisfying him in all his demands, he reſolved to ſend his Nephew *Giovan Franceſco Aldobrandino* into *Spain* under colour of treating of the affairs of *Hungary*, but withal to negotiate the abſolution of *France*; to which he laboured to bring the King of *Spain* gently, by ſhewing that he depended much upon his conſent: In the mean time by the means of Monſieur *d' Oſſat*, he ſecretly let the King know that things were already ripe, and that if he ſent new Miniſters to treat, the abſolution perchance might be concluded. 1595.

The Pope ſends his Nephew *Giovan Franceſco Aldobrandino* into *Spain*, to treat of the affairs of *Hungary*, and alſo of the Kings abſolution.

The King deſirous to reconcile himſelf fully to the Church, thought at firſt to ſend a gallant Embaſſy; but being informed of the Popes intention, who deſired that the buſineſs ſhould paſs privately, and with terms of very great ſubmiſſion, he determined to ſend only *Jaques Davy* Sieur *du Perron*, who ſhould treat of matters together with *d' Oſſat*, being alſo deſirous in caſe the buſineſs ſhould not take effect, that the manner of treating might not make it the more eminent and remarkable. Theſe men ſeaſonably making uſe of the conjuncture of preſent affairs, managed the Kings intentions modeſtly and dexterouſly, ſhewing no leſs the proſperouſneſs of his enterprizes, which at laſt had gained him the whole Kingdom; than his Piety and moſt ardent affection towards Religion, from whence proceeded his infinite patience, hardened to bear ſo many repulſes as had been given him by the Pope. But thoſe that were well verſed in the affairs of the World, gave looſe reins to their diſcourſe concerning thoſe very things which much troubled the Pope, and ſaid freely through the Court, that in the end the Kings patience would turn into fury, and that having ſubdued his Enemies, and made himſelf a peaceable Maſter of his Eſtate, it was to be doubted he would care but little to reconcile himſelf to the Pope, or rather it was to be feared, that with a dangerous Schiſm in the Church of God, he would attempt to revenge ſo many paſt injuries and perſecutions; and upon theſe points they repeated and alleadged thoſe reaſons, for which it was juſt and convenient to receive and ſatisfie him: The Pope being between two contrary reſpects, one not to alienate nor offend the Catholick King: the other not to loſe the obedience of the Kingdom of *France*, went very warily, and endeavoured, that time, the courſe of things, patience and dexterity might unlooſe that ſo difficult and ſo dangerous knot: He knew that thoſe that took part with the King of *France* had reaſon on their ſide; that at length there was enough ſaid, and enough done, to aſſure the ſincerity of his Converſion, and that by ſtanding firm againſt ſo many repulſes, he had merited the pardon and reconciliation of the Church: but on the other ſide he doubted the Spaniards might upbraid him, that they had been more conſtant, and more jealous Defenders of the Majeſty of Religion than he, and he thought it very hard to alienate King *Philip* an ancient and confirmed Defender of the Church, for a Prince, which, till then, had ever been an Enemy, and a Perſecutor of it; to this was added, that the merits of the King of *Spain* towards the Apoſtolick See, and the many enterprizes he had done for the ſervice of Chriſtendom and of Religion, had gotten him ſo great authority in the Roman Church, that it ſeemed not fit for the Pope to determine a matter of ſo great conſequence, without his liking and conſent.

Monſignor *Seraſino* tells the Pope that *Clement* the Seventh loſt *England*, and *Clement* the Eighth would loſe *France*.

But whilſt the Pope dexterouſly protracts this determination, the Kings Forces gaining every day greater power, and greater fame, conſtrained him to come to a concluſion; and the words of Monſignor *Seraſino* wrought much upon him; who diſcourſing

1595. often with him, and, according to his wonted liberty, mingling jeſts with ſerious matters, being asked by the Pope what the Court ſaid about that buſineſs; anſwered, That it was now a common ſaying, that Clement *the Seventh hath loſt* England, *and* Clement *the Eighth would loſe* France: which conceit having pierced deeply into the Popes mind, ſpurred on by the evidence of reaſon, and the effectual ſollicitations of the Venetian and Florentine Ambaſſadors, he determided to take his reſolution upon his Nephews relation, who aſſured him that in *Spain* mens minds were no longer ſo ardent as they were wont to be in the affairs of *France*, and that being exceedingly exhauſted of money, and weary of the War, they would make no great ſtir at the determination of *Rome*, though they yet ſhewed perſeverance, deſiring that the reſolutions of his *Holineſs* might be protracted for ſome few days more, out of a deſire to better their own conditions, than out of any hope they had that the King of *France* at laſt ſhould not obtain abſolution: wherefore the Pope taking courage, after he had oftentimes felt the pulſe of the Duke of *Saſſa*, the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, upon that point, he at laſt could not but tell him, that the taking a courſe about the affairs of *France* could no longer be deferred, and that therefore he was reſolved to hear the opinions of the Cardinals about it, to the end that with their advice he might determine what ſhould be thought moſt convenient. The Duke of *Seſſa* believed that the Pope would hear and gather the Votes of the Cardinals in the wonted Conſiſtory, and in the wonted manner, and knowing that many of them depended upon the will of the Catholick King, and that many others of themſelves diſſented from the King of *France* his Abſolution, did not argue much upon that particular, becauſe upon a diligent ſcrutiny of the Votes, he was of opinion that the Abſolution would not paſs in the Conſiſtory, and he was certain the Pope would not do contrary to what the plurality of Votes ſhould determine: But *Clement*, who would not refer a thing of ſo great weight, managed till then with infinite dexterity, to multiplicity of opinions, which if they ſhould be laid open, would appear to be guided with particular intereſts and reſpects, after he had brought the Catholick Kings Ambaſſadors not to refuſe that the buſineſs ſhould be put in conſultation, went not the ordinary way, but having called the Conſiſtory, after he had read the Kings Letters and Supplications, declared that he would hear the counſel of the Cardinals about them; yet not briefly and confuſedly at one only time, but that they ſhould one by one come into his Chamber, where no other body being preſent, he would hear them privately; and gave them charge that they ſhould come four every day ſeverally to private audience, and to diſcourſe with him concerning the preſent buſineſs. The Pope (ſhwing by this prudent manner, that he would exclude all private reſpects, and give the Cardinals confidence to tell their opinions freely, without fear that they ſhould be diſcovered) reſerved unto himſelf the arbitrement of the determination, being able, when all had ſpoken, to declare what pleaſed him beſt, and to ſay in which opinion the major part of Votes concurred, ſo that none might be able to oppoſe or contradict: and juſt ſo it came to paſs; for having firſt cauſed ſolemn prayers to be made in every Church of the City, and having in himſelf ſhewed ſigns of profound and ſingular devotion, he, for the ſpace of many days, heard the Cardinals one by one; and finally, being all met in the Conſiſtory, he ſaid he had heard the opinions of all the Cardinals, and that two thirds of them voted that the King of *France* ſhould be abſolved from Cenſures, and received into the boſom of the Church; and that therefore he would treat with the Kings Procurators, and in his Name impoſe upon them thoſe penances and thoſe conditions which he ſhould think moſt profitable and advantageous for the ſervice of God, and the exaltation of the Church. Cardinal *Marc Antonio Colonna* would have contradicted, and ſtanding up, began already to ſpeak; but the Pope impoſed him ſilence, ſaying, It had been ſufficiently conſulted of already, and determined with the plurality of Votes; and therefore he did not mean that ſhould be any more put into diſputation, which had once been ordered and decided.

The Pope that he might have the more free and ſecure opinion of the College of Cardinals, reſolves to hear them privately one by one.

The Pope in the Conſiſtory declares, that two thirds of the Cardinals had voted the abſolution of *Henry* the IV. and that therefore he was reſolved to treat with his Procurators about it.

In this manner having diſmiſt the Conſiſtory, the Pope betook himſelf to treat with the Kings Procurators concerning the Conditions, which already had been debated many days by the means of Cardinal *Toledo*, who though a Spaniard by birth, and a Jeſuite by Profeſſion, yet either becauſe his Conſcience did ſo perſwade him, or for ſome other reaſon, was favourably inclined to the Kings affairs; and though he laboured much, becauſe the Pope would needs declare that abſolution *Null* that had been given him by the French Prelates at St. *Denis*, and the King ſtood to have it approved and confirmed

confirmed by his accompliſhment, and becauſe many things oppoſed the publication of the Council of *Trent*, which the Pope by all means urged to have; and moſt of all becauſe the Pope preſſed to have the Decree made in favour of the Hugonots to be broken and diſanulled, which could not be done without ſtirring up new Wars; yet ſuch was the dexterity and prudence of the Kings Procurators, and ſuch the moderation of the Pope, that with convenient words and clauſes all things were ſet right in ſuch manner, that the reputation of the Catholick See was kept whole, and the King was not put into a neceſſity of new perturbations. 1595.

Things being ſetled and concluded, the Pope, upon the 16th day of *September*, went with all the Cardinals in their Pontifical habits into the Porch of St. *Peter*'s, where he ſitting in the Throne prepared for that purpoſe, and incompaſſed with all the Cardinals, except *Aleſſandrino* and *Aragon*, who were not preſent at that ſolemnity; *Jaques Davy* and *Arnaud d' Oſſat* appeared in the habit of private Prieſts, and holding the Kings Proxy in their hands, upon their knees preſented the petition to the Secretary of the *Holy Office*, which being publickly read, the Secretary ſtanding at the foot of the Throne, pronounced the Popes Decree, which containing the narrative of the whole buſineſs, did appoint and ordain that *Henry* of *Bourbon*, King of *France* and *Navarre*, ſhould be abſolved from Cenſures, and received into the boſom of the Church, being at that preſent obliged to abjure all Hereſies held formerly by him, to undergo the publick penance that ſhould be enjoined him, and obſerve the conditions eſtabliſhed by his Holineſs, which were theſe following: That the Catholick Religion ſhould be introduced into the Principality of *Bearne*, and four Monaſteries of Friers and Nuns founded there: That the Council of *Trent* ſhould be received in the whole Kingdom of *France*, except in thoſe things that might diſturb it, which the Pope was willing to diſpenſe withal: That within the term of one year the Prince of *Condé* ſhould be given to be bred up in the hands of Catholicks: That in the diſpoſing of Benefices and other matters, he ſhould obſerve the courſe agreed upon with the Kings his Predeceſſors, taking away all abuſes: That Catholick perſons, and ſuch as were of exemplary life, ſhould be nominated unto Prelacies: That all lands and goods taken from Churches and Religious places ſhould be reſtored without a judicial way, and without contradiction: That thoſe that were elected into Magiſtracy ſhould be perſons no way ſuſpected of Hereſie, nor ſuch as favoured Hereticks, either directly or indirectly, but ſuch as ſhould not tolerate them, ſave in what could not be done without tumult and War: And that he ſhould give account of his Converſion and Abjuration to all Chriſtian Princes. The ſpiritual penances injoined him were, That every *Sunday* and Holy-day he ſhould hear a Conventual Maſs, either in his own Chappel, or ſome other Church: That, according to the cuſtom of the Kings of *France*, he ſhould hear Maſs every day, and that upon ſome ſet days of the week he ſhould ſay certain prayers: That he ſhould faſt *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and receive the Communion publickly four times in the year.

Upon the 16 of *Sept.* 1595. the Pope in the Porch of St. *Peters* doth with ſolemn Ceremony abſolve *Hen.* IV. from cenſures, and he is received into the boſom of the Church.

The conditions eſtabliſhed at *Rome*, to be obſerved by the King of *France*.

The Procurators accepted the Conditions, and the publick ingroſſments were demanded by them; and then kneeling down at the Gate of St. *Peter*'s Church, they with a loud voice abjured the Hereſies that were contained in a certain Writing; after which Abjuration, being touched upon the head by Cardinal *Santa Severina* the chief Penitentiary with his Rod of Office, they received Abſolution: at which action the Gates of St. *Peter*'s Church were opened, the whole Church reſounded with joyful muſical voices, and the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* with all its Artillery gave ſigns of extraordinary joy and gladneſs: the Procurators clothed in their Prelatical habits were preſent at the Maſs in the wonted place of the French Ambaſſadors; after which they went to St. *Louis* the French Church, where the joys and rejoycings were redoubled; the Court and the people of *Rome* expreſſing infinite contentment, the one being much inclined to favour the French, and the other rejoycing at the re-union of ſo noble and ſo principal a Kingdom.

The Kings Procurators kneeling at the Gate of St. *Peters* Church do with a loud voice abjure the Hereſie of the Kings falſe belief.

The Pope deputed Cardinal *Toledo* Legat to the Kingdom of *France*; but afterward, whatſoever the occaſion was, having changed his mind, he appointed Cardinal *Aleſſandro de Medici*, he who ſucceeded him in the Papacy. The Procurators who had happily brought ſo hard a matter, and of ſo great conſequence unto a concluſion, were at ſeveral times by the ſame Pope created Cardinals, having often publickly ſaid, That the modeſty and prudent managery of them both had overcome thoſe infinite difficulties that aroſe in his mind about the determination of that buſineſs.

Cardinal *Aleſſandro Medici*, who after was Pope *Leo* the XI. is appointed Legat into *France*.

1595. The news of the Abſolution was brought unto the King by *Aleſſandro del Bene*, diſpatched Poſt from *Rome*; who thinking to find him at *Lyons*, arrived there when he was already departed to return to *Paris*: For, having concluded a general Truce with the Duke of *Mayenne* for three months, to the end, that the conditions of Agreement might be conveniently treated of, and the event expected of matters at *Rome*, which went more ſlowly than was believed, the King (having ſetled the affairs of that Province, and given way to treat an Agreement alſo with the Duke of *Nemours*, and his Brother the Marquiſs of St. *Sorlin*) was returned ſpeedily to *Paris*, to attend the buſineſs of *Picardy*, where the Arms of the Spaniards made themſelves be ſharply felt: In which time, the Mareſchal *de Bois Dauphin*, one of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s neareſt dependents ſubmitted himſelf to his obedience: And on the other ſide, the Duke of *Elbœuf* formerly reconciled unto him, had eſtabliſhed a Truce with the Duke of *Mercœur* for *Bretagne*; ſo that all things in all places inclined to favour the Pacification of the Kingdom, ſave only, that on the ſide towards *Flanders*, by reaſon of the new War kindled particularly with the Spaniards, there aroſe by little and little new occaſions of perturbation and trouble.

*The End of the Fourteenth* BOOK.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE Civil Wars of France.

By *HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.*

## The FIFTEENTH BOOK.

### The ARGUMENT.

*THis Book relates the progreſs of the Spaniſh Forces in* Picardy; *the taking and recovery of* Han; *the ſiege of* Caſtelet; *the deſign of the* Conde de Fuentes, *General of the Forces in* Flanders, *to beſiege* Cambray, *the preparations for that purpoſe: To facilitate that enterpriſe, he reſolves to beſiege* Dourlans *firſt, and ſits down before it: The French Commanders on the other ſide prepare themſelves to relieve it; they attempt to put in men, and come to a Battel; the Spaniards get the Victory, and the Admiral* Villars *is ſlain, with many of the Nobility: The Conquerors ſtorm* Dourlans *with a very great ſlaughter: The Spaniſh Army beleaguers* Cambray; *the Duke of* Nevers, *who was arrived a while before for the defence of that Province, ſends his Son the young Duke of* Rhetelois *to relieve the beſieged, who fortunately paſſes thorow the Enemies Camp, and enters the Town. After him the Sieur* de Vic *gets in, and they defend themſelves conſtantly. The people ill ſatisfied with the Government of* Balagny, *who had gotten that Principality, mutiny, make themſelves Maſters of a Gate, and open it to the Spaniards; the French retire into the Cittadel, where finding neither Ammunition nor Victual, they are conſtrained to ſurrender; the* Conde de Fuentes *grants them honourable conditions. The King departing from* Bourgongne, *marches to relieve them, but comes not time enough: He conſults what is beſt to be done, and reſolves to beſiege* la Fere; *there follows an Accommodation with the Duke of* Nemours *and the Duke of* Joyeuſe, *and finally alſo with the Duke of* Mayenne, *who comes to wait upon the King before* la Fere. Albert *Cardinal and Archduke of* Auſtria *comes out of* Spain *to govern the Low-Countries; he puts relief into* la Fere *by means of* Nicolo Baſti; *but the King ſlackens not the ſiege for all that. The Archduke reſolves to try if he could raiſe him by diverſion, and ſuddenly aſſaults* Calais, *and takes it: He obtains* Guines, *lays ſiege to* Ardres, *which yields for want of men to defend it:* la Fere *yields to the King at the ſame time, who finding his Army in an ill condition, reſolves*

1595. *ſolves to disband it. Cardinal* de Medici, *the Pope's Legat, arrives in* France, *and is received there with great honour. An Accommodation is treated with the Duke of* Mercœur, *who artificially prolongs it. The King aſſembles the States in the City of* Rouen *to provide moneys, and ſettle the affairs of his Kingdom; being indiſpoſed, he retires into the quarters about* Paris. *The Spaniards ſurprize* Amiens *the chief City of* Picardy. *The King exceedingly ſtricken with that loſs, reſolves to beſiege it without delay; the varieties of the ſiege and defence are related. The Archduke marches with a very potent Army to relieve that place; the Armies face one another many days, and have divers encounters: The Archduke retires, and the beſieged City ſurrenders. The King makes an incurſion into the County of* Artois; *but becauſe of the Winter and of the Plague, he retires. A Treaty of Agreement between the two Crowns is introduced by the Cardinal-Legat; the Deputies of both parties meet at* Vervins: *The Duke of* Mercœur *ſubmits himſelf unto the Kings Obedience: After ſome defficulties in reſpect of the Duke of* Savoy, *the general Peace is at laſt concluded and publiſhed.*

MAtters of War went not on ſo proſperouſly for the King of *France* in the confines of *Picardy*, as in *Bourgougne*, and the *Franche Comté*; for the Spaniſh Forces ordered by Commanders of experience and reſolution, having found in the French either little unanimity, or much weakneſs; beſides the ſlaughter of men which had happened in divers encounters, had likewiſe made themſelves Maſters of many Towns and places of importance.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, and Count *Philip* of *Naſſaw*, had from the year before proſecuted the War unſucceſsfully in the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, and made divers incurſions into it; where having poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome places of ſmall conſequence, they were ſo ſtreightened by Count *Mansfelt*'s Army, but much more by the inundation of the Rivers, and the exceſſive abundance of waters, that they were neceſſitated to retire, one into the City of *Sedan*, the other by Sea into *Holland*; and though the Duke of *Bouillon* had afterwards in the beginning of the year rais'd the ſiege of *la Ferré* which the Spaniards had laid, yet that was done rather by art, than force, and, except ſome excurſions, things were quietly ſetled on that ſide.

By the death of the Archduke *Erneſt* the Government of the Low-countries is given to the Count *de Fuentes*.

But the Archduke *Erneſt* dying unexpectedly in the beginning of *March*, the *Condé de Fuentes* took the Government of the Low-Countries, who full of Warlike Spirits, and deſirous to reſtore the reputation of the Spaniſh Forces, apply'd his mind with all diligence to reform the Diſcipline of the Militia, which he had ſeen flouriſh glorioufly in the time of the Duke of *Parma*; wherefore Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* being gone to ſerve the Emperour in the War of *Hungary*, he was left alone to the adminiſtration of both Civil and Military affairs, and making uſe of the aſſiſtance of the Sieur *de la Motte*, the Prince of *Avellino*, Monſieur *de Roſne*, and Count *Giovan Giacopo Belgiojoſo*, and Colonel *de la Berlotte*, old experienced Commanders, that were obſervant of Military Diſcipline, he had not only quieted a great part of thoſe that mutinied for want of pay, but alſo reforming and re-ordering the companies of every Nation, and filling them up with old Souldiers, he had brought himſelf into ſuch a condition, that with an Army more valiant than numerous, he might put himſelf upon the attempt of ſome gallant enterpriſe; which whilſt he was contriving in his mind, they of the Province of *Haynault* and of the County of *Artois* propounded unto him the taking of *Cambray*, offering a good number of men, and great contributions in money as ſoon as they ſhould ſee the Army encamped before that City, from whence thoſe Provinces received great and continual damage with the interruption of commerce and the hinderance of tillage. The Archbiſhop of *Cambray* made the ſame requeſt, who having been driven out from the power of that Town, proferred likewiſe money and Souldiers, provided the Spaniards would attempt to recover it. This enterprize ſeemed great and magnificent to the *Condé de Fuentes*, as well by reaſon of the greatneſs and ſplendour of the City and its Territory, as for the glory he ſhould attain thereby; for ſince the time

Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* goes to ſerve the Emperour in the War of *Hungary*.

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it was gotten by the Duke of *Alancon*, the Spaniſh Forces had never had the heart to venture the recovery; and the Duke of *Parma* himſelf, either withdrawn by more neceſſary occaſions, or diſſwaded by the difficulty of effecting it, had given it over. But if the enterprize carried with it ſo great reputation, it carried alſo no leſs difficulty by reaſon of the ſtrength of the City and Caſtle, of the number of the people, the riches of the inhabitants, the Gariſon which Monſieur *de Balagny* kept in it, and many other circumſtances which repreſented themſelves to the conſideration of the Count, who though in mind he was reſolved to attempt it, did yet diſſemble it prudently, making thoſe preparations maturely which he thought convenient, that he might not ſtrike in vain. 1595.

The Sieur *de Gomeron* Governour of *Han* agrees with the Spaniards, and receives their Gariſon into the Town, but not into the Caſtle.

But while being intent upon this action, he was preparing matters, a new Emergent that ſprung up in *Picardy* did, with very great and reciprocal danger, haſten the motion of the War. *Han*, a conſiderable Town in that Province, was governed by the Sieur *de Gomeron*, who having in the declining of the League taken a reſolution to join with the Spaniards, agreed to receive what Gariſon they ſhould think fit, not only into the Town, but alſo into the Caſtle; to which effect *Cecchо de Sangro* being come with eight hundred Italian foot, and Signor *Olmeda* with two hundred Spaniards, two hundred Walloons, and four hundred Germans, *Gomeron* though he admitted them into the Town, would not yet admit them into the Caſtle, fearing leſt being become the ſtronger, they ſhould attempt to drive him out of the place; upon which doubt, there having paſt many letters and meſſages, at laſt *Gomeron* was perſwaded by *Don Alvaro Oſorio*, Governour of *la Feré*, to go into *Flanders*, where he ſhould receive not only the full ſum of money that had been promiſed him, but alſo fitting ſecurity to continue in the Government of the place; wherefore he having left his Brother-in-law the Sieur *d' Orvilliers* and his own Mother in the Government of the Caſtle, went himſelf with his two younger Brothers to *Antwerpe*, where the *Condé de Fuentes*, incenſed by the ambiguity of his Faith, made him and his Brothers be kept priſoners, and wrote to *Orvilliers*, that if he did not put the Caſtle into the hands of his Commanders, he would make himſelf ſatisfaction with *Gomeron*'s head. But *Orvilliers* no leſs doubtful than his Brother-in-law, (though the Mother anxious for the ſafety of her Sons, preſs'd him very much) could not tell what reſolution to take, but ſometimes intimating to the Spaniards that he would give them the Caſtle, ſometimes treating with the Duke of *Longueville*, and Monſieur *d' Humieres* the Kings Lieutenant in that Province to bring them in ſecretly to ſuppreſs the Spaniſh Gariſon that lay in the Town, kept both parties long in hope, till Monſieur *d' Humieres* proffering him larger conditions, and that all the Spaniſh Commanders that ſhould be taken, ſhould be given to him to exchange *Gomeron*, he reſolved at laſt to adhere unto the French; wherefore (the Duke of *Longueville* having been ſlain a while before, with a Musket-ſhot, received by chance in a Volley which his Souldiers gave him in honour) his Brother the Count *de St. Paul*, to whom the King had granted the ſame Government, having ſent to the Duke of *Bouillon* to meet him at St. *Quintin*, reſolved to attempt that enterpriſe, though by reaſon of the doubt of *Orvilliers* his fidelity, and becauſe of the ſtrength of the Gariſon it was thought very difficult. Monſieur *d' Humieres* undertook the charge of ordering the buſineſs, and that he might effect it proſperouſly, took very great care to gather together all the Gentry of the Province, and all the Souldiery that was in the neighbouring Gariſons.

*Gomeron* having left the Sieur *d' Orvilliers* in the Caſtle of *Han*, goes into *Flanders*, where he is kept priſoner by the *Conde de Fuentes*.

The Duke of *Longueville*, Governour of *Picardy*, killed by a muſket-ſhot.

In the mean time the *Condé de Fuentes* having ſetled the affairs of *Flanders* in good order, was advanced with eight thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe unto the confines to take in *Caſtelet*, a place built by King *Henry* the Second, in the time of the Wars with the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth upon the confines of the Territory of *Cambray*; and becauſe the taking of this place was neceſſary to the beſieging of that City, he had encamped himſelf before it, and battered it with twelve pieces of Cannon, which not interrupting the deſigns of the French, who thought it much more conſiderable to take *Han*, than to relieve *Caſtelet*, had taken the field with Four thouſand Foot, and above One thouſand Horſe, encamping ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another, in the quarters about that Town. But though they diſſembled it, and made ſhew to have ſome other deſign, yet their drawing ſo near, and ſome proviſions that *Orvilliers* made in the Caſtle, had put *Cecchо de Sangro*, and the other Spaniſh Commanders in a jealouſie, who doubting of that which indeed was true, determined to ſhut up the paſſage of thoſe ways that went from the City to the * *Eſplanade* of the Caſtle, and there

The *Conde de Fuentes* goes into *Picardy*, and beſieges *Caſtelet*, with a deſign afterward to beſiege *Cambray*.

* *The open ſpace without the Caſtle, from the edge of the Counterſcarp.*

1595. there being three that led thither, they drew a traverſe croſs every one; raiſing them with Barrels and Earth, and made holes through the Houſes on all ſides, that with their ſmall ſhot they might gall the place that extended it ſelf from the City to the Moat and Raveline before the Caſtle Gate; and for more ſecurity, they ſent with ſpeed to the *Condè de Fuentes*, letting him know the ſuſpition they had, and deſiring relief.

*Orvilliers* having agreed with the French brings a ſtrong party into the Caſtle

The French on the other ſide, being aſſured of *Orvilliers* his fidelity, by many of his Kinſmen that were in the Army, drew near betimes in the evening between the Gate of the Caſtle, and that of the Town which led to the way of *Noyon*; but the Perdues that lay without the works, having given the Spaniards notice of the Enemies arrival, *Ceccho de Sangro* cauſed many Cannon ſhot to be made that way, whereby the French knowing that the Gariſon was advertiſed, and in order to receive the aſſault, reſolved to enter into the Caſtle, and go down to fall upon the Town on that ſide: The Count *de St. Paul* with all the Cavalry, and a Body of a thouſand Foot ſtood firm in the field: Monſieur *d' Humieres* and the Duke of *Bouillon* went into the Caſtle, where the difficulty of aſſaulting the Enemy appeared exceeding great; for the Gate of the Raveline was ſo narrow, that it forced them to go out but few at once ſtragling, and as they went forth they came upon the *Eſplanade* which lay open to the ſhot of the Town; wherefore they would not put themſelves in ſo manifeſt danger in the darkneſs of the night, but ſtaying for the morning, reſolved to open the Gate of Relief, which was walled up, and through it, go down without oppoſition into the Moat, from whence cutting away part of the Counterſcarp, they might come forth upon the Flank of the Caſtle, in a place that was not ſubject to their ſhot. This they effected at Sun-riſe, and being divided into three Squadrons, each of which had One hundred Gentlemen compleatly armed in the Front of it, they marched on to fall upon thoſe of the Town, who ſtanding ready at their Works, received the aſſault very valiantly. The conflict was ſharp and obſtinate, fighting on both ſides with old Souldiers, full of experience and valour, but the event had different ſucceſs in the three ſeveral places where they fought; for Monſieur *d' Humieres* being faln on to aſſault the Traverſe that was guarded by *Baldaſſare Carracciolo* and *Marcello del Giudice*, was not only oppoſed, but after two hours fight repulſed with much blood; on the other ſide, upon the left hand where the Sieur *de Seſſavalle*, and Colonel *la Croix* aſſaulted the Traverſe guarded by Signior *Olmeda*, they fought with equal fortune without advantage; but in the middle way, where the Viſdame of *Amiens*, and the Governour of *Noyon* aſſaulted *Ceccho de Sangro*, after they had fought a great while, (*Ceccho* having received two wounds with a Pike) the French broke through the Traverſe, and though they found a firm reſiſtance every where, yet they got near to the *Porte de Noyon*, which they had deſigned to open, and bring in the Count *de St. Paul* at it; but *Ceccho* taking a reſolution in the extremity of the danger, cauſed the houſes of that quarter to be ſet on fire, which carried by a proſperous wind for him, followed the French ſo cloſe at the heels, that it conſtrained them to retire, the flame making ſuch havock, that they were fain to ceaſe the aſſault: It was already Noon, and the Souldiers being weary every where, ſlackned the fight; and yet Monſieur *d' Humieree* ſeeing the wind turn, and the flames of the fire flie towards the Spaniards, ſet his Squadron again in order, and placing himſelf in the Front, went to renew the aſſault, in the beginning whereof he received a Muſket ſhot in the head, and fell down dead upon the ground; which accident abated not the courage of his men, but being relieved by the Duke of *Bouillon* with freſh Forces, they at laſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Porte de Noyon*, by which the Count *de St. Paul* entring with the reſt of the Army, the Spaniards ſtraitned on all ſides, never turned their backs, but ſtill courageouſly fighting, retired into the Fauxboug *de St. Sulpice*, where having fought till night, and the relief not appearing, which they expected from the *Conde de Fuentes*, ordering their Pikes, they made ſhew, that they would yield themſelves; but the French either incenſed for the death of Monſieur *d' Humieres*, or by reaſon of their moſt ardent hatred againſt the Spaniards, proſecuted the Victory without regard, and would have put them all to the Sword, if the deſire of recovering *Gomeron* had not perſwaded them to take many priſoners. Of the Spaniards ſide there were killed about Eight hundred men; *Ceccho de Sangro*, *Baſſadaſſare Carracciolo*, Signior *Olmeda*, *Ferrante Nimfa*, *Marcello del Giudice*, and *Aleſſandro Brancaccio*, were all taken priſoners, with many other Officers and Souldiers. Of the French were killed about One hundred and twenty Soldiers, and forty Gentlemen, among which

The French go out of the Caſtle of *Han*, and attack the Spaniards that hold the Town.

Colonel

Colonel *la Croix*, the Sieurs *de* * *Bayancourt*, *des Maſieres*, Lieutenant to Monſieur *de Surville*, and many Captains of Foot. Among the wounded were Colonel *Lierville*, and the Sieurs *d' Arpajon*, and *de Chalande*. 1595.

* The French ſayes Haraucourt.

The *Conde de Fuentes*, having received intelligence of the aſſault which his ſoldiers expected, left the Duke of *Paſtrana* at the ſiege of *Caſtelet*, and went, with a part of the Army to relieve them; but being come the day after the fight within three miles of *Han*, he heard the news of their misfortune, and not thinking it fit to attempt any thing for that time, returned to proſecute the ſiege he had begun; whereby the French remaining free Poſſeſſors of the Town and Caſtle, left the Sieurs *de Seſſavalle* and *Plainville* with a convenient Garriſon in the Town, and conſigned *Ceccho de Sangro*, and many priſoners to *Orvilliers*, with the exchange of which he might redeem the Sieur *de Gomeron*: But the event of the buſineſs proved very different, for the Priſoners having ſecretly dealt with a Neapolitan, (who, as the Sieur *de Gomeron's* Rider lived in the Caſtle,) they came to an agreement, That he, and two other Soldiers of the Garriſon, ſhould free them out of the room where they were ſhut up, and furniſh them with Arms, ſo that they might unexpectedly, not onely recover their liberty, but by killing *Orvilliers*, make themſelves Maſters of the Fortreſs. The buſineſs ſucceeded proſperouſly at firſt; for *Ceccho de Sangro* with his Companions, ſuddenly aſſaulting the Guards at noon-day, poſſeſſed and locked up the Caſtle Gate; but running to the Governors Chamber to kill him, they found that he with thoſe about him, were already in a poſture of defence. Whereupon there began a very ſharp fight among them, at the noiſe whereof the Commanders that lay in the Town ſuſpecting the matter, ran violently to the Caſtle, and tried to get in with Ladders, and ſo the conflict was reduced to a third party; but, the Italians not having ſtrength to reſiſt in two ſeveral places, made compoſition with *Orvilliers*, by the means of Madam *de Gomeron*, that opening the Gate towards the field, they ſhould ſuffer them to go out freely, and he as before ſhould remain abſolutely Maſter of the Caſtle. Thus the Priſoners being at liberty, *Gomeron* remained without hope of help in the power of the Spaniards; and yet his Mother ceaſing not to try all means to free her Son, had, with Tears, Prayers, and Promiſes, brought *Orvilliers* into ſuch a wavering doubtfulneſs of mind, that he ſeemed inclined to make a new agreement with the Spaniards; wherefore ſhe judging, that if their Camp ſhould draw near, he would eaſily reſolve to receive it, writ to the *Conde de Fuentes*, that if he came with the Army, *Orvilliers* would deliver up the Caſtle to him.

Many Priſoners are left with the Sieur d' *Orvilliers*, that he might exchange his Brother-in-Law the Sieur *de Gomeron*.

In the mean time the Count had battered the Walls of *Caſtelet*, and given it a violent aſſault, which, though it was ſtoutly ſuſtained by thoſe within, yet as they fought, the fire taking and blowing up all their Powder, the Sieur *de Liramont*, Governor of the place, was neceſſitated to ſurrender, and their goods and perſons being ſafe, he came forth in a ſoldierly manner; whereupon the Count having diſpatched that enterprize, moved with the whole Army to draw near to *Han*; but at his arrival, *Orvilliers*, more uncertain in his mind than ever, and not knowing what to determine, opened the Gate that was towards the Town, and fled out of the Caſtle, retiring to *Roys*; and the Sieur *de Seſſavalle* being entred with Two hundred Soldiers, began to fire his Artillery againſt the Spaniſh Camp, at which the *Conde de Fuentes* much incenſed, cauſed *Gomeron* to be brought within ſight of the Caſtle, where, in the preſence of all, he made him to be Beheaded, and ſent back his Brothers Priſoners to the Caſtle of *Antwerp*. The Count, perſwaded by the heat of Paſſion, was minded to beſiege the Town, but the next day, when that firſt motion was quieted, not being willing to interrupt the already intended enterpriſe of *Cambray*, he raiſed his Camp and marched away to ſpoil, and pillage the places of that Country: At the firſt arrival of his Army, *Clery* and *Bray*, weak Towns of that territory, ſtanding upon the River *Somme*, yielded without reſiſtance, and to the infinite terror of the Country people, they began to plunder Cattel, and to ſpoil the Corn in many places; but the Forces were not yet in readineſs which the Provinces of *Artois* and *Heynault* had obliged themſelves to contribute, and without them, by reaſon of the great circuit of the Town, and the number of the Defendants, the Commanders thought not fit to attempt the ſiege: Wherefore the Count, that his Army might not be idle, and to facilitate the enterpriſe of *Cambray* by ſhutting up the paſſages in many ſeveral places, reſolved to fall upon *Dourlans*, a Town not very great, but reaſonable ſtrong, and ſituate near the confines, that ſeparate *Picardy* from the Territory of *Cambray*; but on the higher ſide above *Peronne* and *Corbie*, the

The Count *de Fuentes*, upon hopes given him by Madam *de Gomeron*, comes before *Han*: but his deſign of taking it not ſucceeding, he cauſes *Gomeron* to be beheaded in ſight of the French.

The Count *de Fuentes* beſieges *Dourlans*.

1595. Sieur *d' Arancourt* was in the Town, and the Sieur *de Ronſoy* as Governor of the Caſtle, for all the places of that Province, was near the confines, are ſecured by Caſtles; the moſt part of them ſtronger by ſituation than by art, with Walls of the old faſhion, flanked onely with great Towers; but this, either by reaſon of the nearneſs of the danger, or of the Governors diligence, was much bettered by Ramparts and Ravelines, according to the manner of Fortification of our times. The weakneſs of the Garriſon that was in the Town, being very much inferior to what need required, encouraged the Count to ſet himſelf upon that enterpriſe; but though he reſolved it upon the ſudden, and turn'd that way without loſing a minutes time, yet could not the ſiege be layed, and the paſſages blocked up ſo ſpeedily, but that the Duke of *Bouillon* was advertiſed of it, who being taken at unawares, put in four hundred Gentlemen, and eight hundred Foot; but it was a very pernitious Counſel; for, if he had put into the Town all the Foot that he had with him, which was above Two thouſand, he would not afterwards have been neceſſitated to attempt with ſo great a loſs to relieve it; and if he had not engaged the Gentry within the circuit of thoſe Walls, he would have been ſo ſtrong in Horſe, that by obſtructing the wayes, he might have forced them to riſe; but in ſudden occaſions, the wiſeſt perſons do not remember all things. As ſoon as theſe Forces were entred into the Garriſon, which, in all, amounted to the number of Eleven hundred Foot, and Five hundred Horſe, the fault began to appear; for, there being no Commander of Authority, to manage the weight of the defence, the Lords and Gentlemen of the Country who were there, by deſiring all to Command, put all things in diſorder and confuſion, ſo that their preſence, which would have been very proper, very helpful in the field, proved rather deſtructive than ſerviceable in the Town; And yet every one knowing it was needful to keep the Enemy at a diſtance from the Walls, they betook themſelves to bring ſome of thoſe Ravelines that were without the circuit of the Ramparts into ſo good forwardneſs, as to retard the approach of the Enemy for ſome dayes; but the defect of the Garriſon appeared likewiſe in this; for the Gentlemen did not care to lay hand to the work, and the Foot being few in reſpect of the neceſſity, all preparations went on but ſlowly.

There being no commander of authority in *Dourlans*, and all deſiring to command, there grows a confuſion among the Defendants.

Monſieur *de la Motte*, Camp-Maſter-General of the Spaniſh Army, is ſlain, Monſieur *du Roſne* is choſen in his place.

The Spaniſh Army encamped before *Dourlans*, upon the fifteenth day of *July*, and the ſame evening *Valentine* Sieur *de la Motte*, who executed the Office of Camp-Maſter-General, going to view the place near at hand, to reſolve on which ſide it ſhould be fitteſt to aſſault it, was killed with a Musket-ſhot in the right eye; a Soldier, who, from ſmall and low beginnings, paſſing through all Military degrees, was riſen with a moſt renowned fame of valour and experience, unto the eminency of the moſt remarkable Offices, and moſt important commands. The man whom the *Conde de Fuentes* deſigned to ſupply his place, was *Chriſtian* Sieur *du Roſne*, who, by his ſagacity, (which was exceeding great, (added to the valour and experience of many years,) had gotten himſelf an infinite reputation among the Spaniards; and by his Counſel, before all other things, they began to fortifie the quarters of the Army, and with Forts and Half-moons to ſhut up the Enemies, as well to hinder the relief that might endeavor to get into the Town, as to ſecure his Camp, which was not very great, from the ſudden aſſaults and attempts of the French. Theſe Works being ended, there remained to be reſolved, on which ſide the Place ſhould be aſſaulted; for many were of opinion to begin with the Caſtle firſt; and many others finding it very difficult to take the Caſtle, adverti ſed to poſſeſs themſelves of the Town firſt, to facilitate the way to the taking of the Caſtle. But after long conſultation, a third opinion carried it, propounded by *du Roſne*; which was, that the Town ſhould be aſſaulted on that ſide, where it joyned with the Caſtle, becauſe at the ſame time a breach might be made in the Wall, and part of the defence of the Caſtle taken away: The quality of the ſituation adviſed the ſame, which (in reſpect of the River *Oyſe* that paſſes there) was more eaſie to be made defenſible; whereby the Batteries would be the ſtronger and better ſheltered from any attempt the Duke of *Bouillon* or the Count *de S. Paul* ſhould make; who, it was already known, were with very great diligence drawing their Forces together, to relieve the Gentry which they unadviſedly ſhut up in the Town. The firſt violence of the ſiege met with an Half-moon without the Ramparts, that ſeparated the Caſtle from the Town; which, though of nothing but earth, yet being by length of time firmly knit together, did little fear the battering of the Cannon: Wherefore, Monſieur *du Roſne* having found the ſmall fruit of playing upon it, began

began two Trenches, to approach covered from the ſhot both of the Town and Caſtle, and brought them within a ſtones caſt of the Half-moon; but while the Defendants believed he would continue them to the Moat, he ſuddenly cauſed two Squadrons that were prepared ready, one Italians, the other Walloons, to ſally out of them; who, ſome ſcrambling up upon the Earth, others clapping ſcaling ladders againſt it, got ſo quickly upon the Parapet, that they fell in pell-mell with the Defendants, before the Artillery of the Caſtle could hurt them. The fight was ſhort, but valiant; for the Defendants were all ſoldiers of experience; and yet their being taken ſo at unawares, was the cauſe, that after they had fought a quarter of an hour, being over-pow'red by the greater number, they were forced to retire, ſaving themſelves within the covered way that was without the moat of the Town. Monſieur *de Roſne* entering the Half-moon, commanded *la Berlotte's Tertia* to cover and fortifie themſelves in that place, having deſigned to make uſe of that ſame Poſt to plant his Battery in it: The Walloons were diligent and careful in fortifying themſelves; but they of the Town were no leſs ready to hinder their work; for with three Sacres that were upon a Platform of the Town, and on the other ſide, with the Artillery from the Caſtle, they did ſo play upon the place where the beſiegers wrought, that the ſlaughter of them was very great; and yet the Italians, Spaniards, and Walloons working by turns, the Half-moon was at laſt made defenſible, and in it they planted ſeven Culverins, which battered the Works of the Caſtle, and ſix Cannon that played againſt the wall of the Town; inſomuch, that having ſhot continually for two dayes together, matters were brought to ſuch a paſs, that they were ready to open two trenches into the Counterſcarp, wherewith approaching, they might advance to the aſſault. 1595.

But, in the mean time, the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Count *de St. Paul* being joyned with the Admiral *Villars*, and the Forces of *Normandy*, were intent upon relieving that place; but not ſo much for the importance of the Town, as in reſpect of the great number of Gentlemen that were ſhut up in it; and though the Army they had was not very numerous, yet they were confident the Gentry which they had with them would inable them to put in men and ammunition, by forcing the Guards on ſome ſide or other, though they were diligent, and well ſtrengthened by the Enemy. The Sieur *de Seſſavalle*'s deſign was, to enter into the Town with a Thouſand Foot, and Four and twenty Carriages of Ammunition, and at the ſame time to make the 400 Gentlemen that were in *Dourlans*, retire into the Army, wherein, beſides the Infantry, there were Twelve hundred Curaſſiers, and Six hundred Harquebuſiers on Horſe-back; and becauſe the circuit and the entries into the Town were unequal, and ſome on this ſide, ſome on that ſide of the River, which nevertheleſs, by reaſon of its ſhallowneſs, might be forded in many places without difficulty; they determined to divide themſelves into three Squadrons, and appear three ſeveral wayes, to keep the enemy divided and imployed in divers places; they conſulted among themſelves the evening of the twenty third of *July*, what was beſt to be done; the Count *de S. Paul* was of opinion (to which the Marquiſs of *Belin*, and the Sieur *de Seſſavalle* aſſented) that they ſhould ſtay for the Duke of *Nevers*, who being appointed by the King to the ſuperintendence of the affairs of that Province, was already near at hand: it ſeeming to them a very great raſhneſs, to attempt that then with exceeding great danger, which they might undertake within two days with more force, and more hope of good ſucceſs: But the Duke of *Bouillon* (an old emulator of the Duke of *Nevers*, not onely by reaſon of their difference in Religion, but alſo of the fame of wiſdom, to the firſt place whereof they mutually aſpired) could not endure to hear of ſtaying for his coming, and that the glory ſhould be reſerved for him, which he pretended ſhould reſult unto himſelf, by raiſing the ſiege, or relieving the Town, and having drawn the Admiral to his opinion, he cauſed it to be determined in a manner by force, that the next morning they ſhould try their fortune.

The Duke of *Bouillon* intending to relieve *Dourlans*, cauſes the Commanders to reſolve, that his opinion ſhould be executed.

On the other ſide, the Count *de Fuentes* knowing that all the hope of the French could conſiſt in nothing, but keeping him diſtracted in ſeveral places, reſolved to advance three miles to meet them, that he might oppoſe their attempt with all his Forces united; and having left *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* to guard the Battery, with Twelve hundred Foot, and *Gaſparo Zappogna* with a Thouſand more to defend their quarters and works, he, with all the reſt of the Army advanced upon the ſame way the enemy was coming: The Prince of *Avellino* led the Van, wherein were two Squadeons of Horſe, one Walloons and Flemings, and the other Italians; and on the Flanks of them,

The Count *de Fuentes* having left *Hernando Telles* at the ſiege, draws off to meet and hinder the relief.

1595. two Wings of Spaniſh Musquettiers, the Duke of *Aumale*, and Monſieur *du Roſne* followed with two Squadrons of Infantry, which had each of them four field-pieces in the Front; and in the laſt was placed the reſt of the Cavalry, with the Count himſelf, and by his ſide a Battalion of Germans.

On the other ſide, the Admiral and the Duke of *Bouillon* led the Van; the Count *St. Paul* was in the Battel, and had by him Monſieur *de Seſſavalle*, with the Foot that were to go into *Dourlans*, and the Marquiſs of *Belin* commanded the Rear. It was the four and twentieth of *July*, the Eve of St. *James* the Apoſtle, and it was near noon, when the Armies marching mutually to meet, came within ſight of one another; without delay, the French Vanguard with very great violence charged the two Squadrons of the enemies Cavalry, whereof that of Walloons, which was upon the left hand, being broken and diſordered by the Admiral, manifeſtly ran away; but that of Italians, where the Prince of *Avellino* was, did long ſuſtain the fury of the Duke of *Bouillon*, till the Admiral, who had routed and driven away the Enemy, drawing near upon the Flank, it likewiſe was conſtrained to retire, though without falling into diſorder; but the Wings of Spaniſh Muſquettiers coming up, the ſervice was hot and furious, and ſo much the more, becauſe the Walloon Horſe rallying again, had likewiſe faced about, and fought with no leſs courage than the reſt. In the mean time, *Seſſavalle* advancing out of hand, to march to *Dourlans*, fell into one of the Squadrons of Foot that followed, being led by the Duke of *Aumale*, and there began between them a no leſs fierce encounter than there was among the Horſe. But as ſoon as *du Roſne* ſaw thoſe Squadrons charge one another ſo courageouſly, he, with that which he led, turning a good pace upon the right hand, poſſeſſed himſelf of a higher ground, which was upon the Flank of *Seſſavalle*, and firſt raking through them with his field-pieces from thence, and then falling in with two Wings of Muskettiers that were in the Front of his men, did ſo great execution upon them, that the Sieur *de Seſſavalle* and Colonel St. *Denis*, being ſlain, and all their Colours loſt, the French Foot were ſo diſperſed, that they could no more be rallied, and the Carriages of Ammunition remained in the power of the Enemy. In the mean time, the *Conde de Fuentes* getting up to an high place, from whence he diſcovered the various fortune of his men, ſent out two Squadrons of Horſe to aſſiſt the Prince of *Avellino*, and Monſieur *du Roſne*, with the Duke of *Aumale*, having put their Squadrons again in order, advanced on each ſide to the place of fight. Wherefore the Duke of *Bouillon* knowing how to yield to fortune, without being willing to adventure any farther, retired with ſmall loſs towards the Battel, with which the Count *de St. Paul*, reſerving himſelf untouched, had not at all engaged in the encounter; but the Admiral, who much more fiercely had, from the beginning, ruſhed upon the greater number of the Enemy, having ſeen the Sieur *d' Arginvilliers*, Governor of *Abbeville*, and the Sieur *de Hacqueville*, Governor of *Ponteau de Mer*, Captain *Perdriel*, and above Two hundred Gentlemen of *Normandy* fall dead before him, though later, and with more difficulty, would likewiſe have taken a reſolution to retire, if pity and gallantry had not called him afreſh into the midſt of the Battel; for ſeeing his Nephew, the young Sieur *de Montigny*, with fifteen or twenty of his followers, totally engaged, and ſharply proſecuted by the Spaniſh Infantry of *Antonio Mendozza*, he called back his men that were retiring, and furiouſly turned about his Horſe to fetch him off; but being ſurrounded by the Spaniſh Muskettiers, and his paſſage cut off by the Italian and Walloon Cavalry, fighting valiantly, and wounded in many places, he fell at laſt from his Horſe; and though telling his name, he offered Fifty thouſand Crowns in ranſome, he was killed, in cold blood, by a Spaniſh ſoldier; and another, to get a very rich Diamond Ring he wore, without any regard cut off his finger; for which crimes they were, by the ſeverity of the Count *de Fuentes*, both put to death. All thoſe that followed him were killed upon the place cloſe by him, though, fighting deſperately, they made the Victory very bloody to the Enemy. The Duke of *Bouillon* (either judging it a greater ſervice to the King to ſave the reſt of the Army, or elſe moved by his ill will towards the Admiral, who was a very zealous Catholick) perſwaded the Count *de St. Paul* (who being a young man, referred himſelf to the opinion of thoſe that were elder) that without making further tryal to recover the day, they ſhould get the Battel into ſecurity. But the Marquiſs *de Belin* deteſting that advice, fell on with the Rere, to relieve the danger of the Admiral; and yet being encountred by four Squadrons of Lanciers, whom the Count *de Fuentes* ſent out againſt him, he had not ſtrength to reſiſt their fury, and being routed and diſperſed

The Admiral *Villars* fighting gallantly, is ſlain.

1595.

diſperſed in a moment, the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight; but he and the Sieur *de Longchamp* remained the enemies priſoners: And this was one of thoſe encounters which gave clear proof, that Cuiraſſiers in the field are very much inferior to the violence of Lances. The loſs the French received in this Battel, was greater, in regard of the quality, than number of the ſlain; for they were not in all above 600, but moſt part of them Gentlemen, and perſons of note, whereof the whole Army was compoſed; which made the D. of *Bouillons* excuſe the better, in that he had ſaved the remainder, though it was a moſt conſtant opinion, that if all the Squadrons had charged at once, or if he obſtinately fighting, had called up the Count *de St. Paul* with the freſh Forces to his aſſiſtance, he might either have put relief into *Dourlans*, or at leaſt might have retired without receiving ſo great a loſs. On the ſide of the Spaniards there were killed but few, and all obſcure perſons, and among the wounded, none was reckoned on but *Sancho de Luna*.

The Marquiſs *de Belin*, and the Monſieur *de Longchamp*, are taken priſoners by the Spaniards.

While the Armies fought thus, the beſieged in *Dourlans* were not idle; for having heard the noiſe of the fight hard by, they made a gallant ſally to aſſail the Trenches, in which, finding the Poſts well fortified, and all the Guards in Arms, they were no leſs valiantly repulſed; though in that action they received not much loſs. The *Conde de Fuentes* returning victorious to the Leaguer, and freed from the fear of being any more infeſted by the French, applyed himſelf, with all his ſtudy, to haſten the end of the ſiege, which, though the defendents anſwered with very remarkable courage and valor, yet was not their conduct and experience correſpondent; ſo that it manifeſtly appeared, the Town (though with much ſlaughter) would fall into the power of the Spaniards. Upon the 28th day the beſieged made a great ſally in the heat of the noon-day, and becauſe they found the Foot ready and prepared for their defence, after a long fight they were at laſt conſtrained to retire; and while they did ſo very ſoftly, and without any ſign of flight, being aſſaulted by the Cavalry, and charged very furiouſly on the flank, they loſt many of their men, and were fain to run back full ſpeed to the very Counterſcarp. The next day the Artillery, having battered not onely the Walls of the Town, but made a breach alſo in a corner of the Caſtle, the Count cauſed the aſſault to be given; and to divide the ſtrength and courage of the defendents, he ſent Foot to fall on in both places. The Spaniards ſtormed the Caſtle, the Walloons the Town, and a while after the Italians entering into both Trenches, reinforced the Aſſault: In this occaſion, the valor of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* appeared moſt remarkable, who being the firſt that got up into the breach of the Caſtle, fought there with ſo much courage, that the Count *de Dinan* being ſlain, who, on that ſide had the charge of the defence, and the Squadron of thoſe within being beaten back and broken, the Caſtle was taken with a wonderful great ſlaughter; from whence the Aſſailants going down, without having found any obſtacle or impediment of Trenches or Caſamats (for the unskilfulneſs or diſcord of the defendents had been ſuch, that there was no Works caſt up) they impetuouſly alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town; where, in revenge of the ſlaughter of *Hau*, (the name of which ſounded aloud in the mouth of every one) all that were in it, were, without any regard, put to the Sword, in the violence of the fight: ſo that of ſo great a number of Gentlemen and Soldiers, ſcarce the Sieur *de Haraucourt*, and the Sieur *de Gribeval*, with forty ſoldiers, remained priſoners, there being ſlain upon the place Monſieur *de Ronſoy* Governor of the Caſtle, the Sieurs *de Francourt* and *Prouilles* who had principal commands, above Three hundred Gentlemen, and above Six hundred Soldiers. The Town was ſacked in the heat of the action, and continued at the diſcretion of the Soldiers till the evening, and then thoſe had quarter given them who were retired to the ſecurity of the Churches. The *Conde de Fuentes* having obtained ſo full a Victory, betook himſelf to repair the ruines of the wall, and to throw down the Works without; and having given the Government of the place to *Portocarnero*, who had behaved himſelf ſo gallantly in the taking of it, applyed himſelf with very great diligence to make preparation to beſiege *Cambray*, not being willing unprofitably to loſe that proſperity which the countenance of fortune ſhewed him

While the Armies fight in the Field, the beſieged ſally into the Trench; but are repulſed.

The Spaniards aſſault *Dourlans*, and take it, and to revenge the ſlaughter of *Hau*, put all to the Sword without regard: A great number of the French Gentry are ſlain there, and the Town ſacked.

The *Conde de Fuentes* gives the Government of *Dourlans* to *Portocarrero*, and applies himſelf to the enterpriſe of *Cambray*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Nevers* was arrived at the half-defeated, and quite affrighted Army, and though he ſtrove to diſſemble thoſe errors that had been committed, yet talking with the Count *de St. Paul*, and the Duke of *Bouillon* at *Pequigny*, he could not forbear telling them, that in their conſultations they had been too courageous, and in their retreat too prudent; By which words, and their old emulation, the Duke of *Bouillon* being diſguſted, departed from the Army; and likewiſe the

Count

1595. Count *de St. Paul* not very well ſatisfied, retired to *Bologne*, the whole weight and care of the defence remaining upon one man alone. The Duke of *Nevers* having taken the charge of the Army, though brought to a very weak eſtate, drew into *Amiens* upon the ſecond day of *Auguſt*, to ſecure that City, which, by the near ſlaughter of *Dourlans*, was ſtruck with very great terror; and becauſe the Citizens running popularly to him, ſhewed him in how great fear they were, leſt *Corbie*, a Town not far from the place where the Enemy was, ſhould fall into their hands, he promiſed to go into it the next day himſelf in perſon, and ſo having left his ſon, the young Duke of *Rhetelois* at *Amiens*, he went without delay to *Corbie*; in which Town, though weak, he began to ſet himſelf in order to receive the Spaniſh Army, in caſe it ſhould march that way; but the next day, the *Conde de Fuentes*, who was not above ſeven Leagues from thence, having raiſed his Camp from *Dourlans*, advanced in one dayes march near to *Peronne*; wherefore the Duke with all his Forces leaving *Corbie*, went to quarter at *Arboniers*, that he might go the ſame night into *Peronne*. The Spaniards upon the fifth day paſſed near the Walls of the Town, marching towards *S. Quintin*; wherefore the Duke being ſent to by the Viſcount *d' Auchy*, who was in it, went thither upon the ſixth in the morning, which day the Spaniſh Army made a halt in the ſame quarters, and ſtayed there four dayes, to make proviſion of victual from all parts, and upon the eleventh of *Auguſt*, drawing within four miles of *Cambray*, diſcovered their deſign of beſieging that place, freeing all the reſt from the ſuſpition they had been in.

The Mareſchal *de Balagny* who was in *Cambray*, knowing himſelf weak in the number of his ſoldiers, and much more hated of the inhabitants, who could not indure his Dominion; and beſides that, not having any means to pay and maintain the Soldiers, ſolicited the Duke of *Nevers*, by four Meſſengers, diſpatched poſt one after another, to aſſiſt him with ſome men, and pleaſure him alſo with a ſum of money, letting him know the little confidence he had in the people, and the great terror that was in the Garriſon, by reaſon of the noiſe of the ſlaughter at *Dourlans*. The Duke of *Nevers* having called a Council of War, was doubtful a great while whether he ſhould go into *Cambray* himſelf in perſon or not; for, on the one ſide, the jealouſie of keeping that City, and the Glory of defending it, ſpurred him on; and on the other, the neceſſity of endeavouring to recruit the Army, and ſet it again in order, diſſwaded him from it; but all the Commanders agreeing, that he ought not to engage himſelf, ſince they hoped, that *Balagny* would ſupply what was needful in the Command within the Town, and that his preſence would be moſt neceſſary to prepare relief; he reſolved to ſend his Son *Charles*, Duke of *Rhetelois*, with Four hundred Horſe, and four Companies of Firelocks, which he mounted all on Horſeback, that they might march the faſter; he ſent, in company with his Son, the Sieur *de Buſſy*, and *Trumulet*, the firſt a Colonel of great experience, the other Governor of *Ville-Franche*; He gave the command of the Firelocks to the Sieur *de Vaudricourt*, a ſoldier of long experience, and intended, that within a while after, his Son Monſieur *de Vic* ſhould attempt to get into the Town, with an hundred Horſe, and Four hundred other Foot, to the end that he might ſupply the charge of the defence, in thoſe things which the Mareſchal *de Balagny* could not attend, or had not experience in, under whoſe obedience all thoſe Forces were to be.

The Duke of *Nevers* having called a Counſel of War, reſolves not to ingage himſelf in *Cambray*, but ſends his Son the Duke of *Rhetelois*, who afterwards was Duke of *Mantua*, with a good relief.

In the mean time the *Conde de Fuentes* having received Five thouſand Foot, ſent from the confining Provinces, under the Prince of *Chimay*, and a Regiment of Walloons, rais'd and payed by *Louis de Barlemont* Arch-Biſhop of *Cambray*, was drawn before the Town upon the fourteenth day, and preſently began to ſhut up thoſe paſſes by which the relief might enter, which he thought would come; which diligence, not at all retarding the Duke of *Rhetelois*, he put himſelf upon the adventure of getting into the City, and having marched all night, appeared by break of day upon the Plain, which largely incompaſſes the Town on every ſide; His appearing by day, contrary to what he had deſigned, was caus'd; not onely by an exceſſive Rain that fell that night, but much more becauſe being to paſs a certain Water in the Village of *Anne*, over a Wooden-bridge, part of it was fallen, ſo that he was fain to make a halt, till with Planks and beams, the Bridge were haſtily made up again: wherefore the Spaniards, who had had time, both to be advertiſed of it, and to get to Horſe, at the Dukes arrival were drawn up into the Plain, expecting him in very good order upon the ſtraight way; He made a ſtop when he perceived the Enemy, being not well aſ-

ſured

ſured what he ſhould do; but the Guide that led him, well verſed in the Countrey, ſhewed him, that between the Enemies Horſe, and a lower Gate of the City, there was a hollow, craggy way, which could not ſo eaſily be paſt, ſo that turning on that ſide, they might get under the Walls of the Town, before they could be overtaken by the enemy, who, of neceſſity, were to take a great compaſs, not to diſorder themſelves in the hollow of that way; wherefore, the Duke placing himſelf courageouſly at the head of his men, went out of the great Road, and declining upon the left hand, marched a round trot whither his guide led him, hoping to get to the Gate without any obſtacle of the Enemy: but when he was drawn very near the Town, he found a *Corps de Garde* of Fifty Horſe, who, at the Alarm, which ſounded aloud through the whole field, had ſet themſelves in order to ſtop the way; wherefore, being neceſſitated to fight, he ſhut down his Beaver, and having incouraged his ſoldiers, charg'd up with ſo much fury, that in the firſt encounter, he routed and beat back the Enemies Troops, without the loſs of any one man, and having quickly wheeled about, he cloſed up, and in his firſt order continued to march on his way at a good rate; but he was not advanced Two hundred paces further, when he fell upon another body of an hundred and twenty Horſe, which being charged with the ſame fierceneſs, were faign to retire without making any great reſiſtance. In the mean time the main body of the Spaniſh Horſe, which from the beginning had diſcovered him, moved on with no leſs celerity towards him; but, the hinderance of the hollow way, and the dirt of the field, which, by reaſon of the rain the night before, was all wet and ſlippery, retarded their march ſo much, that when the firſt Troops came to charge the Duke, he was already defended by the Artillery of the Town, which thundering with exceeding great violence, and ſcouring all the field, hindred him from receiving any harm; ſo that entring into the City, and being received with marvellous joy by every one, he found he had loſt only one Page, and an inconſiderable part of the Carriages, which having not been able to come ſo faſt as the reſt, fell into the hand of the Spaniards. 1595.

The Duke of *Rhetelois*, having overcome many impediments, and fought with two Squadrons of the Enemy, enters with relief into *Cambray*.

The Duke of *Rhetelois* his getting in, neceſſitated the Count *de Fuentes* to ſtrengthen the ſiege more cloſely, that he might hinder any new relief from entring; to which likewiſe he was perſwaded by his want of money to pay and maintain the Army, ſince though the Biſhop of *Cambray*, and the confining Provinces, had obliged themſelves to contribute Five hundred thouſand Florines, yet they denyed to pay them down, before he had begun the ſiege, and was got upon the Counterſcarpe. To this was added his ardent courage, carried on by the felicity of former ſucceſs, which excited him to undertake, even beyond the number and ſtrength of his Army, as it were preſaging a proſperous event, notwithſtanding many difficulties; wherefore the City being great in circuit, and not having men enough, he reſolved, with Forts and redoubts, to ſhut up all that part, which on this ſide the River *Scheld* (that divides the City in the middle) lies towards *France*; judging, that with the impediment of Fortifications, he might ſupply that defect, all the Soldiers in his Army not being ſufficient to poſſeſs ſo large and ample a Plain, which contains the ſpace of many miles; but it appeared in this occaſion, as it hath done in many others, that Forts and Redoubts (if they be not joyned with a convenient number of reſolute men) do not hinder the entry of thoſe, who take a reſolution to paſs, with the hazard of ſome Cannon ſhot; and yet the Count *de Fuentes* having cauſed Four thouſand Pioniers to come out of the adjacent Provinces, and having Seventy two pieces of Artillery of ſeveral ſizes, and wonderful preparations of all Inſtruments of War and Ammunition, full of hope and courage, began to incompaſs the City on all ſides, but on that eſpecially, where it might be relieved by the French. Between Porte *Neufve*, and the Porte *de St. Sepulchre*, over againſt that part of the City that ſtood towards the South, he cauſed a Fort to be raiſed after the manner of a Platform, which being able to contain One thouſand Foot, was (by the name of the Bourg cloſe by it) called the Fort of *Guiargni*, and cauſed another, not very much leſs, to be caſt up over againſt the place where the River enters into the City on the Weſt ſide, which they called the Fort *de Premy*, from the name likewiſe of the adjacent Bourg; and between theſe two there were ſeventeen Redoubts, like ſo many Sentinels, in each of which, there were Twenty five men, and the two Forts, with all the ſpace between them, were guarded by the Prince of *Chimay*, with the Forces that were newly come out of the neighbouring Provinces: Beſides theſe Poſts between the Porte *de Quentinoys*, and the Porte *des Selles*, winding

The manner of Count *de Fuentes* beſieging *Cambray*.

1595. winding towards the North, there was raiſed another great Fort, which they called St. *Oloy*, where the Count *de Bie* commanded with a Regiment of Germans; from the Porte *des Selles* as far as the Cittadel, over againſt the Baſtion *de Robert*, a place that extends from the North unto the Eaſt, they reſolved to plant the Battery; therefore, in that ſpace they intended to caſt up Trenches, and the command thereof was given to *Agoſtino Meſſia*. The Count *de Fuentes* with the Cavalry of the Army, and two Tertia's of Walloons was quartered in two little Villages behind the Fortifications, and *Ambroſio Landriano*, Lieutenant-General of the Light horſe, with Four hundred Horſe, and Six hundred Foot, placed himſelf upon that way that leads to *Peronne*, keeping continually many Ambuſcadoes in divers Woody places, to aſſault and hinder the paſſage of thoſe that ſhould hazard the attempt of entring the Town.

Things being diſpoſed in this order, they began to break ground, the Engineer *Pacciotto*, and Colonel *la Berlotte* overſeeing the Works, the one for his skill in Fortification, the other for experience in War, men of exceeding high eſtimation: But the work proved difficult beyond all belief; for in the lower places where the River Sckeld paſſes and overflows, they could not dig above a ſpan for water, and the higher places were ſo gravelly and ſtony, that they could not approach without great toil and much time; and yet the Soldiers accuſtomed to labor, full of courage, by reaſon of their paſt victories, and aſpiring to ſack ſo rich a City, wrought with incredible patience: Either Monſieur *du Roſne*, or the Count himſelf, continually overſeeing the Works, and with words, promiſes and gifts, haſtening the perfecting of them; ſo that upon the firſt of *September*, two very large Trenches were brought to the edge of the Moat, between the Baſtion *de Robert*, and a Raveline in the midſt of the Courtine. It is evident, that if the beſieged had, with Sallies and Counterbatteries moleſted their Works, they muſt needs have approached with extream difficulty, and perchance without fruit at laſt; but it was well known, that Monſieur *de Balagny*, either had loſt his courage, or had not much experience; for, during the ſpace of ten dayes, that the Works of the Spaniards laſted, the Defendants continually lay idle, without moleſting them in any kind; and the young Duke of *Rhetelois*, who, by reaſon of the tenderneſs of his years, referred himſelf to the diſcipline of others, though he ſaid, and laboured very much, could not, or had not credit, to move the reſt to do any thing; in ſo much, that even the very day the Trenches were opened, there would have been nothing done, if he himſelf levelling a Culverin, had not given fire luckily againſt the Enemy; for it ſhot into the very mouth of their Trench; by which example, his Gentlemen excited more than many others, ſhot many pieces of Cannon, and did ſome harm to the beſiegers.

The Sieur *de Vic* with great difficulty enters with men into *Cambray*.

But the day following Monſieur *de Vic* came in opportunely, a man of great credit and long experience, who having happily avoided all the Ambuſhes laid by *Landriano*, got near the City, upon the ſecond of *September* in the morning, with all his men on Horſeback, and becauſe the guards of the Infantry were but thin, and few, he paſſed between Fort and Fort, without receiving any harm by the Artillery that plaid on all ſides, and got, without any loſs, near the Walls of the City, not far diſtant from the edge of the Moat; but when he believed he had eſcaped all dangers, he ſaw himſelf unexpectedly charged in the Rere by a Body of Italian Horſe, which led by *Carlo Viſconte*, was advanced full gallop towards him; ſo that to avoid that imminent danger, ſince already, all the reſt of the Cavalry were at his back, he preſently cauſed all his men to alight, and leave their Horſes a prey unto the enemy, who, while they were greedily buſied in catching them, afforded them ſo much time, that he with moſt part of his men got into the Moat; whither, though the Spaniards advanced couragiouſly, yet they could neither hurt him, nor hinder him, (after a long skirmiſh, and an infinite number of Cannon ſhot) from coming ſafe into the Town. His preſence ſeemed to put heart and ſpirit into the Defendants; for the ſame night, the Soldiers ſtriving who ſhould work faſteſt, two Platforms were raiſed, behind the Courtine that was plaid upon by the Enemy, and a Cavalier at the Gorge of the Baſtion *de Robert*, in which places many pieces of Artillery were planted, and they made a furious Counter-battery with ſo much violence, and ſo much harm to the beſiegers, that having lamed their Artillery, and diſmounted them, broken the Carriages, and beaten the Gabions all in pieces, the Spaniards were three dayes without being able to do any thing of importance againſt the Town: At the ſame time he cauſed two Mines to be made, which being proſperouſly brought under the principal Battery, blew it up into

into the Air, and buried five pieces, overturning and disordering all the rest. Nor did he cease in the mean time, opportunely to make some Sallies, though the great number of places which were necessarily to be kept guarded, would not allow them to be frequent or numerous. 1595.

Against so gallant a defence, Colonel *la Berlotte* who had the principal charge of the siege, approached more under favour of Gabions than Trenches, though with the loss of many Souldiers, till he came to pierce the Counterscarp; but it proved so high, that it was necessary to make use of Ladders to go down into the Moat, which appeared wonderful dangerous, for the Flank of the Bastion *de Robert*, and a Casamat (made about that time in the Moat) plaid openly on both sides upon whosoever dared to come unto the Ladders, wherefore it was necessary to raise a battery of five Culverins, which thundred against the Flank of the Bastion *de Robert*; and at the Casamat they fought desperately four days together, with an innumerable company of Fireworks, to make themselves Masters of it. But to take the Casamat by reason of the valour of the defendents, proved exceeding difficult; and in the Flank by the Bastion, Monsieur *de Vic* had caused five pieces of Cannon to be planted so low, that no violence was sufficient to hinder them from doing mischief, wherefore the Commanders resolved to remove the battery to a lower place, close to the *Porte des Selles*, where the whole Camp working with infinite eagerness, in two days time they planted two and twenty pieces of Cannon, which plaid upon the Curtine, and upon the Flank six great Culverins, which discurtining the Flank of the Bastion *de Robert* made it very dangerous for the defendents to stay and make good that place. Almost at the same time Colonel *de la Berlotte* with two other Trenches, made his approaches so far, that having under covert passed through to the Casamat, he forced the besieged to quit it; so the Moat remaining free, the Artillery began to play, and the Army to set it self in order, to give the assault.

It troubled the *Conde de Fuentes* to hear that the Duke of *Nevers* staying at *Peronne*, had gotten together above Four thousand Foot, and between Seven and eight hundred Horse, wherewith he thought he would without all question hazard himself to relieve the City, in which he had so great a pledge as his own Son; wherefore having with marvellous diligence made all the Avenues to be cut off, and blocked up, he caused another great Fort to be raised at the mouth of the High-way, in which he put *Gastone Spinola* with one thousand Foot, and all the Army was with admirable order disposed in such manner, that standing all to their Arms at every little stir, the whole Plain was on all sides filled with Forts and Squadrons, each between the other, which, Flanked with the Troops of Horse, and with field pieces in their Front, made it most difficult to get through the Town, without very great danger, or without coming presently to a Battel. But want of money troubled the Count no less than this, for the neighbouring Provinces much forwarder to promise, than able to perform had been able to raise but half the money they had promised, whereof he had been fain to spend a great part in satisfying the Souldiers that had mutinied at *Liramont*, to the end that being quieted they might come to reinforce the Army; wherefore the provisions of *Spain* proceeding with the wonted delays, the Count was reduced into very great perplexity how to maintain his Army, which being all imployed either in the approaches, or guard of the Forts, could not inlarge it self to live upon the Country, though the season of the year, and the fields full of fruits, were very favourable for the sustenance both of men and horses: To these respects was added, the difficulty of the siege, which (by reason of the strength of the City, the number and valour of the defendents, and the prudence and diligence of Monsieur *de Vic*) proved so hard and dangerous, that many counselled to raise the Camp without losing themselves upon an impossible enterprize, and not stay for the King of *France* his coming, who being victorious in *Bourgongne*, was already known to be moving towards *Picardy*.

But in the midst of these difficulties there arose new unthought-of accidents: The people of *Cambray* accustomed to live under the pleasing Government of the Archbishops, had impatiently brook'd the Rule of the Mareschal *de Balagny*, and their disdain and heart-burning had increased so much the more after the King of *France*, depriving the Crown of the Dominion it had over it, had granted it in Fee to *Balagny*, whose haughty covetous mind did very much augment the discontents of the Citizens. To this evil was added the insupportable nature of Madam *de Balagny* the Mareschals Wife, who being partaker in the Investment, did not only turn and govern her Hus-

1595. band as ſhe pleaſed, but with extortions, rapines, womaniſh taunts, and extream ill-uſage had brought the City into a general deſperation: wherefore when the Spaniſh Camp began to hover in thoſe quarters, the people under colour of ſending to demand relief from the King, had diſpatched unto him two of their moſt noted Citizens, who propounded, that if the King would take away the Dominion of the City from *Balagny*, and incorporate it into the Crown of *France*, they at their own charge would pay the Gariſon, and defend and maintain it againſt the ſiege of the Spaniards, ſo that the King ſhould be put to no manner of trouble nor expence at all; which requeſt having been rejected by means of Madam *Gabriele*, infinitely beloved and favoured by the King, they were returned, and by putting the buſineſs in deſpair, had abſolutely ſtirred up and enraged the people. When men were thus ill-affected, the neceſſity of the Siege came upon them, in which Monſieur *de Balagny* being utterly without money, found a way to coin certain pieces of Copper, commanding by a publick Proclamation, that every one ſhould receive them without diſpute, they being afterward to be changed, when the City was freed from the preſent ſiege; but many being very backward to take that money, (as well becauſe they knew not what the event of the ſiege would be, as becauſe they truſted little to the faith of *Balagny*) were the cauſe that he and his Wife uſed many violent ways to make their Decree be obeyed; by which, the people exaſperated, took their opportunity when (the breach being made) all the Souldiers were diſpoſed in ſeveral places upon the wall, and riſing tumultuouſly in arms, made themſelves Maſters firſt of the Market-place, kept by a Main-guard of two hundred Switzers, and then of the *Porte de S. Sepulchre*, which as furtheſt from danger, was leaſt guarded, and then diſpatched two of the principal Citizens to treat of ſurrendering upon certain Conditions: Theſe happening into the Squadron of the Prince of *Avellino*, were ſent by him to the *Condé de Fuentes*, who being aſſured by the Prince that the Citizens had indeed made themſelves Maſters of the *Porte de S. Sepulchre*, commanded the Battery to ceaſe, and applied himſelf to treat with the Deputies.

The Sieur *de Balagny* in neceſſity, coins copper-money

The Citizens riſing in an uproar, make themſelves Maſters of a gate, and ſend their Deputies to capitulate with the Count *de Fuentes*.

In the mean time Monſieur *de Vic* having heard the noiſe, was come into the Market-place, ſtriving to appeaſe the tumult, and quiet the Citizens with effectual perſwaſions, ſince that by force they could not be compelled, being very many in number, fierce in courage, well armed, and, which imported more, not only Maſters already of all the ſtreets, but alſo of a gate, whereby they might let in the Spaniſh Army at their pleaſure: but his words did no good at all, ſo that accommodating himſelf to the neceſſity of time, he exhorted them to treat warily with the Spaniards, and to ſecure their buſineſs well, leſt they ſhould run into the precipice of being ſacked, as it often uſes to happen to thoſe who ſlacken their defence, while they treat of compoſition. This he ſaid, and perſwaded the people, becauſe he deſired to prolong the time, that in the interim he might withdraw his Souldiers into the Cittadel. After him came Madam *de Balagny*, who with a manly ſpirit made a long diſcourſe unto the people: but her preſence did rather ſtir up than appeaſe the tumult; inſomuch, that ſcarce were the Souldiers gotten into the Cittadel, when the people began to open the gate they had got into their power. The Deputies at the ſame time came in with the Capitulations ſubſcribed by the *Conde Fuentes*, which in ſubſtance contained, That the City ſhould be freed from plunder, and ſhould have a general pardon for all things paſt; That the Citizens ſhould enjoy their ancient Priviledges, and remain under the obedience of the Archbiſhop, as they were wont to be before; which Articles being accepted by the people, *Gaſtone Spinola* and Count *Giovan Giacopo Belgiojoſo* entered without delay into the City with three hundred Horſe, and after them *Agoſtino Meſſia* with the Spaniſh Foot, and without any tumult or loſs to the Inhabitants, poſſeſſed themſelves of the place. The ſame night entred the Archbiſhop with the *Conde de Fuentes*, and were received with marvellous joy by the Citizens, who were glad after the ſpace of ſo many years to ſee themſelves free from the vexation of an inſolent power, and to return to their old manner of Government.

The Citizens open the gates and receive their Deputies with the Capitulations, and the Spaniards are brought into *Cambray*.

In the mean time the French were retired into the Cittadel, with a reſolution to defend it a long time; but they preſently perceived the impoſſibility of their deſign; for having opened the Magazines of Corn, and other Victual, they ſcarce found wherewithal to ſubſiſt two days: This unthought-of defect proceeded from Madam *de Balagny*, who no leſs imprudent than covetous, had (unknown to her Husband) ſold all that was in the publick Store; ſo that the Count *de Fuentes* having ſent to ſummon

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the Defendents to yield before the Artillery were planted, they ſeeing they could not ſuſtain themſelves, did to the wonder of every one that knew not the cauſe, and to the amazement of the Count himſelf, accept the propoſition of ſurrendring upon certain Articles that were demanded by them; which the Count ſhewing to bear reſpect to the youth of the Duke of *Rhetelois*, and to the valour and reputation of Monſieur *de Vic*; but indeed, that he might not make the obtaining of the Caſtle more difficult to himſelf, did very largely grant them. 1595.

The Conditions were, That the Cittadel ſhould be conſigned into the hands of the Count *de Fuentes*, with all the Artillery and Ammunition of War; and that on the other ſide, he ſhould be obliged to cauſe the Caſtle of *Clery*, taken by his men a while before, to be diſmantled within ſix days; that the Duke of *Rhetelois*, the Mareſchal *de Balagny*, Monſieur *de Vic*, and all the other Lords, Commanders, Gentlemen and Souldiers of what Nation ſoever, might march out in rank and file, their Cornets and Colours flying, Match lighted, and Bullet in mouth, and that to that end, thoſe Colours ſhould be reſtored unto them, that had been left in the City, and that they might march on their way, with Trumpets ſounding and Drums beating: that the Arms, Horſes, and Baggage belonging to Souldiers, which had been left in the Town, ſhould be reſtored; and if any thing were wanting, the value of it ſhould be paid at that price which ſhould be agreed upon by Monſieur *du Roſne*, and Colonel *Meſſia* on the one part, and the Sieurs *de Vic* and *de Buy* on the other; that likewiſe Madam *de Balagny*, with all the other women, the ſick and wounded men, Courtiers, and ſervants of any perſon whatſoever might go forth freely; that the priſoners ſhould be freed without ranſom; that Monſieur *de Balagny*'s debts, whether about the money, or any other occaſion, ſhould be remitted, neither ſhould he be moleſted, or his baggage ſeized on for them; that all that the ſaid Mareſchal, his Wife, Sons, Captains, Officers and Servants had done in times paſt, ſhould be forgiven and forgotten, neither ſhould any of them be therefore queſtioned, either by the Catholick King, or the Citizens of *Cambray*.

Theſe Conditions were concluded upon the ſeventh of *October*, and were executed the ninth, which day all went forth in the manner determined, marching towards *Peronne*; only Madam *de Balagny*, (being deſperate no leſs becauſe ſhe was to leave the Principality, than becauſe of her own improvidence, by reaſon whereof they were neceſſitated to yield the Cittadel) out of anguiſh and affliction of mind, fell grievouſly ſick, and not only refuſing to take medicines, but alſo even all kinds of nouriſhment, died miſerably before the time of their marching out was come.

The Count *de Fuentes* having ſo fortunately obtained ſo many and ſo ſignal Victories, whereby his Name reſounded with infinite fame, ſeeing his men were tired, and out of order, by their paſt toils and ſufferings, and finding himſelf in exceeding great ſtraits for money to ſatisfie the arrears of their pay, reſolved to diſſolve his Army, and draw it into ſeveral quarters; ſo much the rather, becauſe the ſeaſon was near to the uſual rains of *Autumn*, and becauſe the King of *France* was expected in *Picardy* with a victorious Army; wherefore having put five hundred Spaniſh Foot into the Cittadel of *Cambray*, under the command of *Agoſtino Meſſia*, and having left two thouſand German Foot to defend the Town, he gave the Archbiſhop liberty to govern the City, in the ſame manner he was wont to do, before it came into the power of the Duke of *Alancon*; and having divided his Foot into the Towns of *Artois*, *Heynault*, and *Flanders*, he went to the City of *Bruxels*, at ſuch time when the King of *France* was come with the greateſt ſpeed he could poſſibly to *Compeign*, being exceedingly afflicted at the ſufferings of his party, for which not only that whole Province was ſad and grieved, but even the very City of *Paris* was full of fear and terrour, ſeeing the Spaniards run on victorious in a Country ſo near it.

The Count *de Fuentes* having put the Government of *Cambray* into the Archbiſhops hands, leaves *Picardy*, and goes to *Bruxels*.

Theſe were the Progreſſes of War between the French and the Spaniards upon the confines of *Flanders*; but they were no leſs proſperous this year; for the ſame party in the Province of *Bretaign*, though they were ſtill managed under the name of the League; for the Duke *de Mercœur* (though there was no very good correſpondence between him and the Spaniards; yet making uſe of their ſhelter, in things which were of common intereſt, and holding the principal places of the Province, and the major part of the Nobility of the Country at his devotion) hindred all the proceedings of the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, and Monſieur *de St. Luc*, who commanded on the Kings ſide; and though for the moſt part, they ſpent their time in incurſions, and actions

1595. of ſmall moment, wherein fortune often varied, yet the ſum of affairs inclined ſtill in favour of the Duke, inſomuch that he had in a manner reduced all the Province into his power; which was the more eaſily effected by him, becauſe the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, while he fruitleſly buſied himſelf about the ſiege of the Caſtle of *Comper*, a wonderous ſtrong place, was wounded under the left Elbow with a Musket ſhot, which broke both the Bones, whereof he died within a while after. Wherefore Monſieur *de St. Luc*, who ſucceeded him in that command, though a Cavalier of exceeding great valour, yet neither by the authority of his perſon, nor by the dignity of his charge, could he equal the reputation wherewith the Mareſchal upheld the precipitate declining of affairs; to which was added, that the King having conferred the dignity of Mareſchal upon Monſieur *de Lavardin*, which *St. Luc* expected ſhould have been conferred upon him, he was afterward by diſcontent of mind, much cooled, and taken off from action; ſo that it was neceſſary for the King to call him to him, and give him hopes of riſing to thoſe honours which ſeemed due unto his merit, by which changes, the affairs of War, on that ſide, went on but with ſmall ſucceſs.

The Mareſchal d' *Aumont* is killed with a Musket ſhot.

But if the affairs of the League ſeemed ſomething proſperous in *Bretagne*, the adverſeneſs of them in *Dauphine*, reduced the ſtate of it to utter ruine. The Duke of *Nemours* held in that Province, the City of *Vienne*, whither he had retired after the loſs of *Lyons*, and having well fortified the Town with the Caſtle of *Pipet*, near unto it, and furniſhed them with French Horſe, and Italian Foot, he did continually infeſt the Country about *Lyons*, obſtructing the ways, and interrupting the commerce, which that Merchant-City hath with the Neighbouring Provinces; ſo that by his fierceneſs and diligence, he put all the Country of *Lyons* into ſuch fear, that from the beginning of the year, they had begged of the King to ſend them ſuch relief as might be ſufficient to free them from thoſe ſtreights to which they were reduced. But the King buſied in the affairs of *Bourgongne*, gave order to the Duke of *Montmorancy*, (whom he had already declared Conſtable) that he ſhould go down from *Languedoc*, and aſſiſt the City of *Lyons* againſt the Duke of *Nemours*, which he preparing to do, *Nemours* knowing he was unable to reſiſt, and hold out of himſelf, reſolved to make his addreſſes to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to the Conſtable of *Caſtille* for ſupplies, for the facilitating whereof, he determined to go perſonally to *Turin* and *Milan*, leaving the Sieur *de Diſemieux*, a Colonel of Foot, and a near Confident of his, to govern his Forces and the Town of *Vienne*: But the High Conſtable *Montmorancy*, coming much ſooner than the Duke believed, united his Forces, with thoſe of *Alfonſo Corſo*, and fiercely made War againſt his party. Whereupon *Diſemieux*, either following the inclination of Fortune, (as moſt men are wont to do) or not thinking his ſtrength ſufficient to make reſiſtance, agreed underhand to deliver up *Vienne* unto the Conſtable; provided, the Duke of *Nemours* his Forces might be ſuffered to march away without moleſtation, and retire into *Savoy*; and to the end the deſign might be the more eaſily effected, and not be oppoſed by the Captains of the Gariſon, or Officers of the Town, he ſecretly gave the Caſtle of *Pipet* into the hands of *Alfonſo Corſo*; and then having unexpectedly ſent for the Conſtable to one of the Town-gates, which was guarded by thoſe he truſted, he at the ſame time let the Captains of the Gariſon know, that the Enemy was at the Gates, that he had delivered up the Caſtle, and had made an agreement to admit him into the Town, upon condition that they might march ſafe away: Wherefore they being confounded and affrighted at a thing never thought on before, but much more at the urgency of the buſineſs, ſince the Conſtable was already received in at the Gate, accepted of the ſafe conduct, without contradiction, and retired unmoleſted to the confines of the Duke of *Savoy*. All the other Towns followed the example of *Vienne*; inſomuch, that the Duke of *Nemours* returning out of *Italy*, found not any place where he could ſtay; wherefore going to *Anicy*, a Town of his own Patrimony, he was ſo oppreſſed with deſpair, that he fell into a grievous ſickneſs, which brought him to his end in the Autumn of this year.

While the Duke of *Nemours* who upheld the League in *Dauphine*, goes to *Turin* and *Milan* to get ſupplies, Colonel *Diſemieux* his Lieutenant delivers up the Fortreſſes unto the Duke of *Montmorancy*, whereupon he ſeeing himſelf deprived of all retreat, in deſpair falls ſick and dies.

Thus the whole Province of *Dauphiné* being reduced unto the Kings obedience, there remained only the War which Monſieur *Les Diguieres* (paſſing the Alps) had carried into *Piedmont*, which though it varied with diverſity of effects, and with frequent valiant encounters, which by the difficulty of places where they happened, were rendred more ſharp and bloody; yet in the main it proved of very great damage to the Duke of *Savoy*, whoſe Country was the ſeat of the War.

Nor

Nor were the affairs of the League more proſperous in *Gaſcogne* and *Languedoc*; for though the Duke of *Joyeuſe* (who after his Brothers death had left the Cloiſter of Capuchins, and put on arms to ſuſtain the weight of that Government) laboured to keep the Nobility united, under pretence of expecting what would be determined at *Rome*; yet many of them weary of the War, and dejected by ſo many adverſities of their party, came in daily to acknowledge the King; and the Parliament of *Tholouſe* was ſo divided, that part of the Counſellors declaring for the King, went forth of the City, and retired to *Chaſteau Sarrazin*, where being ſuccoured by the Duke of *Vantadour*, the Conſtable's Lieutenant in the Government of *Languedoc*, and by the Mareſchal *de Matignon* Governour of *Guienne*, the War was fiercely kindled: but fortune and the will of men inclining already to favour the King's affairs, firſt the Town of *Rhodez* came in, with many Caſtles and Towns depending upon it; and then *Narbonne* and *Carcaſſonne*, principal places for the League, making a tumult, yielded themſelves; ſo that the Duke of *Joyeuſe* was as it were ſhut within the walls of *Tholouſe*, and kept himſelf up with nothing elſe but the meer hope of the Accommodation which was cloſely treated by Preſident *Jeannin* for the whole League; for the Duke of *Mayenne* who for that purpoſe was come to *Chalon*, after the King's Abſolution was publiſhed, (which to the exceeding great prejudice of his own affairs, he had reſolved by all means to ſtay for) that he might ſhew the end of his deſigns had been barely reſpect of Religion; and that therefore he had never been withdrawn from the Pope's obedience by any adverſity whatſoever; being now freed from that impediment, cloſed up the Treaty of Agreement, in which, as Head of the Party, he reſerved an entrance for all thoſe that would follow him.

1595. The Duke of *Joyeuſe* who formerly turned Capuchin for his wifes death, now upon occaſion of his brothers death leaves the Cloiſter, and takes arms for the League.

In the Treaty of this Accommodation there aroſe two wondrous great difficulties, which were very hard to be overcome; one, the great ſum of the debts contracted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, not only in many places, and with many Merchants of the Kingdom of *France*, but alſo with the Switzers, Germans, and Lorainers, for the raiſing of Souldiers; for the Duke of *Mayenne* ſtanding upon it to have them paid by the King, and he at that preſent not having money to ſatisfie them, it was very difficult to find a mean in that buſineſs: the Duke being reſolved that his eſtate ſhould not be lyable to the payment; and on the other ſide, the Creditors neither conſenting to tranſfer nor defer what they had truſted, but would have ſatisfaction in ready money; The other difficulty was the commemoration of the late King's death; for all the Decrees and Agreements made in favour of thoſe of the League, who were returned unto the Kings obedience, having ſtill contained pardon and forgiveneſs of all paſt offences, except the death of *Henry* the Third, (which had always with expreſs words been diſtinguiſhed and excepted:) The Duke of *Mayenne* would have ſuch a kind of mean found out, whereby on the one ſide he might not appear to have been the Author of it; and on the other, he might not be ſubject to the Inquiſition which might be made concerning that buſineſs for the future, leſt under that pretence occaſion might be taken ſome time or other to revenge paſt injuries. It was extreamly difficult to untie this knot; for not only the King thought it very hard to let paſs into oblivion ſo hainous a fact, and pernicious an example of attempting againſt the perſons of Kings, but alſo the Parliament would not ſuffer it, and, it was moſt certain, the Queen Dowager, who often had demanded juſtice, would oppoſe it.

Difficulties that interpoſed themſelves in the ſetling of the Accommodation with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

Theſe two difficulties hindered the concluding of the Accommodation in *Bourgongne*; and the King being neceſſitated to go ſpeedily into *Picardy*, had taken Preſident *Jeannin* with him to continue the Treaty; but nothing at all having been concluded in the journey, much leſs could it be done when they were come to *Paris*; for the affairs of the War with the Spaniards were brought into ſo great danger, that the King and all his Miniſters were taken up and afflicted both in mind and body: wherefore the Preſident was fain to follow the Army into *Picardy*, whither the King marched with an intent to relieve the City of *Cambray*; but the ſpeedy victory of the Spaniards having taken away the neceſſity of relief, the King being come to *Fol-ambray*, (a houſe of pleaſure built by King *Francis* the Firſt for a hunting-ſeat) called all his Council to him, that the things appertaining to the peace with the Duke of *Mayenne* might with maturity be diſcuſſed and determined. After much treating and much debating, obſtacles and oppoſitions ariſing in all things, it ſeemed moſt expedient to ſend for the proofs and inquiſitions that had been made by the Parliament touching the Kings death, and alſo for ſome of the Preſidents and Councellors of that Court, to ſee what clearneſs

The King being come to *Fol-ambray*, conſults long about matters concerning the Agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

1595. neſs there was in them, and that they might determine which way was the beſt to manage the expedition of that buſineſs. The Writings being ſeen, and the matter put into conſultation, though ſome ſigns appeared diverſly againſt divers perſons, yet did there not appear any ſuch thing as was ſufficient to determine the proceeding againſt any body; and though neither the Queen Dowager as Plaintiff had yet brought in the particulars of her accuſation, nor the Parliament had dived very far into the diſcuſſion and inquiry into that buſineſs; yet it was thought, the not appearing, at that preſent, that the Duke of *Mayenne* or any of his were guilty of that fact, might ſerve for a pretence of finding out a mean to ſatisfie his honour, and likewiſe free him from the danger of future inquiſition. Wherefore it having been many days conſulted of between the High Chancellour, the firſt Preſident *Harlay*, the Sieur *de Villeroy*, the Count *de Schombergh*, and Preſident *Jeannin*, they at laſt determined, That in the Decree which the King was to cauſe to be publiſhed, and regiſtred in the Parliament, there ſhould be a clauſe inſerted, which in ſubſtance ſhould contain, That the King having cauſed the Proceſs made upon the death of the late King to be viewed in the preſence of himſelf, the Princes of the Blood, and the Officers of the Crown in Council, there had not been any token found againſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, nor againſt any other Prince or Princeſs of his Blood; and that having been deſirous for the greater certainty, to hear what they alledged about it, they had ſworn that they had not any any knowledge of, nor participation in that crime; and that if they had known it, they would have oppoſed the execution of it: Wherefore he did declare, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and all the other Princes and Princeſſes his Adherents were innocent of that fact; and therefore he prohibited his Atturney-General to urge at any time that they ſhould be proceeded againſt, and likewiſe forbad the Court of Parliament, and all other Officers and Lawyers, to make any inquiſition about it.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and the Princes and Princeſſes his Adherents are declared innocint of the death of *Henry* the Third.

The difficulty concerning the payment of debts was alſo taken away: for the King promiſed ſecretly to diſburſe unto the Duke of *Mayenne* Four hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns for the payment of his debts contracted to particular perſons; and as for the debt of the Leavies, the King freed the Duke of *Mayenne* from it, conſtituting himſelf Pay-maſter for him, and transferring the debt upon the Crown, forbidding the Duke or his eſtate to be moleſted for that occaſion. It was likewiſe eſtabliſhed, though not without diſpute, that peace ſhould be made with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as Head of his Party; which the King had refuſed, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe that were ſeverally come in to his obedience; and chiefly in reſpect of *Paris*, and the other principal Cities: And the Duke of *Mayenne* for his own honour, and the reputation of his agreement, ſtood obſtinately for it.

The ſubſtance of the agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The King granted three places to the Duke of *Mayenne* for his ſecurity, which were *Soiſſons*, *Chalon*, and *Seure*, the Dominion of which he was to hold for the ſpace of ſix years, and after the ſaid term to reſtore them. He confirmed all the Collations of Offices and Benefices that had been vacant by death during his Government, provided the Poſſeſſors ſhould take new Patents for them under the Kings Broad-Seal. He made a Decree of oblivion and ſilence of all things paſt, intelligences with Foreign Princes, raiſing of Moneys, exactions of Taxes, impoſitions of Payments, gathering of Armies, demoliſhings or buildings of Cities and Fortreſſes, acts of Hoſtility, killings of Men, and particularly of the Marquiſs *de Menelay*, killed by Lieutenrnt *Magny* at *la Fere*; and finally, all things done till the end of the War, which he with honourable expreſſions declared and certified to have been undertaken and continued for the ſole reſpect and defence of Religion. He granted him the Government of the Iſle of *France*, and the Superintendence of the *Finances*; and to his Son the Government of *Chalon*, ſeparated and divided from the ſuperiority of the Governour of *Bourgongne*. He comprehended in the Capitulation all thoſe that together with him ſhould reunite themſelves under his obedience, and particularly the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, the Marquiſs of *Villars* and the Sieur *de Montpezat*, the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Sons-in-law; Monſieur *de l' Eſtrange* Governour of *Puys*, Monſieur *de S. Offange* Governour of *Rocheforte*, the Sieur *du Pleſſis* Governour of *Craon*, and the Sieur *de la Severie* Governour of *Ganache*. He ſuſpended the Sentences and Judgments paſt againſt the Duke of *Mercœur* and againſt the Duke of *Aumale*, till it were known whether they would be comprehended in the Accommodation; granting to every one (beſides the oblivion of what was paſt, and the full enjoying of their Eſtates, Offices, and Dignities)

nities) leave within ſix weeks time to come into the Capitulation, and adhere unto the peace. 1595.

Within theſe principal Conditions, and many other leſſer ones, the Duke of *Mayenne* concluded the Agreement; but there was enough to do to get this Decree accepted in the Parliament of *Paris*; for though the King with his own mouth forbad the Queen-Dowagers Miniſters to oppoſe the publication of it, yet was there notwithſtanding as great an obſtacle and oppoſition: for *Diana de Valois* Dutcheſs of *Angouleſme*, and Baſtard-Siſter to the late King, appearing perſonally in the Parliament, preſented a Petition written and ſubſcribed with her own hand, whereby contradicting the confirmation of the Decree, ſhe urged to have them proceed in the Inqueſt about the Kings death: whereupon moſt of the Counſellors being ſtirred up, becauſe the major part of their Fathers had either been created by that King, or highly offended by the League, the acceptation of the Decree could not be obtained; and yet the King with very vehement Letters reprehended the Parliament, and declared that the publick peace and ſafety requiring that the Decree ſhould be regiſtred, his will and command was that it ſhould be accepted. Yet neither by this were the Counſellors of the Parliament quieted; but they came to this reſolution, That the Decree ſhould be publiſhed, but with two conditions; one, That it ſhould be no prejudice to the right of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Creditors; the other, That he ſhould be obliged to come into the Parliament, and with his own mouth ſwear that he had not been any way acceſſary to the fact; that he deteſted the murther committed upon the Kings perſon, and promiſed not to ſave, protect, or favour any one that in time to come ſhould be queſtioned for it. At which ſtubbornneſs the King more than moderately incenſed, with grave reſenting words replied, *That they ſhould take heed how they put him to the trouble of leaving the War, to come perſonally into the Parliament; That he was their King, and that he would be obeyed by them.* But neither did this proteſtation ſuffice; for they determined to accept the Decree, but with ſuch words as ſhould ſhew that it was done by force of the Kings expreſs command; which neither pleaſing him nor the Duke of *Mayenne*, it was neceſſary for the High Chancellour to go to *Paris*, and after a long effectual demonſtration of the intereſts of the general quiet, cauſe the Decree at laſt to be approved, without clauſes or conditions.

Difficulties and oppoſitions in the Parliament of *Paris*, about receiving the Decree of the Agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The Duke of *Mayenne*'s example was followed, not only by thoſe that were named in the Capitulation, but alſo by the Marquiſs of St. *Soulin*, the City and Parliament of *Tholouſe*, and all the reſt which formerly held the party of the League, except the Duke of *Aumale*, who having accorded with the Spaniards, and being exaſperated by the Sentence publiſhed this year by the Parliament, (wherein he had been declared Rebel) would not conſent to ſubmit himſelf unto the Kings obedience. The Duke of *Mercœur*, though by means of his Siſter the Queen-Dowager, he kept the Treaty of Agreement alive; yet being ſtill full of hopes, by the help of the Spaniards, to retain the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, he deferred it, and put off his determination till another time.

The Duke of *Aumale* incenſed by having been declared Rebel, keeps united with the Spaniards.

The Duke of *Mercœur* Brother to the Q. Dowager, perſiſts in his propoſition of keeping *Bretagne* to himſelf.

But in the interim, while the conditions of theſe Accommodations were treated of, and diſcuſſed in the Council, the King exceedingly afflicted for his late misfortune, and ſollicitous by ſome means to repair the loſſes he had received, wherein he ſeemed to bear a great part of the blame, as well by reaſon of his too long ſtay at *Lyons*, as of the ill-ſatisfaction he had given the Citizens of *Cambray* in their requeſts, was ſtill contriving in himſelf, and continually conſulting with his Commanders, to what enterpriſe he ſhould apply himſelf. The Duke of *Nevers* had formerly an intention to aſſault one of the places of the County of *Artois*, belonging to the King of *Spain*, not only to do the ſame miſchief unto his Country, which he had done to the Juriſdiction of the King of *France*; but alſo becauſe he believed that long peace had abaſed the courage of that people, and made many of their proviſions for defence uſeleſs: Whereupon he had exhorted the King, that increaſing his Army to the greateſt number he could, he ſhould unexpectedly fall upon *Arras*, or ſome other great City in thoſe quarters; judging that the *Conde de Fuentes*, troubled with the many mutinies of ſeveral Nations, and reduced to extream want of money, would very hardly be able to reunite his Army time enough to relieve the place that ſhould be aſſaulted: But after that he being ſpent with a tedious indiſpoſition, departed this life at *Neſle*, this intention (which was ſet on foot by the reputation of the Author) came to nothing; for the other Commanders thought it too dangerous an attempt to invade the Bowels of an Enemies

The death of *Lodovic Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*.

1595. Enemies Country, where all the Towns are populous and powerful, while by the loſs of ſo many places, they were ſo much troubled at home, and while the Spaniſh Gariſons over-running all parts, kept the whole Country in fear and terrour.

True it is, that of all the places that were loſt, their opinions concurred not ſo well in the choice of that which they ſhould aſſault, as they did in refuſing to invade the Enemies Country; for ſome held it beſt in the ſame heat of affairs to beſiege *Cambray*, to try to recover it before the Spaniards had ſetled themſelves, by mending the breaches that were lately made; but the ſmallneſs of the Kings Army excluded this opinion, it not being ſufficient to begird a City of ſo great circuit, exceedingly well fortified with a very ſtrong Gariſon. Many others counſelled to fall upon *Dourlans*, to take the ſame way to ſtreighten *Cambray* which the Spaniards had done; but the oppoſitions againſt this advice were, the ſtrength of the place, and the diligence wherewith it was guarded by *Hernando Telles Portocarero*, who was the Governour of it: So that at laſt the opinion that prevailed was that of the Mareſchal *de Byron*, and of Monſieur *de St. Luc*, (who was come to the Camp to execute the Office of General of the Artillery, which was left by Monſieur *de la Guiche*, to whom the King had given the Government of *Lyons*) they counſelled to beſiege *la Fere*, a place of chief importance, but ſhut up in ſuch manner by a Fen that invirons it, that there are but only two ways to come from the field unto the Town: wherefore they demonſtrated that by blocking up thoſe two *Avenues* with a Fort upon each of them, the place might with a ſmall number of men be ſo beſieged and ſtreightned, that there being no means to relieve it with Victual; it might without much difficulty be taken, not by force, but famine.

Upon the 8th of *November* the King lays ſiege to *la Fere*, a place ſtrong both by art and nature.

The King reſolved to follow this advice; and having drawn his Forces together which were ſcattered thorow the Province, drew near unto *la Fere* upon the eighth of *November* with Five thouſand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horſe, and having taken the *Avenues*, and cauſed the people of the Country round about to come in to work, he in a few days raiſed two Forts, each of which being able to hold One thouſand Foot, and conveniently furniſhed with Artillery, did totally block up the ways unto the Town; the reſt of the Foot in reſpect of the ſeaſon, lay in a great Village upon the edge of the Fen, and the Horſe took up their Quarters in the Villages on the North-ſide towards *Flanders* to hinder relief. Don *Alvaro Oſorio*, an old experienced Souldier, was in *la Fere*; For the Vice-Seneſchal *de Montelimar*, to whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had intruſted that place, had by little and little given it up unto the Spaniards, reſerving only the title of Count *de la Fere*, and the revenue of the place, with other recompences, which had been liberally given him, firſt by the Archduke *Erneſt*, and then by the *Condé de Fuentes*. The place abounded in Ammunition of War; for the reliques of all the Catholick Kings Armies which of late years had marched into *France*, had been left there, and the Gariſon of Spaniards, Italians and Germans, was not only ſufficient, but more than need required for the defence of it, which increaſed the want of Victual, whereof (there being but ſmall proviſion in the Town) the Kings ſudden approach had not given them time to get in any; wherefore the Forts being raiſed, and the paſſages of both ways ſhut up on all ſides, the Defendents began from the firſt days of the ſiege to feel great ſcarcity of Victual.

The Archduke *Albert* Cardinal of *Auſtria* goes to be Governour in *Flanders*.

About this time *Albert* Cardinal of *Auſtria* deſtined by the Catholick King to the Government of the Provinces of *Flanders*, was come to *Bruxelles*, and having received the Adminiſtration, and the Army from the *Condé de Fuentes*, he began to think how he might uphold that degree of proſperity and glory, in which his Predeceſſors in a few months had ſetled himſelf with victorious actions; and becauſe the redoubled letters of Don *Alvaro* from the very beginning of the ſiege gave notice of the want of Victual in *la Fere*, he determined before all things elſe, to apply himſelf to the relief of that place; but it was difficult to reſolve upon, for the Army out of order by the toils and ſufferings of the late Summer, was divided into many ſeveral places, to their Winter Quarters, and there for want of pay had made many inſurrections, ſo that the Italian Cavalry had mutinied afreſh, and turned to ſeize upon *Liramont*; in another place *Gaſtone Spinola*'s Tertia of Sicilians had done the like, two Tertia's of Spaniards having caſt off their obedience, did likewiſe quarter themſelves at diſcretion in advantageous places; and the Walloons not openly in Rebellion, did yet deny to ſtir out of their Quarters, unleſs they were fully paid; inſomuch that before the Merchants could

could ſatisfie the Bills of exchange brought by the Cardinal, and that the Soldiers could be paid and regulated with that mony, much time of neceſſity muſt be ſpent; and therefore there could not be a body of an Army drawn together ſufficient for that or any other enterpriſe. To this was added the croſsneſs of the ſeaſon, by reaſon of raines and other incommodities ſo contrary, that before better weather it was impoſſible to think of ſtirring with men, Artillery, and other proviſions which War requires; beſides, to enter into an Enemies Country, nay, and to the very center of one of their Provinces, in a time, when not only the fields neither afforded ſuſtenance for men, or horſes, but even the crop of the late harveſt was conſumed by the ruinous War that had been there already, was not a thing to be thought on, by reaſon of the difficulty of feeding the Army, and for fear of being reduced to ſome ſiniſter accident, by the diligence of the King of *France*; which conſiderations ſeemed greater to the Cardinal, not accuſtomed to the dangerous experiments of War; wherefore, after long conſultation, it was determined in the Councel, that *Nicolo Baſti*, marching with part of the light-horſe into *Picardy*, ſhould attempt to put ſome quantity of victuals into *la Fere*, wherewith the beſieged might ſubſiſt till the favourableneſs of the ſeaſon, and the courſe of affairs in *Flanders* would afford means to give them full relief. 1596.

With theſe Counſels ended the year Fifteen hundred ninety five, leaving many occaſions of War and bloody encounters kindled for the revolution of the year following; in the beginning whereof, the firſt event was the recovery of *Marſeilles*, a City and Haven of high conſequence, ſtanding in the County of *Provence*, upon the ſhoar of the Mediterranean Sea. The people of this City rich by Trafique of Merchandize, and numerous in inhabitants, hold many priviledges, and injoy many important immunities, obtained from the time that they were ſubject to the Counts of *Provence*; and amply confirm'd afterward, when they came under the Dominion of the Kingdom of *France*, among which the moſt principal is this, that the Citizens chuſe a Conſul of themſelves, who, together with a Lieutenant named by him without other ſuffrage, governs the affairs of the Town, keeps the Keys of the Gates, and hath the care of the defence as well of the City as of the Haven; and this Prerogative, which looks rather like a kind of liberty, than an intire ſubjection, the *Marſilians* have alwayes conſerv'd with that vivacity, that is proper to their nature and diſpoſition, not admitting any kind of Garriſon, and governing themſelves with cuſtoms, fit for a Merchant and Seafaring life, of which two ſorts of perſons the inhabitants for the moſt part conſiſt. 1596.

The City of *Marſeilles* in the County of *Provence*, is govern'd by the election of a Conſul and Lieutenant.

In the beginning, when the firſt originals of the League began to ſpring up, this City, by the authority of Monſieur *de Vins*, and by reaſon the Conſul and Lieutenant had been gained, took part with that ſide; and though by perſwaſion of the Counteſs *de Saux*, it firſt received the Duke of *Savoy*, and then out of jealouſie of their own liberty excluded him again, within a little while, and though the Count *de Carſy* and the Marquiſs *de Villars*, were often call'd for thither, for more ſecurity, yet it had ever preſerved its own being, and kept free from all forraign ſubjection. True it is, that having from the beginning of the War elected *Charles Caſant* their Conſul, and he having nominated *Louis de Aix*, his Lieutenant, men of ſubtil natures, and of bold fierce diſpoſitions, they agreed ſo well among themſelves, and had ſo great authority with the people, that continuing in their Magiſtracy for many years, without permitting any ſucceſſors to be choſen in their places, they had made themſelves as it were Lords of the City, and rul'd it their own way; But after the declining of the affairs of the League put every one upon a neceſſity of thinking of himſelf, theſe men knowing themſelves envied and ill-willed by the major part of the principal Citizens, and being in fear, by reaſon of their conſciouſneſs of many miſdeeds, which they had committed, to keep themſelves in their Government, thought of applying themſelves to the Spaniſh party, and held Treaties in that Court, about putting that City into the hands of the Catholick King, which being of ſo high importance and conveniency to his Kingdoms, as its greatneſs, ſtrength, richneſs, and ſituation ſhewed it to be, orders were given to *Carlo Doria*, that going from *Genoua*, into that Port, with ten Gallies well arm'd, and mann'd, under pretence of ſayling towards *Spain*, he ſhould favour their power, and attempts, to the end that being back'd with his Forces, they might have the better means dexterouſly to draw the people to put themſelves under the Spaniſh Signory, which *Doria* performing with infinite diligence, things went on in ſuch a manner, that

*Carlo Doria*, by order from the Catholick King, goes with ten gallies to *Marſeilles*, to foment the Conſul and Lieutenant of that City.

1596. the Catholick King was not far from obtaining his intent; and ſo much the rather, becauſe this attempt was coloured over with many reaſons, for which they pretended the Dominion of the County of *Provence* belonged to the *Infanta Iſabella*, beſides thoſe other rights ſhe had to the Crown of *France*.

The King of *France* makes complaint unto the Pope, concerning the attempts of the Spaniards.

The King of *France* being jealous, that the leavies of *Spain* and *Italy*, and the great preparation of a Fleet which the Catholick King made, tended to this end, and that the ſtay which the Conde *de Fuentes* and the Duke of *Paſtrana* (who were gone from *Flanders*) made at *Geneva*, was to overſee that buſineſs, was exceeding much troubled in minde, becauſe he could not turn that way, and gave Commiſſion to Monſieur *d' Oſſat* to make complaint about it to the Pope, letting him know, that if he withſtood not that deſign, he ſhould be conſtrained by neceſſity to call the Turkiſh Fleet into the Mediterranean Sea for his relief; which being effectually performed by *d' Oſſat*, the Pope ſtructen, and grown pale, either through fear or anger, made a grave diſcourſe againſt it: and yet, the Kings Agent ſhewing, that if *Marſeilles*, and the other Towns of *Provence*, ſhould fall into the hands of the Spaniards, *Avignon* alſo, and other Towns of the Pope's would not be without danger; he promiſed to uſe his indeavours to make that attempt be laid aſide. But there being added to the Kings complaints, the interpoſition of the Venetian and Florentine Ambaſſadors, jealous, that a City and Haven of ſo great conſequence, and that overlooks *Italy* ſo neerly, ſhould fall to the augmentation of the Spaniſh Monarchy; the Pope having often conſulted about this buſineſs, and not finding any proviſion againſt it, which he thought fit, took it to be expedient, that the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe*, who was returning into *France*, ſhould paſs by *Marſeilles*, and in his name uſe convenient mediation to *Caſaut*, and remove him from his deſign; which, though it was diligently executed, produced but ſmall effect; for *Caſaut*, a fierce man, and one more ſtout than prudent, did not withdraw himſelf for that, from his already eſtabliſhed appointment; ſo that the Venetian Senate, and the Grand Duke began to think of ſome more potent remedies to oppoſe that indeavour; nor was the Pope altogether averſe from their intention. But this ſtone of ſcandal was removed, either by the King's wonted fortune, or by the courage and diligence of his Miniſters.

He had newly conferred the Government of that Province upon the Duke of *Guiſe*, and to advance matters towards their proper end, had alſo choſen Monſieur *de les Diguieres* his Lieutenant, who, though they agreed not very well together, by reaſon of the difference of their Religion, and of the antient diverſity of their factions, were yet both ill-affected to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who, contending that that Government was lawfully his, uſed all his indeavours and utmoſt induſtry, to put himſelf in the poſſeſſion of it, and to drive out, no leſs thoſe of the King's party, than thoſe that yet held for the League; wherefore the King, deſirous that he ſhould, by ſome means, be conſtrained to quit what he already poſſeſſed there, receiving other Governments in other parts of the Kingdom, had appointed the Duke of *Guiſe* as his old Emulator, and *les Diguieres* as an honeſt man, but his bitter enemy, to ſecure the affairs of *Provence*. This determination had alſo other ends, and more remote conſiderations; for the Duke being newly come into the friendſhip and obedience of the King, with condition, to have that Government, to which the Houſe of *Loraine* had ſome pretenſions, by the antient hereditary rights of *Anjou*; the King thought it convenient to aſſure himſelf of him, by giving him a Lieutenant of ſuch a condition, as not onely was faithful by antient experience, but alſo wary, and reſolute to oppoſe whatſoever attempt the Duke (in ſo great a diſcord of mens minds, their old enmities not fully laid aſide) might perchance contrive. To theſe, another important reſpect was added, that *les Diguieres*, and Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo*, reſiding both in *Dauphine*, diſagreed, and thwarted one another in the ſervice, to the prejudice of common affairs; wherefore the King thought to remove the occaſion of that diſcord, by ſending *les Diguieres* into *Provence*, and by electing Colonel *Alfonſo* Lieutenant to the Prince of *Conty*, who was newly declared Governor of *Dauphine*.

But though the Duke of *Guiſe* nouriſhed ſincere thoughts, and no indirect ends, yet being come into the Province, either not being well ſatisfied to have a Lieutenant of ſo great credit, and of another Religion; or deſiring that the buſineſſes with the Duke of *Eſpernon* ſhould paſs under the name, and by the means of *les Diguieres*, not to put his own authority and name of Governor in doubt, he had given charge to his Lieutenant to put the Garriſons out of many Towns, which the Duke of *Eſpernon* held

Duke of *Eſpernon* held in them; and he himſelf going to *Aix*, applyed his mind wholly to the recovery of *Marſeilles*, as a thing of greater glory and importance, without allowing part in that to any body; and though many treaties, held by the means of men baniſhed out of that City, proved vain and fruitleſs, yet at laſt he gained one Captain *Pietro Liberta*, of *Corſica* by extraction; but born and bred in *Marſeilles*, who, with ſome certain Foot, guarded one of the Town-gates; wherefore, ſome of the Exiles being got unknown into the City, and having ſecretly ſtirred up the minds of many, who hated the tyranny of *Caſaut*, and who feared the Dominion of the Spaniard, they reſolved, that upon the eighteenth day of *February*, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould, with a good number of Horſe and Foot, be, about break of day, at a neighbouring Village, where, if certain ſignes were given him by them of the plot, he ſhould draw near to the *Porte Royale*, (a Gate ſo called) to be received in with all his Forces; whereupon, having drawn the men together, which he had in that Province, except thoſe of *les Diguieres*, (to whom he would not impart any thing of his deſign, that he might not ſhare in the honor of it,) he made ſhew that he would go and beſiege a Town within five Leagues of *Marſeilles*; and whilſt mens minds were amuſed on that ſide, he turning his Forces another way, the evening before the day appointed, advanced, with very great ſilence, toward the City; in which march, though in a very dark, and extream rainy night, and through dirty uneven wayes, he made ſo much haſte, that he came in the morning, according to appointment, to certain houſes near unto the Church of St. *Julian*, to expect there till the counterſigns were given him. 1596.

The Duke of *Guiſe* plots to get into *Marſeilles*, by means of Captain *Liberta* of *Corſica*, who guarded a Port there.

They that were of the plot, doubting that the ſtrange ill weather might have ſtayed the Dukes journey, ſent ſome of their ſoldiers forth of the gates, to the end, that diſcovering (according to the cuſtom) if the coaſt were clear round about, they might come to know whether he were arrived or no; Theſe returning back with exceeding great haſte, and ſaying, they had diſcovered armed men, under St. *Julian*'s, were the cauſe that *Louis d' Aix* (who was come to the gate a while before) after he had given the Conſul notice of the diſcovery, went out himſelf, with twenty of his moſt truſty men, to ſee whether that were true which the Soldiers related. As ſoon as he was out of the gate, they of the deſign ſhut down all the Portcullices; nor was it long before the Conſul came, who, while he was queſtioning his Soldiers, of what they had reported, was ſuddenly ſet upon by *Pietro Liberta*, and four of his companions, and being at firſt knock'd down with a great blow of a *Parteſan*, was preſently killed by them with their daggers; which being luckily effected, and the whole guard willingly following the will of their Captain, the Counterſignes were given by fire to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who being advanced to draw near unto the Gate, met with *Aix* the Lieutenant-Governor, and without much diſpute routed him ſo, that, being wounded, and in a very ill taking, he ran back; where, having found the gate ſhut, and poſſeſſed, he was conſtrained to ſave himſelf in the moat, and from thence ſcaling the Wall near unto the Haven, got into the utmoſt parts of the City, where, calling all his adherents into Arms, together with *Fabian Caſaut* Son to the Conſul, who was already ſlain, he marched up tumultuouſly with above Five hundred armed men, to recover the Gate; but in the mean time, it had been opened, and the Duke of *Guiſe* was entered with his Forces, and on the other ſide, the exiles calling the Citizens and common people to liberty, had rais'd the whole Town; wherefore, after that *Aix* and *Caſaut* had fought for the ſpace of half an hour at the entry of the ſtreet that led to the Port-Royal, the tumult ſtill increaſing every where of thoſe that being in Arms cried out *Vive le Roy, et Les Fleurs-delis*, they fearing to be catch'd in the midſt, retired into the Town-houſe, where, being fiercely preſs'd by the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, among the bullets, ſtones, pieces of wood, fire-works, which flew on every ſide, fought undauntedly at the head of his men, they being unable to reſiſt, fled ſecretly from thence, and croſſing the Haven in a Boat, got one of them into St. *Maries*-Church, and the other into the Convent of St. *Victoir*, and their men being left without help, were, in a very little time all cut in pieces.

The whole City was already run to the Duke of *Guiſe*, with white Scarfs; whereupon he not loſing a minutes time, at the ſame inſtant aſſaulted, and with ſmall reſiſtance poſſeſſed himſelf of the Forts of S. *Jehan*, and of *Cape de More*, which are upon the Sea, and from thence began without delay to play his Artillery upon *Doria*'s Gallies, which were gotten near the mouth of the Haven: great was the fright and tu-

1596. mult in the Gallies; but *Doria*, who had wisely kept himself far from the Forts, and in the beginning of the uproar had made all his Soldiers imbark, got out happily without receiving any harm, and putting out to Sea made away from the City. The Duke of *Guise*, victorious every where, was busied all that day in taking care, that the Town might not be indammaged in the tumult, and having lodg'd his men in the most principal posts, made himself absolute Master of the City, with so much the greater facility, because with his courage in fighting, and prudence in appeasing the uproar, he had exceedingly won the affections of the *Marsilians*. *Louis d' Aix*, and *Fabian Casaut* yielded the next after, having articled, that they might go freely to *Genoua* with their Goods, and that none of their adherents should be proceeded against with more than banishment; the City, in this manner, remaining free from their usurped Dominion, and utterly reduced unto the Kings obedience. The gaining of this place was very seasonable, and of great consequence, being a principal Port of the Mediterranean Sea, and a proper landing place for the commerce of many Nations; and so much the more seasonable was it at that time, when the Spanish power had already got footing in it; for, if with the benefit of time, they had setled themselves there, it would have been wondrous difficult, by reason of the neerness of the Catholick Kings other States, to drive them out again.

After a short fight the Duke of *Guise* makes himself master of the City and Forts of *Marseilles*, and drives *Carlo Dorias* Gallies out of the Haven.

In the mean time, while the re-union of the County of *Provence* is thus prosecuted, the besieged in *la Fere* were reduced to exceeding great want of victual; wherefore *Nicolo Basti*, who was destined to carry them relief, being come to *Doway*, was considering with himself, which way he should manage the business, to get some quantity of provisions into the Town; and every resolution seeming difficult, not only because the King's Cavalry, did with very great diligence obstruct all the wayes, but because the narrow passages that led to the Town were so much incumbred by the largeness of the Forts, that there was no hope of getting past them; and yet necessity urging, he gave *Alvaro Osorio* notice, that he should keep some little Boats ready to come forth of the Town, as soon as the sign was given him, and to draw near the Banks of the Fen, to receive the relief which he would attempt to bring unto that place; which intelligence being happily got into the Town, and the appointment made, he marched from *Doway* with Six hundred horse, and came by night to *Chasteler*, where he caused the Gates to be kept lock'd, to the end, that the French might not know any thing of his design: And having that day provided, that every one of his men should carry a Bag of Meal behind him, and a bundle of Match about his neck, (for they had also great want of that in *la Fere*) he set forth when it began to grow dark, and having past the River *Somme*, went upon the way of St. *Quentin*, and leaving that Town upon the right hand, marched with so much diligence, that upon the sixteenth day of *March* in the morning, he came near the quarters of the Kings Cavalry, who being advertised by the Sentinels shootings, took the Alarm, and got speedily to horse, believing that some relief of the enemy was near; but, a thick mist, which, by chance, rose by break of day, was so favourable to *Basti*'s designs, that the Kings *Corpes de Gardes*, betaking themselves to their arms on all sides, could not discover which way the Enemy came; and while they warily endeavoured to know and make discovery, *Basti*, without meeting any body, passing between the quarter of the *Reiters*, and that of the Duke of *Bouillon*, came to the bank of the Fen near the current of the River, and having found *Osorio* ready with his Boats to receive the relief, he made the Meal and Match be unladed with great celerity, faced about, and with the same speed, seeing the French and German Cavalry, who at last having notice of his arrival, had placed themselves upon the Road of St. *Quentin*, to hinder his retreat, he took a contrary way, and falling into that which leads to *Guise*, came back fortunately to *Cambray*, without meeting any opposition.

*Nicolo Basti*, under favor of a thick mist, passes through the Kings quarters, carries relief to the besieged of *la Fere*, and returns to *Cambray* without the least loss.

This relief (in which industry and fortune were equal sharers) gained *Basti* a wonderful reputation; yet gave but little help to the besieged; the Meal that was brought lasting them but a little while, by reason of their great number, and the King, who from day to day had new Forces came up to him, streightned the siege more closely, and stopt up all the wayes, which being cut off, and fortified with Banks and Trenches, and kept with strong guards of Horse, left no hope at all of thinking of new relief. But the siege being prolonged by the constancy of the Defendants, the King was perswaded by the reasons of some of his Engineers, to stop the course of the River which caused the Fen on the lower side, thinking to make it swell and rise in such manner, that the Defendants should be constrained either to yield or drown. This work was begun with an

The King makes the Course of the River *Somme* to be stopt, with a design to make the water rise into *la Fere*, but after many difficulties, the effect answers not the intention.

an exceeding great number of Pioneers, drawn together from all the neighbouring places, but though they wrought at it with great art, and no leſs aſſiduity, yet the rains of the ſeaſon, which from time to time increaſed the current of the River, which ordinarily was quiet and gentle, hindred the progreſs by breaking down the Banks, often carrying away the Piles, and in one hour fruſtrating the labours of many dayes; and yet the King being himſelf preſent at the work, it was at laſt brought to perfection. But it was no ſooner finiſhed, when it appeared, how deceitful the fancies of Engineers prove oftentimes; for the Town being much higher than the Fen, (a thing foreſeen from the beginning by many, and conſtantly oppugned by the authors of the deſign,) the water roſe not above a foot or two in the Town, and was ſo long making that increaſe, that the inhabitants had conveniency to remove their things into higher places, without receiving any damage; though the water falling within two dayes, by having broke through the loweſt part of the Fen in many places, the Town remained full of dirt and mud, by the exhalation whereof the Air being corrupted, cauſed dangerous diſeaſes in the Town, ſo that the beſieged being endamaged onely by accident, and after the ſpace of many days; the labors and endeavors of the Kings Army proved fruitleſs in their principal intent. 1596.

There yet remained the wonted hope of Famine, which, after ſo many moneths ſiege encreaſed exceedingly, and was already become irrepairable; nor did any thing make the Defendants hold out, but hope of relief. The Cardinal was intent with his utmoſt endeavors upon giving it to them; for having in great part quieted thoſe that had mutined, and conveniently paid his men, he had ſet the Army in a readineſs to attempt the effecting of it, but none of his Commanders (among which, the principal were the Duke of *Areſcot*, the Marquiſs of *Rany*, and *Franciſco de Mendozza*, the Admiral of *Aragon*) counſelled him to adventure his Camp upon that enterprize; and the reaſon was in a readineſs, for not onely the King in the ſpace of many moneths, had had full conveniency to fortifie his own quarters extraordinarily, but that which imported more, he had put ſtrong Garriſons, and many Horſe into S. *Quentin*, *Monſtrueil*, *Boulogne*, and all the other Towns that ſtand round *la Fere*, in ſuch manner, that if the Spaniſh Camp ſhould paſs beyond them to raiſe the ſiege, they remaining at their backs, would cut off the wayes, and take away the concourſe of Proviſions; ſo that if the enterprize of making the King diſlodge, ſhould require many dayes, (as it was certainly to be doubted) the Army would be put in danger of ſome hard encounter; To this was added, that the King, having after the publication of the Agreement received the Duke of *Mayenne* with great demonſtrations of honor, being come with his attendants to wait upon him in the Camp before *la Fere*, and the Conſtable *Montmorancy*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and the greater part of the Lords of all the Kingdom being come unto the Army, he had under his Colours Eighteen thouſand Foot, and little leſs than Five thouſand Horſe; an Army ſo potent, eſpecially by reaſon of the valour of the Cavalry, that it was neceſſary to proceed with great circumſpection, in advancing ſo far into that Province, againſt ſo great Forces, and in the midſt of ſo many of the Enemies Towns. The Cardinal likewiſe was not ignorant, that the States of *Holland*, deſirous that the War ſhould continue in *France*, had ſet forth a fleet of many Ships to land men at *Boulogne*, in relief of the King of *France*; and that the Queen of *England*, though the King conſented not to all her demands, had yet, to uphold the common intereſts, ſent out a Navie to his aſſiſtance, with Eight thouſand Foot aboard it, which it was believed were to land in the ſame place; wherefore, the Commanders doubted, that theſe Forces uniting together, it would not onely be vain to attempt to relieve *la Fere*, but alſo very dangerous to make their retreat.

Theſe cauſes fully debated in the Counſel, made the Cardinal take a reſolution to try to do it by way of diverſion: for, by encamping before ſome Place of importance belonging to the King, either he ſhould conſtrain him to riſe from *la Fere* with his whole Army, to ſuccor the place ſo ſtraightned, or if (perſiſting in the ſiege) he ſhould not care to relieve it, he might eaſily get another place as good as *la Fere*. But there aroſe no leſs difficulties in choſing the place, that ſhould be pitched upon; for *Guiſe*, *Han*, *Guines*, and the other ſuch like places that were neareſt to *Flanders*, were not to be compared unto *la Fere*; and S. *Quentin*, *Monſtrueil*, and *Boulogne* were ſo well fortified, and mann'd, that it was impoſſible to think of attaining them; ſo that between the ambiguity of theſe conſiderations, the Cardinal would have been long unreſolved, if Monſieur

1596. ſieur *du Roſne* had not ſecretly perſwaded him to a new enterprize, not foreſeen by any other body.

Monſieur *du Roſne* was, by long experience, verſed in all the King of *France* his Fortreſſes, and the example of things paſt made him remember how eaſily *Calais* might be taken; for by how much more the ſtrength of it by ſituation, and art, made it in appearance be counted impregnable, ſo much leſs carefull were the defendants to guard it with that diligence wherewith places of ſuch high importance ought to be kept; wherefore, while that Town was under the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, the ſmallneſs of the Garriſon they kept in it had invited *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe* to beſiege it in the year 1557, which alſo had ſo happy an event, that, contrary to the Common expectation, he made himſelf Maſter of it only by that defect, which coming often into *du Roſne*'s mind, he, as being curious and full of induſtry, had got certain information, that Monſieur *de Bidaſſan*, Governor of the place at that preſent, had not above Six hundred Foot in it, a Garriſon no way ſufficient to make it good: either private intereſt, or the general error of men, having perſwaded him to truſt more to the ſtrength of his Works, than to the number and valour of the defendants; ſome add, that the King of *France*, having ſent the Sieur *de la Noue*, and *de la Valliere*, to view the condition of all the places ſtanding upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, they not making their viſitation with that ſecrecy, which ought to go along with ſuch buſineſſes, had, with the ſame French lightneſs diſcourſed very freely of the weak eſtate of thoſe Frontiers, and the ſtrength of *Calais* ſo magnified by fame, being objected to them, they inconſiderately anſwered, that whoſoever ſhould aſſault that Fortreſs in the place, and manner that was fitting, the taking of it would be but twelve dayes buſineſs; which words being told *du Roſne*, by one that he had imployed as a Spie, excited him to ſearch out the place and manner which theſe diſcoverers had intimated. Thus being fallen into a thought, that he might obtain the Town, famous for its fortification, by reaſon of its ſtanding upon the Sea, and the quality of the Haven opportune for the affairs of *Flanders*, and *England*, he, with his reaſons, made the Cardinal Arch-Duke incline unto it, and ſo much the rather, becauſe all other enterprizes were thwarted with exceeding great difficulties.

*Francis* Duke of *Guiſe* recovered *Calais* from the *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1557. being thereunto invited by their negligence in guarding and maintaining it.

But having determined between themſelves to apply their mindes to this attempt, without making any outward ſhew of it, they made all the other Commanders believe, they would aſſault *Montrevil*, a place ſtanding upon the ſtraight way that leads to *la Fere*, and leſs conſiderable than either St. *Quentin* or *Boulogne*; and with this pretence, having cauſed great proviſion to be made of Victual and Carriages to bring them to *Doway*, *Arras*, and the other confining places, the Cardinal having appointed *Valentiennes* for the general Rendezvous of his Forces, went thither perſonally upon the thirtieth of *March*, where, having muſtred his Army, in which were Six thouſand Spaniſh Foot, Six thouſand Walloons, Two thouſand Italians, and Four thouſand Germans, Twelve hundred men at Arms, and Cuiraſſiers, and little leſs than Two thouſand Light-horſe, he divided his Forces into many parts, and made them march ſeveral wayes, to hold the Enemies in the greater ſuſpence. He ſent *Ambrogio Landriano* towards *Montrevil*, with part of the Light-horſe, and with the Marquiſs of *Trevico*'s Tertia; with the reſt of the Light-horſe *Baſti* marched into the Territory of *Cambray*; *Agoſtino Meſſia* with a Tertia of Spaniards, and two of Walloons went towards St *Paul*, and the Count *de Boſſu*, with the Flemiſh Troops, took towards *Arras* and *Bethune*; which outward ſhews, while they held thoſe of their own ſide in ſuſpence no leſs than the French, Monſieur *du Roſne*, with the Spaniſh Tertia's of *Ludovico Valaſco*, and *Alonſo Mendozza*, and Four hundred Horſe went out of *Valentiennes*, upon the fourth of *April* in the evening, and marched all the night to St. *Omer*, where, having joyned with Colonel *la Berlotte*, and the Count *de Buquoy*, who ſtayed there for them with two Tertia's of Walloons, he took along with him three pieces of Cannon, and four of ſmaller Artillery, and advanced ſpeedily towards *Calais*, where he arrived ſo much the more unexpectedly, becauſe being a place out of the way, ſtanding in the utmoſt point of a tongue of Land, which advances it ſelf a great way into the Sea, neither the Spaniards nor the French had ever thought of defending or beſieging it.

Monſieur *du Roſne* beſieges *Calais* with the Spaniſh Army.

*Calais* ſtands upon the ſhore of the Ocean Sea, in the furtheſt parts of a Promontory, not above * Thirty Leagues from *England*, and hath a very large Haven, which ſheltred on each ſide with great high banks of ſand (which they commonly call *les Dunes*) is

* *The Author is miſtaken, for it is but ſeven Leagues.*

is made ſecure and commodious for a very great number of Ships. The Town is invironed almoſt quite round with low grounds where the Sea overflows, and drowns the Plain for many miles; and, being ſhut up within four banks by a very large moat, it is of a ſquare form, having, at three of the angles (beſides many great Towers, and Ravelines along the Courtine) as many Royal Baſtions of modern ſtructure, with their Cavaliers within them, and at the fourth angle which reaches from the Weſt unto the North, ſtands the Caſtle, built likewiſe of a ſquare form, but with great Towers of the old faſhion, that flank it round about, The moats are very large and deep, for they receive the water on both ſides, and the Town, which is little leſs than a League in circuit, is all fortified round with thick Ramparts, though (by reaſon of the careleſsneſs of the Governors) in many places (by length of time) grown defective, and in ſome, decayed and fallen down. On the outſide, along the Haven, there is a great Suburb full of Inhabitants, in regard of Traffick, and the conveniency of Marriners, and on that ſide a great Current of waters, which coming from the Fenny grounds, is ſtraightned all into one Channel, and croſſing through the Town, empties it ſelf impetuouſly into the Sea. On the other ſide of the Haven, and in the point of the *Dunes*, which cover it on the North-ſide, there ſtands a great and exceeding ſtrong Tower, called the *Risbane*, which ſhutting up the mouth of the Haven, is well ſtored with pieces of Cannon, and with great eaſe hinders any kind of Ships from entering into it. But on the ſide of the firm land (which, in reſpect of the mooriſh grounds that largely environ it, is very narrow) about a league from the City there ſtands a Bridge over a Water that runs into the Sea, which being fortified with Towers, doth totally ſhut up the paſſage which leads to the Town along a very narrow bank; this is called the *Fauxbourg de Nieulet.*

1596.

The deſcription of the ſituation of *Calais.*

Monſieur *du Roſne* knew, that all the hope of obtaining this Fortreſs, was placed in ſpeedily poſſeſſing the Bridge of *Nieulet* and the *Risbane*; for if he took not *Nieulet*, it would be very hard to paſs the water, and come under the Town; and if he poſſeſſed not himſelf of the *Risbane*, ſo that he might be Maſter of the mouth of the Haven, there would come ſuch ſupplies into the Town by Sea, that there would no longer be any building upon the ſmall number of the Defendants: wherefore, marching to St. *Omer* with admirable celerity, in regard of the Artillery he had along with him, he came upon the ninth of *April*, in the morning, by break of day, within ſight of *Nieulet*, and without giving the Defendants (who were not above forty) time, either to take courage, or to receive aſſiſtance, he made it be aſſaulted on the one ſide by the Spaniſh, and on the other by the Walloon Foot, ſtill playing with the four ſmall pieces, not becauſe they did any great harm, but to increaſe the terror of the Defendants; who being ſo few, ill provided, taken at unawares, and (which imported moſt) without any Commander, who, by his Authority, might keep them faithful, they baſely quitted the defence, and retired flying to the Town.

*Nieulet* being taken, *du Roſne* left four Companies of Walloons to guard that Poſt, and not loſing a minutes time, advanced the ſame inſtant to aſſault the *Risbane*, and having planted his Artillery in exceeding great haſte, began furiouſly to batter about noon; beſides which, having drawn three of the ſmaller pieces to the brink of the Haven, with them and with the Walloon Muskettiers, he hindred more defendants from entring into it, ſo that they of the Suburb, that ſtands on the far ſide of the Haven, having often attempted to get in, were alwayes conſtrained to retire. There were but ſixty men in the *Risbane*, and thoſe alſo without any conſiderable head, inſomuch, that though the place was ſtrong, and might have been defended many dayes, yet they, as ſoon as they ſaw the aſſault was preparing againſt them, utterly loſing courage, quitted it, and being faln upon and routed in the flight, ſcarce thirty of them, with the help of ſome ſmall Boats, got ſafe into the Suburb; *du Roſne* not failing to proſecute ſo happy a beginning, entred into the Risbane; ſet the Artillery again in order, and lodged many Foot in it, to the end, that relief by Sea might more aſſuredly be hindred, and there was very great need of it; for the next morning, many Ships of the Holland Fleet, that was above *Boulogne*, appeared, and laboured with all poſſible induſtry to get into the Haven; but being driven back and bored through by the Artillery of the *Risbane*, they were at laſt made to tack about; and one Ship loaden with Wine, being ſunk by many Cannon ſhot in the mouth of the Port, the paſſage was ſo much the more ſtopped up, againſt whoſoever ſhould try to enter; and yet two little Barks of the Hollanders,

1596. ers, with two Captains and eighty men, got in fortunately, and landing in the Suburb, ſtaid there for the defence of it.

The Archduke *Albert* comes with the reſt of the Army to the Camp before *Calais*.

In the mean time the Cardinal of *Auſtria* having had notice of the proſperous progreſs of his Forces, turning all his Army that way, marched thither with the ſame celerity upon Maundy-Thurſday (being the eleventh of *April*) in the evening, and having deſigned the quarters of the Camp, between *Caſal de Mer*, the Bridge of *Nieulet*, and the way that leads to *Gravelin*, he encamped in the Church of St. *Pierre*, half a League from the Walls. The Town being beſieged, and their quarters, in reſpect of the ſituation (which was all Mooriſh grounds, and full of Ditches) eaſily fortified; *du Roſne*, well informed of the defect of the Wall on that ſide that ſtands towards the Suburb, reſolved to plant a battery in the utmoſt part of the Haven; for, though the impediment of paſſing it, ſeemed in appearance exceeding great, yet he had obſerved, that at the ebbing of the Sea, the water fell in ſuch manner, that the utmoſt part of the Haven remained dry, and the bottom was ſo firm and gravelly, that it afforded very convenient means of marching on to the aſſault; but that he might not leave the beſieged without trouble on the other ſide, and to divide their weakneſs, he purpoſed to make another battery, over againſt the way to *Gravelin*; though the Wall on that ſide was extreamly well lined with Earth, and defended by the Flanks of the two Royal Baſtions. Both the Batteries were perfected upon the fourteenth day of the month, being *Eaſter* day, and upon Munday in the morning, as ſoon as it was light, they began to thunder furiouſly on both ſides; nor did the Defendants (diſheartned by the ſmallneſs of the number) make any attempt to hinder the enemy, and only the firſt day, while the Risbane was battered, they ſallied, to bring in the Goods and Victuals; nor from that day forward, durſt they attempt any other buſineſs.

The Defendants of *Calais*, without attempting any thing for their defence, ſuffer the Spaniards to proſecute the ſiege.

In this ſtate of Affairs, the King having had intelligence of the moving of the Spaniſh Camp, and not being able to diſcern, which way it would bend at laſt, left the Conſtable to Command the Army before *la Fere*, and marched with 600 Horſe, and the Regiment of his Guard to *Abbeville*, and from thence ſent forth the Sieur *de Monluc* with 2000 Foot to *Montreuil*, doubting (as ſome reported) that the Spaniſh Army would fall upon that Town; but having, upon the 13th day had notice, that the Camp was ſuddenly gone before *Calais*, he ſent the ſame *Monluc*, the Count *de St. Paul*, Governor of the Province, and the Marquiſs *de Belin*, with great diligence, to imbark at *St. Vallery*, and try to get into the Town; and though they boldly executed the orders they had received, yet being driven back by contrary winds, which blew impetuouſly all thoſe dayes, they were conſtrained to return to the ſame place without fruit; wherefore the King, become impatient at the near danger of his Subjects, would needs go perſonally into that Port, and the croſs weather ſtill continuing, he went to *Boulogne*, the next day hoping (as the Seamen ſaid) that it would not be ſo difficult to relieve the beſieged from thence; but being come to *Boulogne*, and the ſame winds holding, the difficulties were the ſame, or perhaps greater; nor was there any thought of giving the beſieged any ſuccor by Land, as well the Bridge of *Nieulet*, as *Caſal de Mer*, being ſtrongly guarded, and the Enemies whole Army encamped on that ſide; wherefore the King, for a laſt reſolution, having put ſome choſen Foot aboard certain ſhips, ſent them forth to ride thereabout, and fight with the diverſity of weather, that they might be ready, upon the firſt gale of a favourable wind, to get, by ſome means or other into the Haven; but neither was this courſe any way beneficial; for the Ships long toſſed, and driven into ſeveral places, could never get near the Haven, and if they hag, they would certainly have been beaten back by the Risbane.

At the ſame time the King diſpatched many Shallops to the Engliſh Fleet, to haſten the coming of it, hoping, if thoſe men could be landed time enough, to make ſome gallant attempt, and force the Cardinal to raiſe his Camp from before that Town; but it was all in vain, for the Engliſh Fleet gathered together in the Haven at *Dover*, and ready to ſet ſail, was yet detained by the Queens different intention. The French Ambaſſadors, and particularly Monſieur *de Sancy*, (newly gone thither for that purpoſe) treating cloſely of the Conditions, upon which the men ſhould land, about which the Parties being not able to agree, by reaſon of the variety of intereſts, the time ran on without coming to any concluſion.

But in the interim, the Spaniſh Artillery having plaid upon Eaſter Munday, from break of day till evening, and the opportunity of low water hapning at that time, the Spaniſh Foot advanced on both ſides to give a reſolute Aſſault. Fortune was not altogether

altogether ſo favourable to *du Roſne*'s intentions in this as ſhe had been before: For though the wind had ſate right all that day for his Artillery, a thing of no ſmall advantage to free him from the ſmoke, that he might play the faſter; yet in the evening, continuing, nay, blowing more ſtifly every hour, it would not ſuffer the Tide to fall ſo low, as that the farther part of the Haven might be quite dry; wherefore his Foot were fain to go above the knees in water, and in ſome places to the girdle, which retarding the Aſſault, proved no ſmall impediment; and yet having overcome that obſtacle, and fought till Nine of the Clock at night, (the Moon ſhining brightly in the Full) the French having loſt above an hundred of their men, and among them one of the Holland Captains, reſolved to retire, and having fired the Suburb in all places, got ſafely into the Town. Upon *Tueſday*, *du Roſne* drew his Artillery into the Suburb which they had quitted, and there being no Flanks on that ſide that could hinder the Battery, he without any difficulty planted two and twenty pieces upon the edge of the Moat, with no other defence but ſingle Gabions, and thoſe not very high, and the next day began to batter the Wall with ſo great fury, that not being lined with Earth, it in a few hours gave a large conveniency of aſſaulting it: But while the Infantry, being Spaniards, Walloons, and Italians mixt together, prepare themſelves to fall on, the Defendents (terrified at the wideneſs of the breach, and the ſmallneſs of the number they were reduced to) ſend forth a Drum to Parley, and the ſame evening capitulated to leave the Town, and retire into the Caſtle, which they promiſed to ſurrender into the Cardinals hands, if they were not relieved within ſix days. 1596.

The Defendents being few, when they ſaw the Spaniards ready to give the Aſſault, ſent forth a Drum, and agree to ſurrender, if not relieved within ſix days.

The King, who was at *Boulogne*, quickly had notice of the compoſition of *Calais*, and of the Earl of *Eſſex* his anſwer, who was General of the Engliſh Land-forces, with whom Monſieur *de Sancy* having conferred, had entertained great hopes of getting the Engliſh to land, and that being re-inforced by them, the Caſtle might be relieved within the appointed time; but the Earl was not ſo forward as he deſired: for the King having often promiſed to give ſome place upon the Coaſts of his Kingdom, for the conveniency and ſecurity of the Engliſh, and afterward with divers excuſes deferred to do it, and his Ambaſſadors to Queen *Elizabeth* having at laſt (to get the Fleet to move for his relief) condeſcended to promiſe that it ſhould be performed; the Earl refuſed to put into any Haven, or land men, unleſs firſt the promiſe were effectually obſerved; and though *Sancy* urging the exigency of the need, and the ſhortneſs of the time, deſired the Earl to conſider of what importance the conſervation of *Calais* was to their common intereſts, yet was it not poſſible to move him from his determination: wherefore he was neceſſitated to write to the King to know his pleaſure; who highly incenſed that his Confederates ſhould make uſe of his adverſity to conſtrain him to their own appetites, anſwered reſolutely, That he would rather be robbed by his Enemies, than by his Friends; and being minded to try what he could do by himſelf, he ſaw the fury of the wind which had been ſo contrary all thoſe days paſt not at all abated, and therefore he ſent the Sieur *de Matelet* Governour of *Foix* with three hundred Foot, backed with a good number of the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Cavalry, to ſtrive to paſs thorow the Enemies Guards, and get in to relieve the Caſtle.

Theſe coming by night cloſe by the Quarter of the Italians, commanded by the Marquiſs of *Trevico*, found ſuch ſlack and careleſs Guards, that without being perceived, they got all into the Caſtle, where the Sieur *de Matelet* having encouraged the Governour no leſs then the Inhabitants and Souldiers that were in it, after the time of truce was expired, they not only refuſed to ſurrender, but proteſted they would defend themſelves to the laſt man; wherefore the Cardinal being aſſured that ſome relief was got in unknown to him, gave order to Monſieur *du Roſney* valiantly to proſecute the aſſault, who having planted his Cannon againſt the great Towers, or (as we may call them) Bulwarks of the Caſtle, battered them with ſo much diligence, that upon the ſix and twentieth day it was in a fit condition to be ſtormed. All the Italian Foot fell on the next morning, who being deſirous to cancel the reproach of having ſo carelesly ſuffered relief to paſs in, fought deſperately, and being ſeconded firſt by the Walloons, and then by the Spaniards, after a moſt bloody fight of ſix hours, the Governour *Bidoſſan* being ſlain, and above four hundred Souldiers cut in pieces, they at laſt entred the Caſtle, where the Italians put all the reſt to the Sword, except Monſieur *de Campagniole* and ſome few others, who having taken refuge in a Church, were received upon diſcretion. Above two hundred of the Spaniſh Army were killed, among

Monſieur *de Matelet* with 300 Foot gets into the Caſtle of *Calais*: whereupon, the ſix days being expired, the Defendents refuſe to ſurrender.

The Spaniards ſtorm the Caſtle of *Calais*, kill the Governour, and put all to the Sword.

1595. which Count *Guidubaldo Pacciotto* an Engineer of high eſteem, and about one hundred wounded; a loſs very inconſiderable for the taking of a place accounted impregnable, and one of the principal ones of all *France*, in ſo few days: but it had always been alike ill-defended by the careleſneſs of thoſe within, the effects being no way correſpondent to the fame of the place.

But the ſo eaſie and ſo ſudden loſs of *Calais* did not only much perplex the King, but alſo put him in a neceſſity of agreeing with the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*; for *la Fere* being not yet given up, he thought it very hard to riſe from that ſiege, and loſe the expences and labours of ſo many months, to the no ſmall decreaſe of his reputation; and on the other ſide, if he did not ſpeedily receive Supplies from both places, he was not able to draw another body of an Army together, wherewith he might reſiſt the victorious force of the Enemy; ſo that all other places in the Province would be given over, with little hope that they ſhould defend themſelves more conſtantly than *Calais* had done, a place excellently fortified by art and nature. Being moved with this conſideration, and judging that the authority of the Duke of *Bouillon* would be very prevalent to work upon the Queen, whoſe determination he was certain would be followed by the Hollanders, he diſpatched him into *England* with reſolute orders, to the end that concluding a reciprocal Confederacy, the Fleet might ſet ſail with all ſpeed, to land men in the Port of *Boulogne*.

But the difficulties were great, and the Queen had no inclination to it; partly, becauſe ſhe intended to make uſe of the Kings neceſſity, to get a Port in his Kingdom; for which end, before *Calais* was loſt, ſhe had been backward to relieve it, that ſhe might conſtrain the French to put it into her hand; partly, becauſe ſeeing the King reconciled to the Catholick Religion, ſhe thought it was in the King of *Spain*'s power to conclude a Peace whenſoever he would reſolve no longer to moleſt the Kingdom of *France*: and therefore ſhe difficultly inclined to put her ſelf to new expences, which it was in the will of her Enemies to fruſtrate and make ineffectual; wherefore having ſtifly denied for many days to hearken to any Treaty of new Obligations, ſhe only profferred to give thoſe aſſiſtances for the time to come, which ſhe could without ſuch great inconvenience to her ſelf as ſhe had done in times paſt: and becauſe the French preſſed very earneſtly to have the Earl of *Eſſex* come to *Picardy* with the Fleet; the Engliſh anſwered, That it was for the moſt part compoſed of ſhips and men that were Voluntiers, who had put themſelves together under the conduct of the Earl, to make prize upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, from which deſign the Queen had not power to take them off, having granted them licence for that purpoſe; and that nevertheleſs they would be of great advantage to the King of *France* his affairs; for the damage the Kingdom of *Spain* would receive thereby, would divert the Catholick Kings Forces from the War of *Picardy*. But theſe hopes and remedies were very far off, and the Duke of *Bouillon* offering to conſideration the intereſts of their common Religion, if the proſperity of the Spaniards ſhould ſtill increaſe, excited both the principal Miniſters, and the Queen her ſelf to imploy her utmoſt Forces in ſo urgent and ſo near an occurrence: and he moved much with his authority, eloquence, and reaſons, but moſt of all by being of the ſame Religion; for he ſeemed to be principally zealous for the common intereſts, and for the conſervation of the Hugonot party in *France*, to the end the King might not be conſtrained to come to ſuch an Agreement with the Spaniards as might be prejudicial to the States of *Holland*, to the quiet of *England*, and to the Liberty of Conſcience in his own Kingdom: and yet the buſineſs went on ſo ſlowly, and with ſuch weighty difficulties, that though the Confederacy with *England* was at laſt concluded, differing little from the other contracted with King *Charles* the Ninth, and without obligation to conſign any Place, (for ſhame made the Engliſh to deſiſt from that demand:) and though the Duke of *Bouillon* went with an Ambaſſador from the Queen into *Holland*, where the ſame Confederacy was eſtabliſhed; yet the time was ſo far ſpent, that the affairs of *Picardy* were no way relieved by it, and the Earl of *Eſſex* his Fleet having ſcowred the Coaſts of *Spain*, was diſſolved without having done any thing conſiderable.

A League concluded between *Henry* the Fourth and the Queen of *England*, little different from that which had been made by the Engliſh with *Charles* the Ninth.

While this League was treated of in *England*, the Cardinal Archduke not depending upon any body but himſelf, after he had ſpent ten days in making up the breaches at *Calais*; *Guines* and *Han* having ſurrendred at the bare ſummons of a Trumpet, he determined to ſet upon *Ardres*, a place of a good circuit, excellently fortified, and ſtanding but three leagues from *Calais*, by the taking whereof he thought he ſhould abſolutely

lutely ſecure what he had gotten: and though the ſituation of it ſeemed very difficult, becauſe, ſtanding on the top of an Hill, it (as a Cavalier) commands all the Plain below it, which extends it ſelf a little more than Cannon-ſhot, and from the Plain there are Mountains and Woods as unfit to encamp in, as opportune for the Ambuſhes of an Enemy; yet the Cardinal encouraged by his proſperous ſucceſſes, ſided with the opinion of Monſieur *du Roſne*, who hoped to carry it before the King could be diſintangled from *la Fere*, and able to relieve it. 1596.

There were in *Ardres* the Marquiſs *de Belin* Lieutenant of the Province, Monſieur *d' Annebourg* Governour of the Town, and the Sieur *de Monluc*, who was come in to re-inforce it, and they had with them little leſs than Two thouſand Foot, an Hundred and fifty Horſe, and convenient proviſions of Artillery, Ammunition, and other things neceſſary for defence. And becauſe the Siege had been foreſeen by the Commanders, they had laboured with all poſſible diligence not only to better the Fortification of the Town, but alſo to repair thoſe of the Suburbs that ſtands towards *Boulogne*; for that being the ſide on which Batteries might moſt eaſily be raiſed, they determined by defending the Suburb to keep the Enemy as far as was poſſible from the Wall. The Author of this counſel was the Governour of the Town, a Souldier not only of much valour, but alſo of great experience, whoſe deſign was to defend the ground ſpan by ſpan, to give the King ſo much time, that *la Fere* falling, he might come to ſuccour that place before the laſt extremities: but the Marquiſs *de Belin* was of another mind, and thought it a pernicious counſel to loſe men in defending uſeleſs places, and ſuch as were not tenable; wherefore he would have had them only engage themſelves in maintaing thoſe Poſts, which for their quality might be long made good; and yet all the other Commanders being of opinion, that the holding of the Suburb would be a benefit of great importance, the Governours advice carried it; and there was a convenient guard put in there to keep it. Another difference of opinion there was among the Commanders; for the Marquiſs would have had the Enemy moleſted, and their works hindred by ſmart Counterbatteries, without ſparing Ammunition; and on the other ſide, the Governour judging their ſtore but ſmall, in reſpect of ſo great waſte, deſired it might be husbanded to prolong the defence, that they might not want a thing ſo neceſſary in their greateſt exigency; and becauſe the Marquiſſes Authority was above his, he kept part of the Ammunition hid, to the end they might make uſe of it opportunely when the other was ſpent.

With theſe diſcords (which to the great prejudice of mens own affairs, do commonly reign where more than one commands) they in the Town prepared themſelves for the defence; but the Cardinal Archduke having left *Juan de Rivas* in the Government of *Calais*, upon the ſixth of *May* moved with the whole Army, and made his firſt quarters at *Guines*; the next day he marched to the Walls of *Ardres*, ſo early, that in that day and the next, their quarters were perfected and fortified, which being made (as far as they could poſſibly) out of reach of the Cannon of the Town, were not yet very near to the Hills and Woods; but between the Hills and their Works, there remained ſo much ſpace, that the Squadrons as well of Foot as Horſe, might commodiouſly ſpread themſelves in Battalia; and upon all the ways that through the Woods come down the Hills, ſtrong *Corps de Guards* were placed with double Trenches, and double Works before them, or, to ſay better, behind them, in thoſe places that ſtood toward *Boulogne*, *Montrueil*, and the other of the King of *France* his Towns. The Army being encamped and ſecured with wondrous diligence, upon *Thurſday* the ninth of *May*, *Agoſtino Meſſia*'s Spaniſh Foot, and Colonel *la Berlotte*'s Walloons advanced to make their approaches, that they might get under the Works of the Suburb; but the Sieur *de Monluc*, whoſe fierceneſs paſſed by no occaſion of troubling the Enemy, ſallied out ſo briskly to skirmiſh, that their Works were foreſlowed for a long time, and after that another Tertia of Infantry under *Jago Teſſeda*, and Colonel *Coquels* Walloons came to re-inforce the beſiegers, and that *Monluc* was conſtrained to retire; the Marquiſs began ſuch a furious Counterbattery, that they were neceſſitated to intermit their work, and ſtay till night; but it being very clear and light, the Artillery ceaſed not to play with great damage to the beſiegers, who nevertheleſs conſtantly overcoming all obſtacles, got to the Counterſcarp of the Suburb, and the next morning planted ſome pieces of Cannon to facilitate their entry; but becauſe *Monluc* ceaſed not to ſally every hour, and to keep thoſe that wrought in great perplexity, they made no greater progreſs till he being taken with a Cannon-ſhot, was miſerably torn in pieces; for after his death, there being no Commanders

The Archduke marches with his Army to beſiege *Ardres*

Monſieur *de Monluc* killed with a Cannon ſhot.

1598. ſo valiant, or ſo diligent, the beſiegers began to batter the Works of the Suburb, which by reaſon of their weakneſs, being eaſily beaten down, they made an aſſault with ſo much violence, that the Defendents were conſtrained to quit it with the loſs of above forty men; but while the Spaniards and Walloons enter pel-mel, Monſieur *de Montaut*, a Colonel of French Infantry, fell upon them ſo ſharply, that after a bloody conflict of two hours he recovered the Suburb, having impetuouſly driven out the Enemy with the loſs of three hundred of the ſtouteſt Souldiers of the Army; and yet the next day the Cannon having plaid from morning till noon, the Foot ſtormed it in four ſeveral places, in each of which, fighting gallantly, Colonel *la Berlotte* was ſore wounded, *Agoſtino Meſſia* ſtruck upon the head with a ſtone, and the Suburb was defended till the evening; but the aſſault being renewed on all ſides, the next morning the Marquiſs conſidering the weakneſs of the place, gave the Defendents order to retire, that he might not loſe ſo great a number of valiant Souldiers: And yet the Enemies purſuing cloſely, and they that were at the Town-Gate, fearing leſt they ſhould get in pel-mel with their own men, let the Portcullis fall ſo ſoon, that above two hundred of them were ſhut out and cut in pieces.

The Foot covered themſelves diligently in the Suburb, and Monſieur *du Roſne* having determined to play upon that ſide, cauſed two batteries to be raiſed, one of which was plyed by the Spaniards with nineteen pieces of Cannon, and the other by the Walloons with ſeventeen pieces of ſeveral ſizes, the works of which being not yet finiſhed, the Counter-battery of the Town did a great deal of miſchief on all ſides; but after the Batteries were ſufficiently covered, and that the Artillery began to thunder againſt the Flanks of the Baſtions, the Marquiſs either out of meanneſs of courage, (as the general opinion of men would have it) or, becauſe he thought it impoſſible to defend that place, and had a deſire to ſave himſelf, and ſo many other valiant Defendents, for a better occaſion; called the principal Officers to Council, and ſtrove to perſwade them to ſurrender: But the Governour oppoſing, and likewiſe *Charles* Sieur *de Rambours*, a man of great note in that Province, the Officers anſwered, that they would defend themſelves to the utmoſt; and the Marquiſs replying, that all the Ammunition was already ſpent, and that he had no longer wherewithal to defend themſelves; the Governour made known that he had hid and preſerved ſo much, as being diſcreetly diſpoſed of, would be ſufficient for many days, and that in the mean time they might be relieved by the King, to whom he believed *la Fere* would yield at laſt. To which words the Marquiſs replied angerly, That he deſerved to be puniſhed for having concealed the true quantity of Ammunition from his ſuperiour Officer, and that two days more or two days leſs imported little, for he knew that the King would not take *la Fere* ſo eaſily; and going incenſed from the Council, though many proteſted againſt it, he preſently ſent out a Captain, and articled to march forth with their Arms and Baggage, their Colours flying, and Drums beating, and that the Townsmen might be free to ſtay or go as they pleaſed; but thoſe that ſtaid were to acknowledge the King of *Spain* to be their Supream Lord. Thus to the wonder of all men, and the great murmuring of his Souldiers, the Marquiſs marched forth with all his men in Arms upon the twenty third of *May* towards *la Fere*; but Captain *Mainferme*, one of the Captains of the Gariſon, having the guard of a Baſtion towards the Spaniſh quarters, would by no means conſent to the Agreement; and though the Enemies were Maſters of all the reſt of the Town, he intrenched himſelf within the circuit of his Baſtion, and defended himſelf undauntedly, till the Artillery being planted, and all his defences beaten down, he thought he might honourably march away.

The Marquiſs *de Belin* having called a Council of War, propoſes to give up the place; the Governour with the other Officers oppoſes it; but he ſending forth a Captain, capitulates with the Enemy.

The day before this, the beſieged in *la Fere* being reduced to extream neceſſity, and knowing by the effects the Cardinals intention, that being intent to divert and take new places, he had no hope to relieve them any other way, at laſt yielded to the Kings power, having by their conſtancy afforded time and conveniency to make ſo great and ſo important ſucceſſes; the King deſirous to diſengage himſelf, that he might think of relieving *Ardres*, granted them the conditions they demanded; for it was agreed without contradiction, that the Seneſchal *de Montelimar* avouched Count of *la Fere*, and *Alvaro Oſorio* Governour of the Gariſon, ſhould march forth with all their Souldiers, Foot and Horſe, with their Arms, offenſive and defenſive; all their Baggage, Cornets, and Colours flying, Trumpets ſounding, Drums beating, lighted Match, and Bullet in mouth, and ſhould be convoyed ſafely as far as *Caſtelet*; that they might take along with them one piece of Cannon which had not the Arms of *France* upon it,

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and Ammunition for ten ſhots; that the Seneſchal ſhould be acquitted of all the Payments, Rents and Contributions received, and that there might be no Inqueſt made for any paſt action, or crime either againſt him, or any others of the Gariſon, nor any of them moleſted for the debts they had contracted; that the Inhabitants taking an Oath of Allegiance, ſhould be uſed as good Subjects, and pardoned all paſt offences, and whoſoever would go forth with the Gariſon, might have liberty to depart.

1596. *La Fere* yielded to the King, who deſirous to relieve *Ardres*, grants the beſieged very large Conditions.

With thoſe Articles *la Fere* yielded it ſelf unto the King upon the two and twentieth day, and the next morning he impatient of delay, moved with all his Cavalry towards *Ardres*, leaving the Conſtable to follow him with all the reſt of the Army, intending to draw near by the way of the Woods, and by all means to try his fortune; but he had not marched above two miles when the news came of the Marquiſſes compoſition, which ſeemed ſo much the more bitter to him, by how much the more lively the hopes were he had entertained of relieving that place. Being ſtruck with a moſt piercing grief, and no leſs kindled with a moſt juſt diſdain, ſeeing the courſe of all his deſigns cut off, by the puſillanimity of one man, he would not ſuffer the Marquiſs to come into his preſence, either judging him unworthy of his ſight, or doubting he ſhould not be able to contain his indignation: But having cauſed his proceſs to be made by the Mareſchal *la Chaſtre*, he was often times minded to take away his life ignominiouſly; yet Madam *Gabriele* interpoſing effectually, and begging for him, the ſentence publiſhed after many days delay, contained nothing but that he ſhould be deprived of all his Offices, and confined perpetually to his own lands.

*Ardres* being taken on the one ſide, and *la Fere* on the other, the common opinion was, that the Armies would meet, and that the King, deſirous to make up his loſſes, and being grown ſtrong by the concourſe of all the Nobility of his Kingdom, was reſolved not to paſs by any occaſion which might opportunely invite him to a Battel; But the Cardinal Archduke more intent to keep what he had gotten, than forward to adventure his Army to new dangers, and being re-called by the urgency of the affairs of *Flanders*, left *Villeverde* a Spaniſh Commander with a good Gariſon in *Ardres*, and in three days march retired into the Territory of St. *Omer*, and from thence having had notice that the Cavalry left behind to guard the Provinces of *Flanders*, had had been routed by the Gariſons of *Bergen* and *Breda*, which freely over-ran all that Country, he marched further to oppoſe their incurſions, and to turn the violence of his Arms againſt the States, who during the War in *France*, got daily greater footing.

The Cardinal Archduke leaving the Fortreſſes he had taken well provided, retires into *Flanders*.

The King ſtood long doubtful whether he ſhould apply himſelf that year to the recovery of ſome of thoſe places that were loſt: but finding his Infantry (the principal inſtrument for the taking in of ſtrong Towns) much out of caſe, by their long lying before *la Fere:* for, beſides the continual watchings and toils of ſo many months, the illneſs of the Air in low mooriſh places, had bred many diſeaſes among his men; who having ſpent the Winter in much hardſhip, began now to feel the effects of their ſufferings. Beſides this, he wanted the moſt important ſinew of War: for many Provinces being newly returned to his obedience, and the reſt that had been for him before, being undone by the War, the whole revenue of the Kingdom was, by long troubles and infinite diſorders, quite out of frame; inſomuch that being utterly without money, he was not able to maintain his Army in *Picardy*, which Province by the laſt two years Wars, was in great part deſtroyed and deſolate. To theſe two weighty difficulties, was added the ill ſucceſs the King had had in managing the War by his Commanders; wherefore being conſtrained to return to *Paris*, to receive the Pope's Legat, who was come to confirm, and make thoſe things be performed, which had been promiſed by his Interceſſors, in the act of the Benediction; he thought he ſhould reap but ſmall fruit by his Army, in which he could not be preſent in perſon.

For all theſe reaſons, after long doubtfulneſs in the Council, he determined to diſmiſs the Nobility, that he might have them again more freſh for future occurrences, and to diſtribute the reſt of his Forces into the Gariſons of the moſt important places, ſo that he might not fear the Enemies unexpected return, and to go himſelf (aſſoon as he had received and ſatisfied the Legat) into ſome convenient City in the centre of his Kingdom, where having made an Aſſembly of the principal Magiſtrates from all the ſeveral Provinces, he might apply himſelf with diligence to ſet his revenues

The King ſeeing his Army tired out with ſufferings, divides it into Gariſons, and goes to *Paris* to receive the Popes Legat.

1596. nues in order, and regulate the domeſtick affairs of his Court, and to make fitting proviſions, that upon a ſolid foundation he might ſet himſelf the next year to recover the places he had loſt in *Picardy*. In the mean time he hoped the League with the Queen of *England* and the States, would be concluded; ſo that uniting all his Forces, he intended to march ſo ſtrong into the field, that the Enemy ſhould not be able to forbid him the recovery of his own.

Having taken this reſolution, he left the Mareſchal *de Byron* with Three thouſand Foot and Six hundred Horſe upon the Banks of the *Somme*, to the end that coaſting along the River ſide, he might be ready upon any occaſion that ſhould happen in the Country. He left *Peronne*, *Bologn*, *Montrueil*, *Abbeville*, and St. *Quentin*, well guarded; and the Count *de St. Paul* in *Amiens*, though that City, great and populous, alledging its ancient Priviledges, refuſed to receive a Gariſon, being confident it ſhould defend it ſelf, as it had formerly done in the revolutions of ſo many Wars.

Cardinal *Aleſſandro de Medici*, who after was Pope *Leo* 11. now Legat from the Pope, is received with great demonſtrations of honour, by Monſieur *de les Diguieres*, though a Hugonot.

In this interim, *Aleſſandro de Medici*, Cardinal of *Florence*, and Legat from the Pope, was come into *France*, with mutual ſatisfaction as well of the King, who deſired wholly to gain the Pope, as of the Pope himſelf, who could not perfectly quiet his mind, unleſs he eſtabliſhed the ancient obedience and reſpect which was wont to be held by the Crown of *France* unto the Apoſtolick See. Wherefore being arrived upon the confines of *Dauphine*, he was received with great pomp, and with the Army drawn up in Battalia, by Monſieur *de Les Diguieres*; who though averſe from the Catholick Religion, omitted not any terms of duty and honour, as well in receiving him, as in waiting upon him to *Lyons*, where having ſtayed a few days, he haſtened his journey, and went to *Moulins*; from whence though, in regard of the Plague, which was very hot in many places, he took a much longer way, yet he came upon the nineteenth of *July* to *Montl'hery*, ten leagues from the City of *Paris*. Thither the King (not with publick pomp, but as in a familiar viſit) coming from *Picardy*, poſted with a hundred in his train to meet him; ſhewing, by his impatiency to be with him, and his familiarity in meeting him, his affection towards the Pope, and his particular confidence in his perſon, which, beſides nobleneſs of birth, and maturity of years, had an exceeding great fame for wiſdom, and ancient inclination to the affairs of the Crown. The principal Lords of the Court attended the King in this viſit, but particularly the Duke of *Mayenne*, to let the Legat ſee the ſincere reconciliation that was between them, and how much the Heads of the Catholick party were eſteemed and honoured. As the King in this firſt Interview omitted not any exquiſite demonſtration of reverence toward the majeſty of the Pope, and toward the perſon of the Legat; ſo did not the Cardinal fail to ſhew himſelf ſo moderate, and ſo well diſpoſed toward the intereſts of the King and of the Crown, that the good expectation formerly conceived of him, was turned into a very great affection.

The King goes poſt to *Montl'hery* to meet the Popes Legat.

The Cardinal *de Medici*'s ſolemn entry into *Paris*.

The King returned the next morning to *Paris*; and the Cardinal going on his journey, was met firſt a league from the Fauxbourgs by the young Prince of *Condé*, to the end that he might know how diligently he had endeavoured the Popes ſatisfaction, in getting him out of the Hugonots hands: and at the Gate of the Fauxbourgs he was received by Cardinal *Gondi*, all the Princes, and all the Court, with ſuch a throng of people, that if the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Eſpernon*, alighting from their horſes, had not with Swords drawn made room among the people, there was ſome danger that the vehemence of thoſe who crowded inconſiderately to honour him, might have ſtifled him in the heat and tumult. Thus being brought into the City with great joy and contentment of every one, he performed the wonted Ceremonies in the Cathedral of *Noſtre-Dame*; and being conducted to his lodging furniſhed with the Kings ſtuff, he with infinite courteſie received the viſits of the Parliament, the firſt Preſident *Harlay* ſpeaking for all; and then ſucceſſively the other Magiſtrates of the City, and of many particular perſons; every one rejoycing to ſee with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, the reconciliation as well of the King as Crown unto the Apoſtolick See.

In the Parliament they accepted and publiſhed the Commiſſions, or (as they call it) the power of the Legat: and though ſome of the Counſellors were of opinion that certain clauſes ſhould be added to the publication, which had been wont to be uſed in former times, to limit and circumſcribe the Authority of Legats within the Priviledges of the *Gallique Church*; yet the King would have them freely publiſhed

as

as they were, without making mention of any ſuch thing, to take away all ſcruple that might be had of the ſincerity of his mind: a thing which redounding to the full ſatisfaction of the Pope, and the glory of his Papacy, not to find that oppoſition which the other Popes before were wont to meet, was exceedingly well recompenced by the moderation of the Legat, whoſe dexterity well inſtructed by prudent Orders from *Rome*, ſtill declined thoſe occaſions which might bring his Authority, the Priviledges of the Clergy, or the Juriſdictions of the Crown into controverſie; the true and only way to avoid the ſo hateful contentions of Juriſdiction, and a temper very proper as well to eſtabliſh the received obedience, as to ſerve the difficult condition of the times. This, beſides the Pope's prudence, and the Legat's moderation, was the counſel of *Giovanni Delfino* the Venetian Ambaſſador at *Rome*, and who afterward was alſo Cardinal; who well verſed in the affairs of *France*, advertiſed both the Pope and the Legat, that they ſhould not take particular notice of the exceſſes formerly committed in the Eccleſiaſtical affairs of *France*, while it was in a manner ſeparate from the Church before the Abſolution; but that feigning not to ſee many things that were paſt, they ſhould content themſelves with great patience and dexterity to regulate the future: which counſel greedily received, as from a perſon that was well verſed, and very prudent, gave a rule to govern themſelves by, in many difficult buſineſſes that happened afterward. 1596.

The Legat had his firſt publick audience at St. *Maur*, without the City, upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, in which the King ratified all the Conditions accepted by his Procurators in the Abſolution at *Rome:* By which ready demonſtration having ſatisfied the Pope in all points exactly, he afterward received thoſe Diſpenſations which the preſent conjuncture perſwaded. From theſe things, appertaining to the Majeſty of Religion, and of the Pope, the Cardinal-Legat paſſed to treat of thoſe which concerned the quiet of the Kingdom, and the peace of Chriſtians: For the Pope knowing, how afflicted, and how bloodleſs the Kingdom of *France* was, having been tormented with the ſo long Civil Wars, and how much need it had of eaſe and tranquillity to recover its ancient vigour; and on the other ſide, conſidering how exhauſted the King of *Spain*'s Coffers were, and how much oppreſſed and ruined his people, he ſaw the Crown of *France*, by continuing the War, was in great danger to be diminiſhed, and the moſt Chriſtian King neceſſitated ſtill to keep near correſpondencies and intereſſed friendſhips with Princes that were averſe from the Catholick Church: And he believed on the other ſide, that King *Philip* being ill able to ſupply two ſo potent Wars, though near, by keeping up the reputation of his Arms in *Picardy*, came to loſe much of his own in *Flanders*, to the increaſe of the States of *Holland*, and the diminution of the Faith; wherefore he was reſolved to mediate Peace between thoſe two Crowns, well perceiving that neither of them would ever incline to demand it, if he, as a common Father, and independent Mediator, ſhould not interpoſe. To this was added, the conſideration of the War with the Turk, which was extream fierce and hot in *Hungary*; which the Pope deſiring the Chriſtian Princes ſhould vigorouſly concur in, that the Forces of the common Enemy might not increaſe any more, he thought it chiefly neceſſary to make an Agreement between thoſe Crowns, to the end, that both together, or at leaſt the King of *Spain*, for the common intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, might be able to lend his aſſiſtance. He therefore had given ſtrict Commiſſion to the Legat, that as ſoon as the Kings Abſolution was ratified, he ſhould preſently begin to introduce this buſineſs, which he accounted not only neceſſary for the ſecurity and repoſe of Chriſtendom, but alſo highly glorious to the memory of his Papacy.

The King gives the firſt publick audience to the Legat at St. *Maur*, and ratifies all the Conditions accepted by his Procurators at *Rome*.

The point of Religion being ſetled, the Cardinal Legat begins to promote a Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns.

Neither was the Cardinal (being a man of a mild peaceable nature, and full of experience in the affairs of the world) leſs ready to procure the general good, and his own particular honour, than the Pope was careful to incite him to it, ſo that in the firſt meetings after the publick audience at St. *Maur*, he deferred not to ſound the Kings inclination, who no leſs quick-ſighted than others in diſcovering the wounds of his Kingdom, and agreeing with the general opinion of all men, that peace was the only remedy to cure them, was inclined to imbrace any kind of peace wherein his reputation might not ſuffer. The difficulties which his Ambaſſadors found in treating the League with *England*, perſwaded him the ſame; for he perceived very well, that the Queen aimed without regard to get ſome place in his Kingdom, that ſhe might have means to keep him bound, and to procure greater matters as occaſion ſhould ſerve;

Emergents that perſwade the King to deſire peace with *Spain*.

1596. ſerve; and it was not unknown to him, that ſhe, by reaſon of the Iriſh commotions which were then in their height, was ſo much taken up, that though ſhe had a deſire to it, ſhe was not able to ſpare many forces to his aſſiſtance. To this was added, the condition of the Hollanders, who though they endeavoured to have the War continue in *France*, that the Spaniſh Forces might be diverted and divided, yet had they not any ability to lend ſupplies unto their Neighbours, whilſt the War was ſo hot in all places at their own home. Neither were the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* (whoſe minds were now bent upon the urgent neceſſity of the Turkiſh War) either able or willing to trouble themſelves about the Kingdom of *France*; which they thought powerful enough of it ſelf, to make head againſt the Arms of *Spain*: Inſomuch, that the King being able to promiſe himſelf little of the Foreign Aids of his Confederates, was fain to make his whole foundation upon the Forces of his own Kingdom.

But theſe were hindred and debilitated by many weighty accidents: For the Royal Revenues by the ruines of Civil Wars, and the multiplicity of abuſes introduced, were ſubverted, and little leſs than brought to nothing, and the profit that was wont to riſe from Impoſts and Gabels in the Merchant Towns of the Mediterranean and Ocean Seas, was extreamly diminiſhed by interruption of the commerce with *Spain*, the *Weſt Indies* and the Catholick Kings other Territories: Nor did the trading in Engliſh and Dutch-bottoms help much; for navigation being interrupted, the buſineſs was reduced rather to a kind of Piracy than Traffick. To this want of money (the vital ſubſtance of the War) were added other perturbations. The Duke of *Mercœur* yet in Arms, and potent in *Bretagne*, who with his forces over-running and diſquieting the Country, ſometimes toward *Normandy*, ſometimes towards *Poictou* and *Xaintonge*, kept thoſe Provinces in continual commotion: *Provence* and *Dauphine* not yet well reduced to obedience, and fiercely moleſted by the Duke of *Savoy*, ſo that it was neceſſary to keep two Armies there continually employed; and, which imported moſt of all, the Hugonots, either incenſed, or grown jealous at the ſo near conjunction between the King and the Pope, were in a manner up in Arms, and (asking liberty to meet together to take ſome courſe about their own affairs) ſhewed deſigns of new Inſurrections: Whereupon there was great danger, that before the Peace was totally eſtabliſhed with the Catholicks, it would be neceſſary to begin a War with the Hugonots.

The Hugonots jealous of the Kings conjunction with the Pope, begin to plot new troubles.

Theſe cauſes moved the King to wiſh for Peace; but the ſpur of reputation, which had ever been very ſharp in his mind, did make him in appearance deſire War: Wherefore in the firſt Treaties with the Legat, he told him reſolutely, that he would not accept of any kind of Peace, unleſs firſt all the places taken were reſtored, and all the loſſes of the Crown repaired; adding ſuch lively ardent ſpeeches, as ſhewed he would not lend an ear to a negotiation of Peace, till firſt by his Arms he had ſet his reputation up again in War; and yet the Legat gathering the Kings ſecret intention from the ſtate of affairs, which were very well known to him, being upon the place; and judging it by all means neceſſary to break the Ice firſt, though there appeared no glimpſe of hope, he diſpatched Father *Bonaventura Calatagirone*, General of the Order of St. *Francis*, to the Court of *Spain*, to ſound how mens minds correſponded on that ſide.

The King calls a Congregation of all the Officers of his Crown at *Rouen*, to ſettle the diſorders of his Kingdom, and to demand Supplies for the War.

But the diligence the Legat ſhewed for Peace, hindred not the King of *France* from being intent upon Proviſions of Arms, and preparations for the year following; wherefore having called a Congregation of all the Officers of the Crown, principal Magiſtrates, and Treaſurers of his Kingdom in the City of *Rouen*, where beſides regulating many diſorders and abuſes, he intended to eſtabliſh and ſettle his Revenues, and to perſwade the Heads of the Provinces, and the chief of the Clergy and common people to aſſiſt him in ſuch manner, that he might be able to uphold the weight of the War by himſelf, which he accounted not difficult, as well by reaſon of the urgent neceſſity well known to them all, as of the good condition many rich and fertil Provinces were getting into, ſince Civil Wars had ceaſed in them, if neceſſary rule and order were added to the benefit of quiet; and he thought every one would run willingly to contribute to that expence, which was not made as in former times, either to ſatisfie the Kings appetites, or to move domeſtick Arms againſt thoſe of the ſame Blood, but to maintain a War againſt ſtrangers, and to defend the Crown, aſſaulted and invaded by its ancient Emulators and inveterate Enemies.

And

And becauſe from the year before, there had been a Truce (though an uncertain one, and from time to time violated and interrupted) with the Duke of *Mercœur* to treat in the interim, and find ſome temper of Agreement with him, the King at this time deputed the Count of *Schombergh*, and Preſident *de Thou*, who were to go to the Queen Dowager of *France* to treat in her preſence with the Dukes Deputies: But this Treaty was not only doubtful, but alſo various and unſetled; for the Duke, a ſubtil man, of a deep reach, and one not eaſie to be withdrawn from his deſigns, held ſeveral practices both in *Spain* and *France*, promiſing himſelf yet, that he ſhould diſmember the Dutchy of *Bretagne* from the Crown (which had been united no longer than ſince the times of *Lewis* the Twelfth, and *Francis* the Firſt) to eſtabliſh it to his Poſterity; or, if he could not do ſo much in favour of himſelf, at leaſt, to keep up that State in the name of the *Infanta Iſabella*, who pretended to ſucceed unto it, as next Heir of the Houſe of *Valois*, ſince women were not excluded from the inheritance of *Bretagne*. For this purpoſe he had ſent *Lorenzo Tornabuony* to the Court of *Spain*, and ſtill held practices within the Province, to draw many of the principal men to be of his mind, hoping he ſhould obtain much larger conditions from the Infanta, than he could do from the King of *France*. But becauſe the adverſity of the affairs of the League croſſed his deſigns, and the agreement of the other Princes of his Houſe, and particularly of the Duke of *Mayenne*, held his mind in ſuſpence; He ſtill kept the Treaty of Accommodation alive, and ſtill prorogued the Truce with ſhort additions, making uſe ſometimes of force, ſometimes of art, to obtain ſome convenient place, and to keep the Provinces confining upon *Bretagne* in commotion. 1596.

The *Infanta Iſabella*'s pretenſions upon the Dutchy of *Bretagne*.

Following this his deſign, he about this time ſet on *Charles Gondi* Marquiſs of *Beliſle*, Son to the Mareſchal *de Retz*, to ſeize upon *Fougeres*, a Town of much importance upon the Confines of *Normandy*; and from that place he had held a Treaty, that the ſame Marquiſs might be let in to *Mont S. Michel*, a wonderful ſtrong place upon the ſhore of the Ocean, to which one cannot go by Land, except for the ſpace of two ſhort hours by day and by night when the Tyde is low, which Treaty having gone on ſo far, that the Marquiſs was already certain to be let in, he departed ſecretly by night from *Fougeres* with an hundred Horſe and four hundred Foot, and came to St. *Michel* juſt at low water; there having given and received the appointed ſigns, he was invited by the Governour of the Caſtle to come in with half a dozen in his company to poſſeſs the firſt Gate, and bring in his men; at which invitation the Marquiſs, a young man, more fierce than circumſpect, refuſed not to enter, but ſeeing the Gate that led into the firſt Raveline was preſently ſhut at his back, he turned about with an angry countenance to the Captain that ſhut it, and commanded him to keep it open; which command being no leſs haughtily anſwered, they of the Caſtle took occaſion to fall to their Arms, and having killed the Marquiſs with his ſix Companions, they began to fire their Artillery againſt his party, which being already certain of their Commanders misfortune, retired unpurſued to *Fougeres*.

This accident ſlackened not the deſigns of the Duke of *Mercœur*, who having had the ſucceſs to get the Fortreſs of *Tiſauge* in *Poictou*, and to make other progreſſes in divers parts, continued to treat of peace ambiguouſly, being minded to govern himſelf according to the variety of affairs, ſometimes moderating his demands in the Kings proſperity, ſometimes enlarging them in his adverſity, being himſelf no leſs uncertain of the event than others. Nor did the King, to whom the cauſe of theſe alterations were known, withdraw himſelf from his purpoſe of treating, being diſpoſed to grant him advantageous conditions, to exclude the Spaniards from *Bretagne*, and re-unite unto himſelf ſo important a part of the Crown; wherefore to that effect he had newly deſtined the * Count and the Preſident, whoſe wiſdom he thought ſufficient to deal with the Dukes arts and inconſtancy.

* *Schombergh* and *de Thou*.

He likewiſe ſent the Sieur *d' Emery*, and *Godefroy Calignon* Chancellor of *Navarre* to the Hugonots, who abſenting themſelves from the Court, and being retired to

The Hugonots abſenting themſelves from Court, and appeaſe them.

retire to places near *Rochel*, and drawing Souldiers together, the King ſends to treat with them and

1596. the Towns near *Rochell*, had drawn ſome number of armed men together, continuing to make their Conventicles and Aſſemblies to the great jealouſie of the King, and great indignation of his Council: But the Duke of *Mayenne*, though formerly an Enemy to that party, yet having moved the reſt of the Council to conſider how pernicious it was to provoke a new Civil War at a time when the whole State was afflicted, and that the Arms of the Spaniards inſulted with many ſucceſsful proceedings, they determined to ſend thoſe two perſons of very great eſteem to treat, to ſhew them that nothing prejudicial to Conſcience was intended nor thought of: for though the conditions impoſed by the Pope were ſuch as every one knew, yet that clauſe was added, that they ſhould be executed without danger of War or perturbation; with which condition at the ſame time the Popes obedience and the ſecurity of the Hugonots was preſerved; ſince the conjuncture of the times was manifeſtly ſuch, that the King could not conſtrain their Liberty, not only without commotion of War, but alſo not without great danger of the Crown. Theſe two Deputies being come to the places of the Hugonots, treated many times with the Heads of that party, and the reſt that were come to *Chaſtelrault*, and aſſuring them, that the Edicts made in favour of their Religion ſhould be obſerved, ſtayed the breaking out of new troubles which were already contriving; but they could not obtain that the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Duke *de la Tremouille* ſhould (as the King deſired) march with the Forces of that party into *Picardy*; for the coming of the Legat, and the near correſpondence that paſt, had made them ſo ſuſpicious, that they would not ſtir from the places of their own ſecurity.

The Mareſchal *de Byron* making great incurſions into the County of *Artois*, the Spaniards attempt to oppoſe him; they fight, the Spaniards are routed, and the Marquiſs of *Varambone* their Commander in chief, and the Count *de Montecucoli* taken priſoners.

While they were negotiating on this ſide, Arms were not altogether quiet upon the Confines of *Picardy:* for the number of Gariſons on both ſides did with frequent encounters keep matters in commotion, and the Mareſchal *de Byron* not failing to moleſt the Enemy in all places, made incurſions into the Catholick Kings Provinces in ſuch ſort, that in the month of *September* being entered with his Horſe into the County of *Artois*, he put the whole Country in a very great tumult: wherefore the Marquiſs of *Varambone* Governour thereof, having ſent for Count *Giovan Giacopo Belgiojoſo*, and the Count *de Montecucoli*, reſolved to meet him with Eight hundred Horſe to put a ſtop to thoſe miſchiefs which he did on all ſides; but the Mareſchal informed of his coming, having ſtaid the whole day to reſt himſelf at St. *André*, within the Juriſdiction of St. *Omer*, ſet forward in the dusk of the evening with his men freſh, and purpoſed to fall unexpectedly upon the Marquiſs, who thought him a great many miles from thence: nor did he fail of his deſign; for having marched eaſily all the night, in the morning at Sun riſe he light upon the Enemies Vanguard led by *Montecucoli*, and without much conſidering they charged courageouſly on both ſides.

In the beginning the French had the worſt; for their firſt Troops were beaten back half in diſorder to the main Body; but a while after the Mareſchal advancing in perſon, charged *Montecucoli* ſo furiouſly, that he was forced to turn his back full ſpeed; it not being poſſible to ſtay his men, who fell foul upon the Marquiſs his Battel and diſordered it, ſo that he being forſaken, was taken priſoner with *Montecucoli*, ſtill fighting valiantly. *Belgiojoſo* advanced with the Reer, and for ſome time gallantly withſtood the fury of the Conquerours; but the other Bodies being routed, and he himſelf wounded with two Piſtol-ſhots in the Arm, was at laſt conſtrained to ſave himſelf by flight, leaving the Field free to the Mareſchal *de Byron*, and free power to go where he would: ſo that he would have done more harm to the Country, and perchance have made greater progreſs, if the Rains of Autumn, which that year fell much before the uſual time, had not put a hindrance to his incurſions.

There grows a quarrel in the Kings Ante-chamber between the Sieur *de Coqueinvillier* and Monſieur *de Bonivet*, ſo that the firſt gives the other a box on the ear

About this time there happened an accident at Court, which as it gave private men an example of that moderation wherewith they ought to curb their paſſions, ſo did it advertiſe Princes how far they ought to bear thoſe terms of neceſſity in their Subjects to which Honour conſtrains them; for a Controverſie in words ariſing in the Kings Ante-chamber, between the Sieur *de Coqueinvillier* one of his Gentlemen-Waiters, but a man of approved Valour, and Monſieur *de Bonivet*, a Cavalier of ancient Nobility and great note; *Coqueinvillier* forgetting the place where he was, ſtruck *Bonivet* a Box on the Ear, who reſtraining his own fury, in reſpect of the place,

they

they went both out of the Court, and being ſeparated by their Friends into ſeveral places, *Bonivet* ſent to challenge his Enemy, that he might be revenged of the affront he had received: but he (acknowledging his errour, in having wronged him in a place where it was not lawful for him to draw his Sword to right himſelf) refuſed to meet him in the field, and offered to ask him pardon, which all men knew was not for want of courage, whereof he had given proofs in other Duels, but out of remorſe of Conſcience; yet *Bonivet*, notwithſtanding the common opinion, reiterated his challenge oftentimes, which not only was anſwered with the ſame moderation, but *Coqueinvillier* kept within doors for ſome time to avoid the occaſion of fighting, and yet the other urging him with injurious Letters and Meſſages, and not accepting the offer he made, to refer himſelf to his diſcretion, he was at laſt conſtrained to meet him in a private place hand to hand, where having made his former proffers, and proteſted that he acknowledged himſelf much to blame; he was conſtrained by *Bonivet*'s fierceneſs to draw his Sword, wherewith having wounded him with a thruſt in the firſt bout, retiring back, he would have ended the buſineſs at the firſt blood; but *Bonivet* furiouſly inſulting, and making many thruſts at him, he being ſo hard preſſed, ran him thorow the body, and laid him dead upon the ground. The news being come to the Kings ear, who knew all that had paſſed very well, and bearing not only with the neceſſity that had forced *Coqueinvillier* to fight, but for his Valours ſake forgiving alſo the offence he had committed in ſtriking in the Court, ſaid publickly, That ſince one of them was loſt, it was not good to loſe the other too, and granting him his pardon, he commanded the Magiſtrates not to proceed againſt him. 1596.

*Bonivet* challenges *Coqueinvillier* to a duel, they fight, and he is ſlain.

In the mean time the Deputies were met together at *Rouen*, whither the King came upon the eighteenth of *October*, (accompanied with the Cardinal-Legat, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, Governour of that Province, the High Conſtable *Montmorancy*, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Eſpernon*, the Prince of *Jainville*, the Mareſchals of *Retz* and *Matignon*, the Admiral *d' Anville*, the Cardinals of *Gioury* and *Gondy*, and a ſelect number of the principal Lords of the Kingdom;) and being received with a very ſolemn pomp, he ſpoke to the Aſſembly the fourth day of *November*, ſhowing them how much need the affairs of the Kingdom had of a Reformation, and the urgency of Supplies to maintain the War upon the Confines: Which things after they were more at large unfolded by the High Chancellor, every one ſet himſelf with great deſire to think upon thoſe remedies which they judged might prove convenient. But the infirmities of that Body afflicted with ſo long diſtempers, were ſuch as could not be ſo eaſily cured. and every one perceived how neceſſary a general Peace was to introduce and eſtabliſh a wholſom permanent Reformation, ſince that, amidſt the neceſſities of War, new diſorders ſtill ſpring up; nor can the ſtrictneſs of Reformation be obſerved, where Military exigencies continually extort licentious diſpenſations. Nor was there any body who thought not, that the proper means to obtain peace was to have a great ſtrength for the War, to the end, that recovering their reputation, and the places that were loſt, the two Crowns might agree in peace with equal honour. But as the remedy was known, ſo was the means of attaining it very difficult; for the whole Kingdom was ſo exhauſted and weakned, that the people could confer but little to the Kings aſſiſtance; who, to maintain the Armies in *Dauphine* and *Bretagne*, and to raiſe a greater one in *Picardy*, was forced to think of great preparations of Men, Money, and Ammunition, which was gotten out of *England* and *Holland* at a very great charge; and though it was hoped, that ſome Provinces which had not been ſo much divided, might (with good order taken) afford ſome conſiderable ſupply, yet that required length of time, which the Exigency and the War would not allow. But nevertheleſs, not being able to forbear doing all that was poſſible, every one applied himſelf heartily, as well to reform, as to make preparations.

With the conſultation of theſe affairs, ended the year 1596. And though the Aſſembly continued in the beginning of the year following, yet the Reformation was but very weak; for the matter was not diſpoſed to receive it, and the times were unſeaſonable for the rigours of a reſolute courſe; only the expence of the Kings Houſhold was leſſened, ſome ſupernumerary Offices were taken away, and the Penſions of particular men were reſtrained, but not in ſuch manner, that the Treaſury was much 1597.

A weak Reformation is made, Proviſions are ordained for the Kings wants, and the Congregation is diſmiſſed.

1597. much eaſed by it. The proviſions made for the King, were ſomething more conſiderable; for the payment of the debts of the Crown were ſuſpended for the two next years, but without prejudice to the Creditors; an increaſe was granted in the peoples name upon the Gabelle of Salt, one of the chief Revenues of the Crown; all Uſurpers of Confiſcations were by a ſevere Edict conſtrained not only to reſtore the Land, but the profits ſo uſurped, from which buſineſs there reſulted no ſmall benefit: And finally, many of the Treaſurers, and of the Clergy, voluntarily obliged themſelves to contribute a certain ſum of money, though no very great one.

But the King having ended the Aſſembly at *Rouen*, and being come into the quarters about *Paris*, to take Phyſick for ſome private indiſpoſition, to the end, that being freed from it, he might more freely apply himſelf with the firſt ſeaſon to the toil of Arms, a new important accident gave beginning to Actions of War before the time. *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, a man, who in a very ſmall ſtature of body, contained a lively ſprightly courage, was Governour of *Dourlans:* This man having in the whole courſe of the War, given great proof of no leſs ſagacity than valour, ſtood watchful upon all occaſions that offered themſelves to atchieve ſomething. He having begun to court a very rich Widow, who, according to the uſe of the French, dwelt in the Country, was faln into a deſire of getting her for his Wife; but having often diſcovered his intent, ſhe ſtill anſwered him, That ſhe being ſubject to the King of *France*, and he to the King of *Spain*, who made War againſt one another, it was not fit to ſatisfie him; but that ſhe would diſpoſe her ſelf to do it, when either he had put *Dourlans* under the Kings obedience, or drawn *Amiens* (in which City ſhe was born) under the ſubjection of the King of *Spain*. Theſe words moved the ſpirit of *Portocarrero*, who (beſides his natural deſire to ſerve his Prince, ſpurred on by love, and the hope of obtaining ſo rich a Dowry) began to think how he might make himſelf Maſter of the City of *Amiens*; and having had ſome diſcourſe about it with one * *Dameline*, a man that was baniſhed out of the Town, he heard that the City had refuſed to receive a Gariſon of Souldiers, and that the Townsmen kept their Guards diligently by night, but careleſly by day, whereupon he entred into good hopes of getting unexpectedly within the Walls, and by his ſudden arrival, eaſily to make himſelf Maſter of it; but having heard afterwards, that there were fifteen thouſand men in the City, well provided with Arms, and ready to run together upon the ſtir of any accident, he ſtood long in ſuſpence, and doubtful in himſelf, whether he ſhould attempt the enterpriſe, notwithſtanding that ſo great difficulty. He was much more out of hope, when he underſtood that three thouſand Swiſſers ſent to the King to convoy great ſtore of Artillery and Ammunition into the City for the proviſions of the future War, ſtaid to take up quarters in the neighbouring Villages. But he took up his deſign again, when he heard that the Count *de St. Paul*, to ſatisfie the obſtinate importunities of the Citizens, had made them draw away; nay, he was excited ſo much the more out of a deſire to get all the preparations that were brought into that City; wherefore he gave order to a Serjeant named *Franciſco del Arco*, (a man whom he had tried in many occurrences) to go into the City in diſguiſe, and diligently to obſerve the quality of the Citizens, and the manner of their Guards. The relation was very favourable to his deſign; for the Citizens imployed themſelves by day, in following their buſineſſes, and thoſe few that remained to guard the Ports, (being invited to it by the ſeaſon) ſhut themſelves up in a room to enjoy the benefit of the fire, and the Gate was for the moſt part left alone, except one Sentinel that ſtood at the Turn-pike; whereupon being confirmed in his deſign, he diſpatched the ſame Serjeant to the Cardinal Archduke to obtain leave and ſupplies of men, that he might ſet himſelf upon the enterpriſe. The Archduke conſented, that he ſhould venture upon a buſineſs of ſo great hopes; and gave order to the Gariſons of *Cambray*, *Calais*, *Bapaulme*, and *Caſtelet*, that upon the day appointed, they ſhould ſend aid of men into the quarters of *Dourlans*, to obey and be commanded by *Portocarrero*.

*Hernando Telles Portocarrero* being by the Cardinal Archduke left Governour of *Dourlans*, contrives how to ſurprize *Amiens*.

* The French ſays, *Du Monlin*.

He having well fitted all things, called the help that was prepared, and gave order, that upon the Tenth day of *March*, they ſhould be toward the evening, at a Village called *Orville*, a League from *Dourlans*; whereupon there met from ſeveral parts ſix hundred Horſe led by *Girolamo Coroſſa*, Marquiſs of *Montenegro*, and two thouſand Foot of divers Nations, commanded by old Spaniſh, Italian, and Walloon Officers;

to

to whom *Portocarrero* communicating nothing elſe, but that they were to go upon *Amiens*, marched all night; the * *Cadet Panure*, a Walloon, and *Inigo d' Ollava*, a Spaniard, who were privy to the whole deſign, leading the firſt Troops, who arriving in the morning before day, laid themſelves in ambuſh behind certain Buſhes not far from the City, and after them the ſame did Captain *Fernando Dezza* with an hundred Spaniſh Foot, and Captain *Boſtoc*, with as many Iriſh. *Portocarrero*, who had made an halt with the main Body, near the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, above half a Mile from the Town; after that the *Cadet* climbing to the Top of a Tree, had given him a ſign, that the Gate was open, and that the ſtir of thoſe that went in, and came out, was over, he ſent forth *Giovan Battiſta Dugnano*, a Milaneſe, and the ſame Serjeant *del Arco*, to execute what had been agreed of between them. 1597.

* Or younger Brother.

They, with Twelve in their company, diſguiſed like Country-fellows, after the faſhion of that Country, wore certain long Caſſocks, ſome of Cloth, ſome of Canvas, under which each had a Caſe of ſhort Piſtols, and a Dagger. Four of them drove a Cart with three Horſes faſtned to the Draught-Tree in ſuch manner, that by pulling out an Iron, they might be looſned from the Cart, which being laden with thick pieces of Wood covered with Straw, was ſent before to ſtop under the Portcullis, and hinder it from ſhutting down. Behind the Cart followed other four, who upon their Shoulders had Sacks full of Apples and Nuts, and after them came the other ſix ſtragling, and laſt of all Serjeant *Dugnano*, the Captains Brother, with a great Pole.

It was already Sermon-time, (for by reaſon it was *Lent*, there was Preaching in many Churches) and the people being gone ſeveral ways, had left few to guard the Ports; when the firſt entred with the Cart at the Turn-pike, and went on under the Gate to do the effect already deſigned, and one of the ſecond company making ſhew to let his Apples and Nuts fall by chance ſcattered upon the ground, many of thoſe that were upon the Guard ran to catch them up, and the reſt laughing and mocking, took no heed to the Cart, which being got under the Portcullis, the Horſes were preſently looſened, leſt being frighted with that ſtir they ſhould have dragged it too far; and ſo that impediment remained in the midſt of the paſſage, that it could not be ſhut down. The laſt came unto the Turn-pike, and at the very firſt killed the Sentinel, then preſently the reſt diſcovering their Weapons, fell upon them that were catching up the Apples, and fighting fiercely killed ſome of them, and drove the reſt into a room where the fire was, ſhutting them up in ſuch manner, that the firſt Companies of Foot had time to come unto the Gate. In this interim the Sentinel that was above in the Gate-houſe, having heard the noiſe, ſpeedily cut the Ropes by which the Portcullis hung, which being made of ſeveral Bars and not all of a piece, two of the Bars broke through the bottom of the Cart, but the other three were kept up, leaving ſpace enough open for two Souldiers to enter abreſt. Through that paſſage the Commanders and Officers advanced compleatly armed, and after them above an hundred Souldiers, before any aid came from the City; and yet the people coming up on all ſides, they would at laſt have defeated the Aſſailants, (among whom *Dugnano* was killed with a great wound on the head) if the Bars of the Portcullis being broken, and all impediments taken away, the *Cadet* had not come in ſeaſonably with the Walloons, and Captain *Boſtock* with the Iriſh; by which the people who ran ſtragling thither without order or without Commander, being beaten back and put to flight, and above eighty of the Citizens killed, there was no body that made reſiſtance any longer; for the Count *de S. Paul*, who was in the Town without any Gariſon, at the firſt notice of the buſineſs, got out of the *Forte de Beauvais* and ſav'd himſelf by flight. *Fernando Dezza* entred preſently after the firſt, and laſt of all *Portocarrero* with the main Body, keeping the Souldiers from running about to plunder, as well for fear of the people, (a very great number in reſpect of them) as becauſe he doubted the Kings Forces that were not far off, might ſtrive to recover the Town in the firſt heat. But the people too bold before the urgency of the danger, and too fearful in the act, dejected in ſo ſudden an accident, laid down their Arms, and the Kings Cavalry advancing to the very Wall, having met the Marquiſs *de Montnegro*, and ſeen that they could not effect any thing, returned without further attempt into their own Quarters.

One of the Gates of *Amiens* is poſſeſt by twelve Spaniſh Souldiers diſguiſed like Country-fellows, who bringing a Cart under the Portcullis, and ſcattering fruit upon the ground, deceive the Guards, who were very negligent.

The

1597. The news of this loſs ſtruck the King ſo deeply, that deſpiſing his own health, and breaking off the courſe of Phyſick he had begun, he poſted ſpeedily into *Picardy*, accompanied with none but thoſe that were then about him, being confirmed more than ever in his old conceit, That where he was not himſelf in perſon, buſineſſes went on either careleſly, or unfortunately; and paſſing with great hazard in thoſe places where the Enemy roved about victoriouſly, he came to *Corbie*, where the Mareſchal *de Byron* was, being reſolved, or rather excited by deſpair, to begin the War again, happen what would; and to encounter any danger whatſoever to attempt ſome enterprize, though without hope to effect it. For he thought nothing more contrary to his ſucceſs than eaſe, and nothing more beneficial than action.

The King for the loſs of *Amiens* breaks off the courſe of Phyſick he had begun, and goes into *Picardy* to aſſiſt the affairs of War in perſon.

But this accident ſtruck the adjacent Provinces no leſs than him, and particularly the City of *Paris*; between which and *Amiens* there not being above eight and twenty Leagues of open way, not hindred by any ſtrong place, there entred a great terrour into the people, fearing leſt the Spaniards now victorious ſhould advance to ſpoil the Country, and interrupt the concourſe of victual, while the King had no Army wherewith he could withſtand their progreſs; and the freſh ſufferings which were lately paſſed, did by the yet bitter memory of them, make dangers ſeem more grievous, and more near than was fitting; the whole people therefore was in an uproar; the Country frighted, the Nobility ſtirred up, and many murmured againſt the King, as one who accuſtomed only to conquer in Civil Wars, yielded in all places to the diſcipline, policy, valour, and diligence of Foreigners; and others going yet farther, ſpoke againſt his manner of life, as if having given himſelf a prey to the love of Madam *Gabriele*, he had retired to paſs his time idly with her, while the Enemy ſollicitous and vigilant, inſulted furiouſly againſt the principal Cities of the Kingdom: and that which theſe men ſaid, was not without probable appearance; for the King having made great ſhow of the love he bore this Lady, even to the having cauſed the Baptiſm of a Daughter born of her, to be celebrated with Royal pomp, in the face of the Aſſembly at *Rouen*, was afterwards retired in her company to the ſolitarineſs of St. *Germains*, St. *Maure*, and the other places of pleaſure near the City, in ſo much that thoſe who knew not the neceſſity he had to take Phyſick, attributed all to the deſire of eaſe, and to the appetite of womaniſh delights.

They are much troubled in *Paris* for the loſs of *Amiens*, and murmur againſt the King.

Nor was the King himſelf ignorant of the popular rumours; whereupon exceedingly vexed, he ceaſed not with words and letters to clear himſelf, attributing the loſs of *Amiens* to the obſtinacy of the Citizens, who never would receive a Gariſon, to which he would not conſtrain them, becauſe that City being newly come unto his devotion, he was unwilling the people ſhould believe that he ſought to violate the Priviledges of their Corporation, and fail of his Promiſes. He ſhewed likewiſe that not the pleaſure of the Court, but his need of Phyſick, which would admit no delay, had conſtrained him to enter into a courſe, though the ſeaſon were yet extreamly cold, to the end that after the ſpace of a few days he might be able with perfect ſtrength to undergo the burthen of the War himſelf in perſon. And to that which was ſaid of his being only skilled in Civil Wars: He objected the two ſeveral times he had met the Duke of *Parma*, and what he had done the year before againſt the Conſtable of *Caſtile*'s Army; in which enterprizes (contrary to what his Detractors ſaid of him) He had ſhewn as much circumſpection and diſcipline as the cuſtom of the French Nobility, and the quality of times and occaſions would allow.

The King excuſes againſt the accuſations and murmurings of the French.

To theſe words joining actions ſutable, though he had not above Four thouſand Foot and Two thouſand Horſe, he determined to draw near *Amiens* to begin the ſiege; for he was reſolved to ſet his utmoſt endeavours to recover that City; conſidering that it was beſt to begin betimes to ſtraighten it by what means ſoever he could; to the end that thoſe within might not have conveniency to provide themſelves of things neceſſary to feed that abundance of people that dwelt continually in the Town. Wherefore being departed from *Corbie*, and paſt over to the far ſide of the River *Somme*, he cauſed his men to encamp in the midſt between *Amiens* and *Dourlans*, to the end he might interrupt the commerce and mutual aſſiſtance of thoſe two places, and having left charge with Mareſchal *de Byron* to advance the ſiege according as new ſupplies of men came up daily to the Camp, He giving no reſt unto

The King beſieges *Amiens*, being deſirous to recover it.

to himſelf, went up and down to convenient places, drawing Horſe and Foot out of the Gariſons to increaſe his Army the moſt he could, and at laſt returned to *Paris*, to haſten ſuch proviſions as were neceſſary, and to raiſe a ſum of money, ſufficient to go through with the ſiege, which at that time was the utmoſt ſcope of all his thoughts. 1597.

The City of *Amiens* ſtands upon the River *Somme*, which being divided into many ſtreams, runs through the midſt of the Town, and encompaſſes, and waſhes the Wall in many places. On the one ſide it hath the great Caſtle of *Pequigny*, and *Corbie* on the other; the Caſtle four Leagues, and the Town ſeven Leagues diſtant from it. The City is invironed with thick and well-contrived Walls, flanked with their Bulwarks and Ravelines, in ſome places more, in ſome leſs, according as it is waſhed more or leſs by the River; and though in all parts it be more excellently fortified, yet it is much ſtronger, and built with greater induſtry on the ſide beyond the River towards *Flanders*. On this ſide the King had given order, that ſiege ſhould be laid, not only to hinder the commerce of *Dourlans*, but alſo becauſe he intended to fortifie the quarters of his Army in ſuch manner, and to environ the Town ſo cloſely with Trenches and Forts, that the Cardinal Archduke, though he came ſtrong into the field, ſhould not have power to relieve it, finding it wholly ſhut up on the right way. But the Mareſchal *de Byron* not having ſtrength enough to begin the Trenches, had quartered himſelf with the Vanguard in the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, and ſpread himſelf with the reſt of his Forces upon the rode to *Dourlans*, breaking the ways with the Cavalry, and hindring victual or relief from getting into the City.

On the other ſide, *Portocarrero*, though beſieged much ſooner than he had at firſt imagined, having ſent Serjeant *dell' Arco* to *Bruſſells*, as well to give notice of it, as to require new ſupplies, applied himſelf with his uſual diligence to repair the Fortifications, and to provide againſt all other wants; and after he ſaw the French encamp ſo near, he reſolved while they were weak, to trouble them ſo with ſallies, that they ſhould be fain to get further off; wherefore upon the thirtieth of *March* in the morning, he gave order, that the Marquiſs *de Montenegro* ſhould march forth to fall upon the quarter of the Vanguard, which was at the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, who having ſent fifty Walloon Horſe before to aſſault the firſt *Corps de Garde*, kept by twenty Souldiers, he himſelf followed ſo furiouſly with two hundred other Horſe, that having beaten the *Corps de Garde*, and taken ſome priſoners, he advanced unexpectedly to the quarter of the French, and yet four hundred Horſe coming forth to receive the charge, they skirmiſhed long without advantage, till the Marquiſs feigned to give back, that he might draw the Enemy into an Ambuſcado, where Captain *Inigo d' Ollava* lay among certain buſhes with two hundred Spaniſh Foot. But the Sieur *de Montigny*, who commanded the French, having purſued them gallantly at the heels as far as the buſhes, made a ſtop, out of a doubt, that ſome ambuſh might be laid in ſo fit a place; whereupon the skirmiſh ending, both parts retired without doing any thing of moment.

The Marquiſs ſallied again the next day with three hundred Light-horſe, followed by an hundred Lanciers; but the skirmiſh growing hot on all ſides by their mutual Fire-arms, neither would the French advance into the hollow places, which are near the Walls; nor durſt the Spaniards draw near the Poſt of *Mary Magdalens* Abbey, both the Commanders doubting they might be catched in ſome trap. *Portocarrero* then took another courſe to free himſelf from being ſo nearly moleſted by the Vanguard of the French, and began to batter the Abbey with many Culverines, whereof he had found ſtore in the City, and continued to play upon it ſo obſtinately, that there was no ſtaying in that Poſt, and the Vanguard was fain to retire to a Village further back, from whence though they obſtructed the ways with no leſs facility, yet they within had more means to provide themſelves of Earth, Bavins, and other things neceſſary to raiſe new defences.

*Juan de Guſman goes to put relief into Amiens, but being diſcovered by the French, he hath much ado to ſave himſelf*

In this interim, the Cardinal Archduke had given careful order, that before the French Army grew ſtronger, new ſupplies might be put into the Town; wherefore *Juan de Guſman* going from the Territory of *Cambray* with four Companies of Firelocks, but all mounted, and three hundred Light-horſe, took his way by night, that he might come betimes in the morning to the Gates of the City, which having proſperouſly done, as well becauſe the Air was cloudy and dark, as becauſe the French

1597. French advertiſed of his coming, expected him not till night; yet he deſtroying the benefit of Fortune by an unſeaſonable Vanity, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf near the City, cauſed his Trumpets to ſound, and a great Volley of Shot to be given in token of joy; at which noiſe the French who were prepared, ran ſo courageouſly to charge them, that the Troops being inſtantly mingled pel-mel, the Artillery of the Town had no longer any means to defend their own men; who being conſtrained to yield to the greater number, had retreated ſtill fighting to the covered way, and there would have been routed and defeated, if *Fernando Dezza* who defended it with two hundred Spaniſh Foot, giving fire without diſtinction at them all, had not made the French retire. In the mean time, the Firelocks that came with the relief, leaping from their Horſes, ſaved themſelves almoſt all in the Moat, and the Marquiſs of *Montenegro* ſallying with his Horſe, after the French were ſeparated, valiantly beat them back as far as the Abbey. The relief got in with the loſs of under forty men, yet was it great, becauſe *Ruggiero Taccone* was wounded in the left Leg, and *Fernando Dezza* ſlain with a Muſket-ſhot in the head. There entred together with the relief, *Federico Patciotte*, (Brother to *Guidobaldo*, who was killed at the aſſault of *Calais*) an Engineer of very great fame, of whom the Commanders had exceeding great need for the making of works, and together with divers ſorts of neceſſary matters, there got in alſo a good ſum of money.

The Mareſchal *de Byron* gives a Scalado to *Dourlans*, but the Ladders being very much too ſhort, the enterprize ſucceeds not.

Whilſt with frequent bloody skirmiſhes, and with minds wholly intent upon the buſineſs, they fight thus under the Walls of *Amiens*, the Mareſchal *de Byron* watching all occaſions of advantage, reſolves to give a ſudden Scalado to *Dourlans*; and having cauſed many Ladders to be prepared, he gave order that the Sieur *de Montigny* who commanded the Light-horſe, ſhould lead the Foot of the Reerguard upon that enterpriſe, and he himſelf after having been forth in the evening, and made divers skirmiſhes under the Walls of the City, to the end, the Enemy might not perceive the leſſening of his Camp, marched with ſixty Cuiraſſiers, and his own Life-guard of Horſe the ſame way, to give courage to his men. It was two hours before day, when the Sieur *de Flaſſan* on the one ſide, and the Sieur *de Fouqueroles* on the other, both Captains of the Regiment of *Piccardy*, ſeconded by two hundred Switzers, clapt the Scaling-Ladders to the Walls of *Dourlans*, which being found extreamly much too ſhort, the attempt proved vain without any other danger, and the Aſſailants returned the next day to lie before *Amiens* in their old quarters.

But the Mareſchal *de Byron* exceedingly vexed at this unproſperous ſucceſs, having received four thouſand Engliſh, (at laſt, after many delays, ſent by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Kings aſſiſtance, in performance of the League lately made) and many other Troops of Horſe, and Companies of Foot, who made great haſte from ſeveral parts, being come up, he reſolved to encamp juſt under the City, and fortifying his quarters, to ſhut up all the Avenues of the Town on the far ſide of the River at the ſame time. His Army amounted to the number of Twelve thouſand fighting men; but he with his diligence, courage, and vigilancy, made it appear much greater, gallant in fight, careful in action, unwearied in labour, rigorous in exacting that from others which he himſelf did in his own perſon: Which qualities being naturally his, were now redoubled by a Spur which he received from the Kings words, who could not contain himſelf from ſaying openly, That where he was not himſelf in perſon, things went on either with little fortune, or much negligence; wherefore, the Mareſchal who attributed a great part of the paſt Victories, to his own fortune and perſonal courage, ſeeing now that glory called in queſtion, which he accounted to be certainly his, as a man of infinite pride and inſupportable haughtineſs, was wholly kindled with an incredible indignation, and ſtrove with his utmoſt ſpirits to do ſomething that might plainly ſhew the effects of his Valour without the Kings aſſiſtance or command; wherefore though the fierceneſs and number of the Defendents were ſuch, that a great Body of an Army was neceſſary to ſtraighten and beſiege them, yet was he reſolved to attempt it with thoſe forces he had.

The Mareſchal *de Byron* ſtirred up by ſome words of the Kings, labours unweariedly in the ſiege of *Amiens*, that his actions might anſwer the Kings ſtinging words.

The firſt thing that was begun, was a Bridge over the *Somme*, in a Village called *Longpre*, about a League above the Town, and it was fortified with a Half-Moon on each ſide the River, as well that they might have free paſſage, both above and below the City, as to hinder the Enemies from paſſing the River in that place, where the

the ſtreams divide themſelves, and relieving the City on that ſide that was not beſieged. Beſides this Fortification, a Trench was drawn, which beginning within a quarter of a League of the Town, near the Bank of the River came in the form of a Half-moon encompaſſing all the Plain, and ended at the other Bank of the River, about the ſame diſtance below the City; and this Trench was divided into ſeven parts, by ſeven Royal Forts, which furniſhed with ſmall Artillery, ſcoured and flanked the Trench, utterly ſhutting up all the paſſage of the field. Such another Trench, though of much greater circuit, and as many Forts, cloſed up the outward part toward *Dourlans*, and the other wayes that led into the Territory of *Cambray*, and into *Flanders*, and on that ſide the Trenches were much deeper, and the Works much higher to defend them on the back from the attempts of the Spaniſh Armies. The whole Army was imployed about this work, and a very great number of Pioneers, who being drawn together from the Country round about, by *Birons* imperious ſeverity, wrought day and night at an exceeding cheap rate. 1597.

The courage of the Defendents was no leſs fierce and reſolute, who being careful not to paſs by any opportunity of interrupting the Works, ſallied every hour, ſometimes on horſ-back, ſometimes on foot, and making the whole Camp ſtand to their Arms, did, by very long skirmiſhes, keep the Works at a ſtay, and do miſchief, ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another. The skirmiſh was very ſharp and bloody, which hapned upon the twenty fourth of *May*, which day the Marquiſs and *Portocarrero* ſallied out ſeveral ways, each with Three hundred Horſe and as many Foot; and while *Portocarrero* gave a hot alarm on the lower ſide, the Marquiſs taking towards *Longpre*; and paſſing by the ſide of the Trench, not yet finiſhed, put them that guarded it in a very great confuſion, and would have deſtroyed the Half-moon, and nailed three pieces of Cannon that were in it, if the Sieur *de Montigny* had not haſted thither with the Light-horſe, with which, while he skirmiſhed courageouſly, the Mareſchal *de Biron* thought to poſſeſs the Paſs between his Trench and the River, and ſo cut off the enemies retreat; but being advanced at a good round pace that way with many Troops of Horſe, he found, that *Diego Durando*, *Franceſco del Arco*, and Captain *Falme*, an Iriſh-man, had taken that Paſs, to keep the retreat free and open for their own men; ſo that the fight began there again more furiouſly than before; for the Infantry making uſe of the hollow places and buſhes, which in that place were very many, did much harm to the French Cavalry, and the Marquiſs having faced about, charged the Mareſchals Troop in the flank and in the reer, in ſuch manner, that being catcht as it were in the midſt, it was in very great danger of being defeated, if the reſt of the Cavalry, led by the *Commendatory de Chattes* had not run ſpeedily to diſingage it, at whoſe arrival the Spaniſh Foot giving back on the one ſide, and the Mareſchal retiring on the other, each marched off free, it being already almoſt Sun-ſet, and there remained many, as well French as Spaniards dead upon the place.

The Defendants of *Amiens* ſally to skirmiſh, and *Portocarrero* himſelf being preſent, the fight is very hot and bloody.

The King came to the Army upon the ſeventh of *June*, to the Mareſchal *de Biron's* great diſpleaſure, who deſired to finiſh his line of circumvallation before his arrival; ſo that ſeeing Madam *Gabriele* was come with him to the Camp, he cryed out publickly, that ſhe was the proſperity and good fortune the King brought along with him; nor would he ſo eaſily have been quieted, if the King, viſiting the Trenches, had not highly commended his diligence and induſtry, and given order, that he ſhould command the Forces, and all military matters, as he did before his coming. The King, invironed with many Princes, took up his Poſt in the ruines of the Abby, among which there were yet ſome Arches ſtanding entire, nor would he ſtir from thence, though the Spaniards ceaſed not to make many Cannon ſhot that way. The Conſtable, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the Prince of *Jainville* quartered in the Forts, and the Mareſchal *de Biron* got into an Hermitage within musket-ſhot of the Counterſcarp, intending to begin his approaches on that ſide, as ſoon as the Works of his Camp were brought to perfection, in which they made huts of boards to ſhelter themſelves from the Rain, and other ill-weathers, ſince the King, in the Council of War, had determined to approach by ſapping, though it were the longeſt way, that he might not endanger the lives of his Soldiers in aſſaults, the War having ſwallowed up ſo great a number of them, that it was neceſſary to proceed very ſparingly, the whole Kingdom being extreamly exhauſted of men, and the Nobility more than moderately diminiſhed.

The King comes to the Camp before *Amiens*, and leaves the Command to the Mareſchal *de Biron*.

1597. The pay of the Army (many of the old Officers being removed) paſſed through the hands of Monſieur *d' Inquerville* Superintendent of the Finances, with the aſſiduous unwearied aſſiſtance of Secretary *Villeroy*, who, having in great part laid other buſineſſes aſide, applyed himſelf particularly to that, as well to the end the fraud of the Commanders might not, by deceits, increaſe the ſcarcity of Money, which was exceeding great, as that the decreaſe or increaſe of the Army might be known from day to day, and that the number might not differ in effect from what appeared in their muſter-Books; nor ever was there ſo exact diligence uſed in times paſt; for formerly the Soldiers maintained themſelves more upon free quarter and plunder than upon their pay; but now the Country being every where deſtroyed and empty, and the Foot particularly being fain to work daily at the Fortifications, and keep continually in the Trenches, it was neceſſary they ſhould be paid, in which, and the other occaſions of the ſiege, it is manifeſt there were ſpent above Three Millions of Ducates.

The Artillery was commanded by Monſieur *de S. Luc*, who, excited by his own genius, and the emulation of Monſieur *de la Gniche* his predeceſſor, buſied himſelf with infinite induſtry in all occaſions, in which the Swiſſers and the Engliſh were alwayes more ready and more diligent than all the reſt; for the French Infantry, except the Regiment of *Picardy* and that of *Navar*, was all made up of new men, and ſuch as were not accuſtomed to toyles and labours, and to lie in the field; and yet the healthfulneſs of that year was ſo great, aſſiſted by the excellent Government of the Commanders, and by the conveniences that were in the Camp, that almoſt none died, and but very few were ſick. The light-Horſe commanded by the Sieur *de Montigny* were quartered at the back of the Army, and making large excurſions, convoy'd in proviſions, and infeſted all the Country to the very Gates of *Dourlans*, into which Town *Cavalliere Lodovico Melzi* being entred with ten Troops of Horſe, there happened frequent skirmiſhes, and bloody encounters between both parties.

A Cannon-ſhot lights in the Kings Lodgings, whereby the King himſelf is all covered with duſt.

Nor were the beſieged leſs ready to interrupt the Fortifications, and moleſt the Camp continually, though the French Army was increaſed to the number of Eighteen thouſand fighting men; and though in the Town, whatſoever the occaſions were, many diſeaſes raigned, which, as the weather grew hotter, became alſo contagious and peſtilential; but the courage of the ſoldiers, and the valour of the Commanders overcame all, inſomuch, that their ſallies ſlackened not, and with their Artillery they did much harm; one ſhot having hit into the Arch under which the King himſelf lay, and filled the place with ſo much duſt and rubbiſh, that if the building of the Wall had not been very ſtrong, he had been in great danger of being buried in the ruines with his attendants.

A Treaty of giving one of the Gates of *Amiens* to the Enemy is diſcovered, many of the accomplices are hanged, and many Auguſtine Friers impriſoned.

To the valour of Armies were added alſo Treaties with ſome of the beſieged; ſo that a *Bourguignon* Captain being got into the Town in the habit of an Auguſtine Frier, not onely induced thoſe Fathers to receive ſome others with offenſive Armes into their Monaſtery, but alſo got certain Walloon ſoldiers to conſent to open a Gate that was furtheſt from the work, as ſoon as it ſhould come to their turn to guard it: but while they ſtill treated to draw many others into their company, notice of it came unto the Governor, who, having cauſed nine of the accomplices to be hanged, made moſt part of the Friers be put in Priſon, and ſet ſtrict guards upon the Monaſtery. From this accident there aroſe another trouble to the beſieged; for not confiding in the people, among which they thought there were many partakers of the Intelligence diſcovered, they were fain, when they made any ſallies, to go round the ſtreets of the City at the ſame time with ſtrong guards, to the end that none might riſe within; and when an alarm was given, they were neceſſitated to man the heart of the Town no leſs than the Bulwarks. But notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, they omitted not any occaſion of ſallying; judging that the moſt powerful remedy to foreſlow the Kings works, and give the Cardinal Arch-Duke time to draw an Army together and bring them relief.

On the other ſide, the Mareſchal *de Biron*, whileſt all were intent, either to make, or hinder the Works, thought to attempt ſome unexpected ſurprize; wherefore, upon the one and twentieth day of *June* at night, which proved dark and cloudy, he cauſed two Captains to advance ſilently with ſome Foot, and to get down ſecretly into the Moat, where having caſt many Sauciſſons into the skip-gates, and the hol-

low

low places of the *Caſſamattes*, they gave fire to them without delay, and with ſome affright to thoſe within; but not having been able to aim them right, and they not taking fire equally, made more noiſe than they did harm, having only beaten down ſome of the facing of the Wall, and ſome loop-holes for ſmall ſhot, and kill'd only three ſentinels, ſo that the Captains not ſeeing any breach at which they could make an attempt, and great ſtore of fire-works raining on all ſides into the moat, they retired, leaving many *Sauciſſons*, which, in regard of the Powder, were of great help to the beſieged. *Sauciſſons* are long ſackes of Leather, which, filled with Powder, and fired at a certain time, do a like effect (though much weaker) to a pettard or mine. 1597.

This danger excited the defendants to man the Counterſcarp more carefully, ſo that they lodged two Companies of Spaniards there, and two others of Walloons, who, after that, ſtaid there day and night, and all the Caſſamattes of the Moat, were, with equal diligence, plentifully guarded, inſomuch, that the Colonel of the Regiment of *Navar* going to make another trial of the attempt of the *Sauciſſons*, near the Raveline of the Gate that looks toward *Long-pre*, was, at the entry of the Counterſcarpe forced to return back with ſome loſs.

In the mean time Mareſchal *de Biron* fortified the Hermitage, to begin two Trenches of approach from thence; but the Marquiſs of *Montenegro* being reſolved to hinder that as much as he could, ſallied upon the nine and twentieth day of the Month with Four hundred Horſe, back'd by two hundred Iriſh and Italian Foot, and advancing ſtraight as far as the Hermitage, began ſo fierce a fight with thoſe that were at work, that the Mareſchal himſelf was fain to fall in with his Troop; nor would that have been ſufficient to repulſe him, if the Count of *Auvergne* had not come up with a ſtrong Troop of Horſe, at whoſe arrival the Marquiſs retiring ſtill fighting, the Foot came in courageouſly to the encounter, and being placed in the hollow of the field, did ſo much miſchief to the French Cavalry, that they were fain to retire without much reſiſtance. Above Two hundred of the Camp were ſlain, and of the beſieged not above Ten.

The night following the Mareſchal laid an Ambuſh of Two hundred French Foot in the ruines of St *John*'s Church, which, together with the Suburbs had been pull'd down by the Defendants from the beginning, and in the morning ſtood with his Horſe in order, expecting their wonted ſally, to which the Marquiſs coming forth, with a number equal to that of the day before, and having faln at unawares into the ambuſh, loſt not courage for that, but rallying his Troop cloſe, and wheeling, would have turned back. But the Mareſchal coming out of his quarter, overtook him in the Rere, and made him face about again: Whereupon, there was ſo cloſe an encounter, that the Marquiſs overpowred by the greater number, and charged in the flank and front, would have been cut off with all his men, if the Governor with the reſt of the Horſe had not ſallied forth to diſ-ingage him; who having for that purpoſe ſent on two Troops of Cuiraſſiers, and one of Lances to the skirmiſh, the ſervice was ſo hot, that for a long ſpace they fought deſperately; but in the end, the Engliſh Tertia coming up, the Spaniards were repulſed, and driven full ſpeed to the Counterſcarp. There were ſlain that day ſeventy of the beſieged, and among the reſt *Juan de Guſman*, a Cavalier of great birth, who had lately brought the relief.

Yet did they not forbear for this to ſally the next day, and charging the Foot that wrought at the Hermitage, killed many Soldiers and Pioneers; but ſeeing four Troops of Horſe, and the Battalion of the Engliſh come toward them, they turned back without doing any thing elſe. The Sallies continued ſo frequent the following dayes, that the Works proceeded very ſlowly; but upon the fifth day of *July* the Mareſchal having laid two Ambuſhes in the field, catched thoſe that ſallied between in ſuch manner, that *Diego Benavides* his company was quite defeated, and he himſelf having loſt his *Alferes*, and his Serjeant, had much ado to ſave himſelf: And *Ruggiero Taccone*, who followed him with the Cavalry, being furiouſly repulſed and purſued at the heels, could hardly retire ſafe under the ſhelter of the Covered-way.

By this misfortune, and the diſeaſes which increaſed, the ardor of the Defendants was ſomething cooled, inſomuch, that *Biron* had conveniency to plant eleven great Pieces of Battery in the Hermitage; which ſcouring the field, hindred them from ſallying out of the Counterſcarp, and ſheltered thoſe that began to work at the Trenches,

1597. which going on apace, the Defendants thought to diſturb them, by making ſo ſtrong a Sally, that part of what was done might be thrown down, *Biron*'s Artillery nailed, and that they might not be able to annoy them for ſome dayes. Wherefore the Governor gave order, that Captain *Diego Durando*, and *Franceſco del Arco* (who had alſo got a Company) ſhould ſtand ready in the Covered-way; the firſt with Two hundred Spaniſh Foot, the other with as many Italians and Walloons; and that after them, two Iriſh Captains ſhould be ready to ſally with Three hundred Foot of that Nation; and for the Rere-guard, *Carlo de Sangro*, with eighty Men at Armes, who marching on Foot ſhould carry Halbards. He gave direction, that Captain *Ruggiero Taccone*, and Captain *Franceſco-Fonte*, ſhould ſally out at the Gate that was approached to, each with an Hundred Horſe to back the Infantry, and that Captain *Simone Latro*, with other Two hundred Horſe ſallying at the Porte *de Beauvais*, ſhould give an alarm on the contrary ſide, and then croſſing through the Field, ſhould come to reinforce his own party. It was the ſeventeenth day of *July*, upon the point of noon, when the Governor, by a Cannon-ſhot, gave ſign to fall on; at which, all ſallying courageouſly, *Diego Durando* ran into the right hand Trench, and *Franceſco del Arco* into that on the left, and fell in with ſo much violence, that having routed and beaten off the firſt Guards, they aſſailed the Regiment of *Picardy* that kept them, before it had time to get into order to receive the charge; ſo that having killed the firſt that advanced to fight, and having laid *Fleſſan*. *la Viette*, and *Fouqueroles*, all Captains dead upon the place, they routed and diſſipated the whole Tertia, which they chaſed flying to the very Redouts of the Hermitage; in which place, both the Fugitives and the Enemies fell ſo impetuouſly into the Regiment of *Champagne* that was upon the guard, that it alſo being diſordered, plainly took flight, running to get themſelves in order in the Alarm-place that was at their back. In ſo great a tumult and flight, the Spaniſh Commanders, valiantly followed by their men, having filled the Trenches with ſlaughter, came up to the mouth of the Redouts of the Hermitage, which would have been quitted, and by conſequence loſt, if the Mareſchal *de Biron*, with four Gentlemen of his own, and with Captain *Franceſco Benzi* a Florentine, with ſome few other Soldiers that followed him, taking up Pikes, had not expoſed himſelf to the violence of the Enemy; but ſtill fighting deſperately, though the paſſage of the Redouts was narrow; thoſe few could not hold out long, and withſtand the fury of ſo many, neither did any relief come up, for Captain *Simone* ſcouring the Field, and behind him the Marquiſs of *Montenegro* and *Ruggiero Taccone*, and *Franceſco Fonte* on the other ſide, put every one in a neceſſity of defending his own poſt: Wherefore the Battery of the Hermitage, and the Mareſchals life were in deſperate danger, if the Prince of *Jainville*, who was in the neareſt Fort, knowing in how great trouble they were, had not reſolved to run with One hundred men into thoſe Redouts; at whoſe arrival *Sangro*'s men at Arms came valiantly into the fight, who better enduring the blows that were given them, becauſe they were armed, gave the French ſuch a ſhock, that they already were retired (though fighting) as far as the Artillery. The Mareſchal *de Biron* all in ſweat and blood, with the right ſide of his hair all burnt, ſtill cauſed many ſigns to be given of his danger. Wherefore the King himſelf not having a more ready remedy, alighted from his horſe, and taking a Pike in his hand, with thoſe Gentlemen that were about him, ran deſperately to defend his Cannon; after whom the Count *d' Auvergne*, and the Count *de St. Paul*, haſting up one after another, with a great number of the Nobility, who were come out of *Mary Magdalens* Abby, there grew ſo hot a conflict as had the appearance of a very great Battel. They fought obſtinately above two hours, the King himſelf being at the head of his men; but at laſt the number of the French encreaſing, and the Spaniſh men at Arms finding their ſtrength fail them, by reaſon of the weight of their Arms in the greateſt heat of the day, began (though ſoftly) to retire, being ſtill driven and charged home by the Prince of *Jainville*, who, with a courage equal to his birth, fought very gallantly. At the coming out of the Trenches, the Battel was reinforced, the Spaniſh Cavalry being come up to ſuccor their party, which charging in upon the Flank, ſeparated the Prince of *Jainville* and his company, from thoſe of the King, and of the Mareſchal *de Biron*; in ſuch manner, that the conflict being divided into two parts, one not being able to know any thing of the other, they fought deſperately with extream danger and wondrous great contention; but the Duke of *Mayenne* came up ſeaſonably with Five or ſix hundred Horſe, who, notwithſtanding that the Cannon of the Town fired without

The Mareſchal *de Biron* being in very great danger by a ſally which the Spaniards made out of *Amiens*, the King alighted from his horſe, and taking a Pike, ran to help him.

The Duke of *Mayenne* coming in the heat of the fight with five hundred Horſe to help his own ſide, cauſes the Spaniards, who were already weary, to retire into *Amiens*.

without intermiſſion, had paſſed through the Field between the Quarters and the Moat, whither the Spaniards, being tired and wearied out, took a reſolution to retire, being purſued and followed at the heels to the very Counterſcarp. It was a great while before the Prince of *Jainville* was ſeen, and the King ſtaying at the mouth of the Trench, called out aloud, enquiring earneſtly after him, and every one already ſuſpected he was ſlain, when, with ſome few in his company, he appeared all ſmeared with blood, and bruiſed with blows, which put joy into the ſadneſs of the Army, of which there were killed that day above Nine hundred men, and of the Spaniards there remained above Ninety dead upon the place. The wounded were many, and thoſe of the moſt remarkable of the French Army, beſides many private Gentlemen, among which alſo *Henrico Davila*, who wrote this Hiſtory, was hurt with a Parteſan in the right knee. 1597.

From that day, both by reaſon of the number that had been ſlain in ſo many other ſallies, and by diſeaſes which ſtill increaſed more and more, malignant Fevers being apparently turned into the Plague, their ſallies ſlackned; and in ſtead of them, Captain *Falme*, an Iriſh man, and *Franceſco del Arco*, ſet up Palliſadoes round about the Covered way, to keep the enemies ſo much longer imployed, and at a diſtance, that they might not come to offend the Counterſcarp, which was defended till the laſt day of *July*. But, upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, the Trenches being already in a condition to be opened, the Defendants faſtned two Petards unto them, and breaking through them before the time, aſſaulted them, and did ſome harm; and yet the ſame day towards the evening, the French opened them, and got upon the Counterſcarp, and the Spaniards at the ſame time ſpringing a Fougade, which they had made there, ſent above forty of them into the air. The mouthes of the Trenches were fortified that night, and the ſecond day they began to raiſe a great Cavalier, cloſe by the right hand Trench, which ſhould batter the Defences and Flanks of the Bulwarks, and the following dayes they ſtrove with Fougades, Sauciſſons, Fireworks, and other inſtruments to take or deſtroy the Caſſamats; in which action they fought no leſs by night than day with a continued aſſault; but ſo great was the induſtry, and conſtancy of the Defendants, that in many dayes they could ſcarce get a few ſpans of ground. But having gone as far as was poſſible by ſapping, the Galleries were already brought juſt under the Walls; wherefore Monſieur *de S. Luc* raiſed a Battery of eight pieces of Cannon, to gain the Raveline that ſtood to defend the Bridge and the Gate. The Artillery batter'd till the four and twentieth day, upon which the Engliſh and the French ſeverally gave the aſſault, and took the Raveline; but not having covered themſelves ſufficiently, by reaſon of their wearineſs, and of the ſhortneſs of the night, the next day at the beating of the *Riveille*, Captain *Durando* aſſaulted them ſo fiercely, that a great number of Fire-works being thrown from the Wall, and Captain *Ollava*'s Musketiers playing upon their Flank, they were conſtrained to forſake that Poſt, which nevertheleſs being all beaten in pieces by the Artillery, and the *Cavalier* (brought to a juſt height) already battering, it was recovered again the ſame night, and the Regiment of *Cambray* entrencht it ſelf in it.

But the Governor knowing the Wall was loſt, cauſed a little half-Moon to be made upon the edge of the Rampart, for the raiſing whereof they carried the earth in ſcuttles and baskets; and at the ſame time, to anticipate the cutting off the retrenchments, the Marquiſs of *Montenegro* cauſed a great Trench to be made along the bank of an arm of the River, which runs on that ſide near the Walls, that the firſt Works being loſt, the enemy might find oppoſition at the ſecond.

In the mean time, they without endeavoured to make themſelves Maſters of the great Tower of the Gate, which being ſoundly battered, was ſtormed upon the eight and twentieth day, and at the ſame time a Mine was ſprung that had been made between the Tower and the Wall, which having made a very great breach, filled the entrance of the Tower in ſuch manner, that it was ſeparated from the City, and deprived of relief; and yet Captain *Olava* with one *Alferes*, who had that Guard, made it good courageouſly; nor did the Marquiſs and the Governor labour leſs carefully to cauſe the rubbiſh to be taken away, that ſome relief might be given them, ſo that working on all ſides, the buſineſs was drawn on till night, when the paſſage being already opened, Fourſcore Iriſh, and as many Italians, entered to defend the great Tower, thoſe that had made it good before, retiring weary, and in an ill condition; and yet the Sap overcame what men could not, and four days after, not only the Tower,

but

1597. but the adjoyning Wall was taken by the French; nor was it long before they got alſo upon the Rampart; where, beſide the firſt half-moon made by *Gagliego*, *Federico Pacciotto* had alſo in the mean time made two others, by which the Aſſailants were hindered from getting farther in, and in the front of them new *Caſamattes*, and a new Trench were made.

In this interim the King having had intelligence that Commiſſary *Conerrea*, with many other Commanders, being departed from *Doway*, came to diſcover the wayes and quarters of his Army, left the care of the Camp to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and upon the nine and twentieth of *Auguſt* in the evening, went in perſon with the Mareſchal *de Biron* and Six hundred Horſe to meet them, leaving the Count of *Auvergne* to follow the day after with Eight hundred Horſe more. He himſelf marched before with a Hundred Gentlemen, and the Sieur *de Montigny* followed him with all the reſt of the Horſe; in which manner marching, upon the laſt day of the month in the morning, about eight of the clock, and being come to the top of an Hill, he found himſelf ſuddenly in the front of the Enemy, who came out of a Wood. The ſpace between them was but ſhort, and there was no thought of retiring; wherefore, it was neceſſary to ſhew a good heart in the inequality of Forces, and having ſuddenly ſhut down their Beavers, the King trotted on to charge the Enemy.

Nor was this boldneſs without its due effect; for the Spaniards, aſtoniſhed at that unexpected aſſault, and judging, that the courage of the French grew, from having ſtrong Squadrons behind them, faced about without making reſiſtance, and were purſued by the King fighting a great way, till being come to a little River, which running from *Miraumont*, falls into the *Somme* near *Corbie*, they paſſed over it precipitately, and being diſſipated ſeveral wayes ſaved themſelves with much adoe at *Bapaulme*. Yet there were but eleven ſoldiers killed with one Captain of Horſe, and ſome few others remained priſoners: But the King obtained not all his intent; for on the other ſide, Count *Giovan Giacopo Belgiojoſo* and *Emanuello de Vega* not being met nor heeded, becauſe they carried but few with them, got ſo near unto the Camp, that they had conveniency to diſcover all things, and returned well informed to the Cardinal Arch-Duke.

*Bernardo Teles Portocarrero* killed with a Musket ſhot, to the extreme loſs of the beſieged, his valour making his very enemies ſorry for his death.

The King being returned to the Army, and believing that relief would preſently come, cauſed the works to be ſo haſtened, that upon the fourth of *September* his men attempted to gain the Half-Moons, which, though it ſucceeded not the beſieged received a greater loſs; for the Governor *Portocarrero*, while he advanced to ſuccor the Raveline, being taken with a Musket-ſhot in the left-ſide under his Arms, fell preſently dead upon the ground; which accident, as moſt ſad to the Defendants, ſo was it, by reaſon of his courage, no leſs deplored by the enemies.

The Marquiſs of *Montenegro* ſucceeded him in the command, who, with equal valour and conſtancy aſſumed the charge of the defence; for the continuance whereof *Alonſo Ribera*, and Captain *Durando* entered into the Half-Moons; and on the other ſide, Monſieur *de St. Luc*, with the Regiment of *Navar*, and the Mareſchal *de Biron* with the Engliſh Tertia, drew two Trenches in the midſt of the Rampart, to take away the defences on both ſides, and to come to the work that was before them, at which the Marquiſs and *Federico Pacciotto* were continually preſent: and becauſe the Infantry was in a manner conſumed by toil and hardſhip, and many of them lay ſick, the Men-at-Arms, Cuiraſſiers, and Light-Horſe, refuſed not to do the ſame duties, working with ſpades and ſhovels, and fighting with Pikes and Muskets. While theſe Trenches were making, Monſieur *de St. Luc*, upon the eighth of *September*, being entered to haſten the Works, was hit with a Musket-bullet in the head, and was carried dead into the Camp, to the exceeding great grief of the King, who was very affectionate to his valour and dexterity; for, being beſide Military experience adorned with learning, and endowed by nature with a moſt noble aſpect, he did, in action, conſultation, converſation and diſcourſe accompliſh all the degrees of perfection. The works that were before the Trenches were ſtorm'd upon the twelfth day; but though the aſſault laſted from Sun-riſing till two of the Clock in the afternoon, yet did not the aſſailants get any advantage at all; and while in the following dayes they thought to redouble the aſſaults, and break the conſtancy of the Defendants, the arrival of the Spaniſh Camp diverted their mindes from the Siege to more dangerous thoughts.

Monſieur *de St. Luc*, a man of very great note, haſtning the Works, is killed with a Musket-ſhot, to the Kings great grief.

The

The Cardinal Arch-Duke had found many difficulties in drawing an Army together; for the Spaniſh Miniſters having overlooked the accounts of thoſe who had lent Money to the King, and having uſed much rigour unſeaſonably, the Merchants withheld their hands, and afterward money could not be provided time enough for the payment of his Forces; whereupon, thoſe that came out of *Italy*, under the command of *Alfonſo d' Avalos* moved late; and thoſe that were raiſed in *Germany* had been ſlowly gathered together; and yet the Cardinal overcoming all impediments with induſtry and diligence, had made a general Rendezvous of his Army in the end of *Auguſt* at *Doway*, being Twenty thouſand Foot, and Four thouſand Horſe; and though the States of *Holland* inſulted in many places, and made great progreſſes in *Frieſeland* and the County of *Brabant*, yet he either having ſuch Commiſſion from *Spain*, or being more inclined to defend and keep what had been gotten in the time of his command, reſolved to lay aſide all other intereſts, and advance to relieve *Amiens*; being deſirous to preſerve ſo many good Soldiers as were beſieged in it, and judging that he ſhould obtain exceeding great glory, if he could make the King of *France* retire, who was at that ſiege with all the Forces of his Kingdom united. 1597.

With this determination departing from *Doway* in the beginning of *September*, with a great Train of Artillery, and great preparations of Bridges, Carriages, and Ammunition, he came to *Arras*, where, having the informations of *Belgiojoſo* and *Vega*, he propounded in the Councel of War, what courſe was to be taken to put relief into *Amiens*, or to make the French Army riſe. Some Counſelled to paſs the River below *Corbie*, and bring his Army on that ſide, which ſtanding toward *France*, was not beſieged by the King; for putting ſtrong relief into the City without reſiſtance, there would be no neceſſity of hazarding the danger of a Battel, and the Kings attempts receiving a new and powerful oppoſition from new ſupplies, would, with the help of Winter, which was coming on, prove vain of themſelves. But the greater part of the Commanders conſidered, that to paſs the River, and march into a Country quite deſtroyed, deſolate, and encompaſſed with ſo many of the enemies Towns, was a beſieging of themſelves; for, if the King, who had all the paſſes upon the River, ſhould hinder them from going back, they would be conſtrained, either to die for hunger, or to take many ſtrange and dangerous reſolutions; which difficulty was the principal cauſe, that it was determined to go the ſtreight way by *Dourlans* to the French Camp; believing, that if the King moved to meet them, he ſhould afford them ſome opportunity to put relief into the Town; wherefore the Arch-Duke went to *Dourlans* upon the twelfth of *September*, and there having made proviſion of victual, as well to feed his Army, as to put into the City, if he could make paſſage to it; upon the fourteenth day he marched betimes in the morning towards the Enemy.

The Cardinal Arch-duke marches with a great Army towards *Amiens*.

The firſt Troops of Horſe were led by *Lodovico Melzi*, *Ambrogio Landriano*, between whom marched the flying Squadron of Four thouſand Foot, Spaniards and Italians, under the command of *Diego Pimentello:* And in the Front of it, were above Two hundred Captains armed with Pikes and Corſlets. Next followed three Squadrons of Infantry, two of Spaniards, led by *Carlo Colombo* and *Lodovico Velaſco*; and the third, which marched in the midſt, was of Walloons, led by the Count *de Boucquoy*. After theſe was the Battle, in which were the Duke of *Aumale*, the Count *de Sore*, and the Prince of *Orange*; and the Squadron of *Alonſo Mendozza*, in which were two Spaniſh Tertia's, brought up the Rere. The Artillery were guarded by the three firſt Squadrons, and on both ſides of the Army were the Carriages of Baggage chained together, as the Duke of *Parma*'s cuſtom had taught them. The charge of Camp-Maſter General was executed by Count *Peter Erneſt* of *Mansfelt*, an old man of venerable gray hairs, who not being able to ride on horſeback was carried in an open Litter, and had taken that weight upon him, becauſe Monſieur *du Roſne*, beſieging *Hulſt*, a few Months before, had been killed with a Cannon ſhot. The Archduke likewiſe was carried in a Litter, and had near him the Duke of *Areſcot*, and the *Almirante* of *Aragon* for Counſellors.

Monſieur *de Roſne* killed with a Cannon ſhot at the ſiege of *Hulſt*.

But the King, whoſe Army, by the coming up of the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpenſier*, was ſo increaſed, that he had Eighteen or Twenty thouſand Foot, and more than Eight thouſand Horſe, having ſtrongly garriſoned *Corbie* and *Pequigny*, to make difficult the paſſage of the River, had an intention (being ſo adviſed by the Mareſchal *de Biron*) to go and meet the enemy in the Field with all his Cavalry; for judging himſelf

1597. The King being counſelled by the Mareſchal *de Biron* to go meet the enemy with all his Horſe, the Duke of *Mayenne* counſels him to ſtay and expect them: The King imbraces this counſel, and gives the charge of the Camp to the Duke.

ſelf much ſuperior in number and quality of Horſe, he thought it good to keep the enemy far from his Infantry, in which he had little confidence; but while he was getting ready to take Horſe, the Duke of *Mayenne* came in, who having asked and underſtood the Kings deſign, ſaid ſo loud, that he was heard by many, *That thoſe that gave His Majeſty ſuch Counſel, did not well know the quality of the Enemy; and that venturing himſelf with onely his Horſe, againſt a potent old Army, he put himſelf in certain danger of encountring ſome ſiniſter accident; whereby afterward his Infantry remaining alone, the men would be loſt, the quarters loſt, and ſo many toils and labours undergone to fortifie them, all loſt; and his Kingdom ſet upon one ſingle point of a Dye.* To which the King replying, *What then was to be done?* The Duke anſwered, *That they were come to take* Amiens, *and that they ought to mind that end; wherefore, keeping the Army in the ſecurity of their Forts, they ought to leave the thought of aſſaulting them, and driving from thence unto the Arch-Duke:* And the King adding, *That the enemy would paſs the River, and relieve the beſieged.* The Duke anſwered again, *Let your Majeſty ſet your heart at reſt, for the enemy neither will paſs the River, nor can force theſe Trenches.* So the Mareſchal *de Biron* fretting, who was alwayes inclined to precipitate reſolutions, the King concluded to ſtay, and let the Duke of *Mayenne* manage the buſineſs of the Camp, who having cauſed Fifteen hundred Foot to paſs on the far ſide of the River, under the command of Monſieur *de Vic*, preſently made a Church to be taken and entrenched, which ſtood upon the further Bank, little more than a mile from the Town; and having ſet many Corps *de Garde* along the ſide of the River, went perſonally to *Longpre* to fortifie it better. The Foot were placed in the Forts and Trenches, and the Cavalry ſpred it ſelf in Battalia under the defence of the Works.

The Archduke lay with his whole Army that night at the Abby of *Betricourt*, and cauſed all his Cannon to be ſhot off, to give the City notice that relief was near. Monſieur *de Montigny*, who, with the French Light-horſe had ſtill ſcoured the wayes within ſight of the Enemy, came into the Camp about midnight, and having given the King notice where the Spaniards were, and that they would appear the next day, was ſent to quarters, to refreſh his Horſe, tired with the two laſt dayes duty. The next day, which was the fifteenth of *September*, the firſt Troops of the Archdukes Army appeared about one of the clock in the afternoon, which having paſſed a Water that was fordable two Leagues above *Amiens*, and left *Pequigny* upon the right hand, bending their courſe toward the left, made ſhew as if they would march ſtraight to *Longpre*, whereupon the rabble of Suttlers and Freebooters, with many other perſons who lay there for greater conveniency, taking flight precipitately, ran to ſave themſelves in the Camp, by which hurry, the Foot being affrighted (who believed it had been Monſieur *de Montigny*, that fled routed from the Enemy (for his return by night was known but to a few) forſook the Trenches ſo haſtily, that neither the Conſtable, nor the Duke of *Eſpernon* could ſtop their flight, but with a full carriere they ran with their Enſigns (who fled more than the reſt) toward the River, on that ſide that leads to *Abbeville*.

A diſorder among the French, gives the Spaniards an evident aſſurance of victory; but the Archduke being uncertain of the accident, making a Halt, loſes ſo remarkable an occaſion.

In the mean time the Spaniards Flying-ſquadron was come within ſight of the Trenches, and the experienced Captains that were in the Front, knowing the diſorder and flight of the Colours, cryed out aloud, *Victory*, *Victory*, and *Battaile*, *Battaile*. But the Archduke hearing the tumult, and their voices, though he inclined to give way that the Trenches ſhould be ſtormed, yet being perſwaded by the *Almirante* and the Duke of *Aréſcot*, not to credit the precipitancy of the Soldiers, who were ſtill deſirous to fight without conſideration, but rather to proceed warily, and firſt to diſcover the condition of the French, reſolved at laſt to make a halt.

In this interim, The Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpenſier* ſpreading the Cavalry of the Vanguard in *Battalia*, hindred the Enemy from ſeeing the Trenches, and the Cannoneers gave fire without intermiſſion, to the end, the ſmoak might hide the diſorder that was there, giving them time to recover themſelves; for, the Mareſchal *de Biron* running full ſpeed, made the Infantry know their error, and pointing with his finger to ſhew, that the Enemy had made a halt in the midſt of the field, perſwaded them all within a while to return unto their Poſts. In this manner, the Archduke, by the too much warineſs of his Counſellors, loſt ſo certain an occaſion of ſo glorious and ſo great a victory, which, at the firſt arrival, had been very well obſerved by the experience of private Captains.

The

The Marquiſs of *Montenegro* knew the advantage no leſs than they, and would have ſallied upon the Trenches of the French which were in the Moat, and upon the Rampart over againſt his Retrenchments; but he found, that the Regiment of *Navarre* that guarded them was not moved, and that the Switzers who were encamped ſomething lower, ſtood likewiſe firm in their Battalia. 1597.

The reſt of the day was ſpent in divers ſkirmiſhes in the field, which the King cauſed purpoſely to be made hot and furious, to keep the Enemy in play, the Archduke ſtill having a thought to aſſault the Kings Fortifications; but the Commanders ſhewed, that it was neceſſary firſt to fight with ſo great a ſtrength of Horſe drawn up without the works, and defended by ſo many pieces of Artillery, that the conquering of them was not to be thought on; and ſhewed the Trenches and Forts ſo high, that a ſtronger quarter had not been ſeen of many years: Wherefore it being reſolved at night to attempt ſome other way, upon the ſixteenth day in the morning, the Count *de Buquoy* with his Squadron, and many Boats carried upon Carts, drew near the River to attempt to paſs it; but the Guards the Duke of *Mayenne* had placed there, reſiſted ſtoutly, and though they fought with ſuch wondrous fury in many places, and that ſometimes it was likely the Walloons would obtain their intent, yet after having laboured all day they retired without fruit.

In the mean time, they had ſkirmiſhed fiercely on the other ſide, both with Horſe and Cannon; for the King having cauſed ſeven Culverins to be drawn to a higher ground that was behind the Vanguard, made them play from thence, and ſo proſperouſly, that twice they light upon the Mules that carried the Cardinals Litter; whereupon he was conſtrained to get on horſe-back, and the Enemies Cavalry received much harm by them on all ſides. The Spaniſh Cannon fired no leſs hotly; but becauſe they were in a higher place, they ſhot ſo under mettle, that they did but little execution. But in the variety of the ſkirmiſhes that were continually made in the field, many obſerved, that while the buſineſs paſſed between Cuiraſſiers and Cuiraſſiers, or between Carabines and Carabines, the French for the moſt part had the better; but where the Flemiſh and Bourguignon Men at Arms came in, the French Cavalry were fain to yield to the violence of the Lances: to hinder which encounter, which happened to the loſs and trouble of the Nobility, the King himſelf advanced to the head of his Squadrons, gave order that as the Cuiraſſiers ſkirmiſhed they ſhould not join ſo cloſe together, but leave a good ſpace between one another, which having been often done, they found that the ſhock of the Lances not meeting a firm oppoſition proved for the moſt part vain; which was of very great advantage, as well becauſe they ſkirmiſhed with ſmall Troops in the wide field, where it was eaſie to them to open, as becauſe the Spaniſh Lanciers were very few in reſpect of the great number of French Cavalry.

Toward the evening a Trench was finiſhed, with which the Duke of *Mayenne* labouring all that day, had ſhut up the way to *Longpré*; wherefore the Count *de Boucquoi*'s attempt being fruſtrated, and there being no more hope of getting the Paſs over the River, ſince that neither *Longpré* had been attacqued, nor the Kings quarters aſſaulted the firſt day, the Commanders of the Spaniſh Army (according to whoſe opinion the Cardinal Archduke governed himſelf) determined to retire the ſame way they came, and make their retreat, before the victual which they had brought with them being ſpent, the Army ſhould begin to ſuffer; for, as for the Country, it was ſo waſted, that for fifteen Leagues round about, there was nothing to be found that could be uſeful either to horſe or man.

The Cardinal Archduke retires with his Army for want of victual; the King follows him, but ſeeing their excellent order forbears

The ſign of their departure appeared the next morning by their Baggage and the Free-booters that covered all the way towards *Dourlens*; whereupon the King deſirous not to let the Enemy draw off without ſome trouble, commanded two Squadrons of Horſe flanked with two others of Carabines to fall upon them in the Reer; but the Sun being many hours high when the Army departed, they ſaw them retreat in ſuch a marvellous order, that their main propoſition being chiefly to proſecute the ſiege of *Amiens*, the King himſelf thought beſt, and all the reſt of the Commanders concurred with him, not to attempt any thing. The Spaniſh Army had faced about, ſo that *Alonſo de Mendozza* led the Vanguard, (if the firſt diviſions that retire can be called a Vanguard) and the flying Squadron now was left in the Reer-guard to make the retreat. This, being Pikes in the midſt, with two great wings of Muſkettiers on each ſide, make a crooked form, and an appearance ſomething like a

1597. Half-Moon, ſo that whoſoever advanced to charge it, fell firſt into a thick ſtorm of Muſket-Bullets, after which they found a firm Battalion before them, which fiercely ſhaking their Pikes, made a terrible ſhew of a valiant oppoſition; and if any Body of Horſe made as if they would aſſail the Wings of the Squadron, preſently *Melzi*'s and *Landriano*'s Squadrons advanced, which with two Bodies of Lances flanked with Carabines withſtood the ſhock, till the Muskettiers charging and ſetting themſelves in order, came furiouſly up to give fire again. In this order the Pike-men with their Pikes upon the left ſhoulder, retired ſtep by ſtep, and facing inſtantly about at every little touch of the Drum, retreated ſo quietly, and with ſo ſlow a pace, that in two long hours they were drawn off little more than half a mile; in which ſpace the Kings Light-horſe ceaſed not to make many attempts, and to give many charges, but ſtill with great loſs; for they were too fiercely anſwered by the ranks of the flying Squadron; and at laſt Monſieur *de Montigny* having obtained leave to skirmiſh in many ſeveral places, the Spaniſh Squadron made a halt, pouring out ſuch an abundance of ſmall-ſhot, that the Light-horſe were forced to wheel about, and being at the ſame time furiouſly charged by the Carabines who came out of each flank, they were driven back even to the Kings Squadrons, which advancing gently more for reputation than any thing elſe, followed on the way the Enemy retired. Above forty of the Light-horſe were ſlain, and many more wounded, among which the Sieur *de Coqueinvillier* received a Musket-ſhot in the left Arm. But after this laſt charge of the Light-horſe, the Kings Squadrons made a ſtand a while, and the Spaniards continued retiring a great deal faſter; and after they were gotten off as far as Cannon-ſhot, ſhouldering their Pikes and Muskets, they marched on their way without troubling themſelves any further. But being come to the water, which of neceſſity they were to paſs, the King advanced with all his Cavalry to ſee if that impediment would give him any opportunity to diſorder the Enemy; but the flying Squadron inſtantly facing about, made a ſtand in the midſt of the way, till the reſt of the Army was paſt over; and then obſerving the ſame order, paſt thorow the water up to their knees without diſordering their ranks at all, or making the leaſt diſcernable ſtop: which marvellous form of retreating, while ſo great and ſo numerous Squadrons of the Enemies Horſe covered the field on all ſides, drew from the Kings own mouth, *That no other Souldiers in the World could do ſo much; and that if he had had that Infantry joined with his Cavalry, he would dare to undertake a War againſt all the World.* When they were paſt the water, the French forbore to follow any further; for the King would needs ſend back part of his Horſe to defend the Camp, and towards the evening he, with the Duke of *Nevers* and *Montpenſier*, and with the Mareſchal *de Byron*, followed the retreat of the Spaniards. The Archduke lay that night in the Abbey of *Betricourt* again, and the next day paſſing near *Dourlans*, marched ſtrait to *Arras*, with a deſign, ſince he had not been able to relieve the beſieged, to apply himſelf to the affairs of *Flanders*.

The Kings Light-horſe attempt by skirmiſhes to do ſome harm to the Spaniſh Army; but they ſtill come off with the worſt.

The Kings praiſe of the Spaniſh Infantry.

After the Cardinals departure, the King ſends an Herald to *Caraffa* Marquiſs of *Montenegro*, to perſwade him to ſurrender.

The King being returned to the Camp, ſent an Herald to tell the Marquiſs of *Montenegro*, that having ſeen the iſſue of the relief he expected, it was time now to think of yielding; and that, becauſe he deſired not the deſtruction of ſo many gallant Souldiers, he would grant him honourable conditions. The Marquiſs (who in a note brought him by a Boy, had already had leave from the Archduke to capitulate, would yet hear the opinions of the Commanders, who having unanimouſly concluded, that by reaſon of the contagious mortality, of their want of Match, of the ſmall number of men to which they were reduced, and becauſe the Enemies were now Maſters of the Rampart, there was no thought of holding out) anſwered the King, That he deſired Safe-conduct to ſend a Captain to the Archduke, that he might know the certainty of his Command, which being courteouſly granted, he ſent *Federico Pacciotto*, who brought expreſs leave to make Compoſition: whereupon having treated a while, they agreed to ſurrender upon theſe Conditions:

The Marquiſs ſends Captain *Pacciotto* with the Kings paſſport to the Cardinal for leave to ſurrender.

The Articles of Compoſition.

That the Monuments of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, and of all other Commanders ſlain in the ſiege, ſhould not be ſtirred, nor their Inſcriptions cancelled, it being nevertheleſs lawful for the Spaniards to take away their Bodies when they pleaſed. That all the Souldiers that were in the City ſhould march out in Battalia, with their Arms and Baggage, Colours flying, Drums beating, and Trumpets ſounding, and ſhould be

be furniſhed by the King with Carts to carry away their Goods and their Sick as far as *Dourlans*: That if any ſick or wounded perſon ſhould remain in the City, he ſhould receive good uſage, and have liberty to go away at his pleaſure: That the Souldiers ſhould be exempt from paying for any Phyſick or Surgery they had had in the City, and likewiſe for Two thouſand pound weight of Musket-Bullet which they had taken up from particular men and made uſe of: That Priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet free without Ranſom: That the Towns-men might ſtay without being oppreſſed, and be uſed as good Subjects, renewing their Oath of Allegiance to the King of *France*; but thoſe that would march out with the Souldiers might have free liberty ſo to do: That there ſhould be a Truce for the ſix next enſuing days, within the term of which, if they were not relieved with at leaſt Two thouſand men, they ſhould deliver up the City; and that in the mean time they ſhould give Hoſtages for ſecurity, a Spaniſh Commander, an Italian, and a Walloon. 1597.

The Serjeant Major carried the Capitulations to the Archduke, who having ratified them, the Defendents of *Amiens* marched forth upon the Five and twentieth of *September*, being Eighteen hundred Foot, and four hundred Horſe; the Marquiſs of *Montenegro* being at the head of them in a Souldier-like gallantry, upon a brave Horſe, with a Truncheon in his hand; and being come to the place where the King and the whole Army in Battalia expected him, laying aſide his Truncheon, alighted and kiſſed the Kings knee, and ſaid, (ſo loud that he was heard by the by-ſtanders) *That he delivered up that place into the hands of a Souldier-King, ſince it had not pleaſed the King his Maſter to cauſe it to be relieved by Souldier-Commanders*; which words moved every one to conſider, that if the Spaniſh Army had either taken the way beyond the River, or laid hold of the occaſion which fortune had preſented them at the diſorder in the Trenches, the ſiege had certainly been raiſed. The King anſwered, *That it ought to ſatisfie him, that he had defended the place like a Souldier, and now reſtored it into the hand of the lawful King with the honour of a Souldier.* To theſe words he added many other favourable demonſtrations, as well toward him as the other Commanders, whom he deſired to know by name, one by one; and being diſmiſſed with the praiſe of the whole Army, they were convoyed ſafe to *Dourlans*.

Upon the 25 of *Septemb.* 1597. the Marquiſs of *Montenegro* marches with his forces out of *Amiens*.

A ſaying of the Marquiſs to the King of *France*.

The Kings Anſwer.

There entred into *Amiens*, the Conſtable, who received the place, the Mareſchal *de Byron*, and the Duke of *Mombaſon*, and after them the King himſelf, who having viſited the Cathedral Church, gave the Government of the Town to Monſieur *de Vic*, and went forth without making any ſtay, as well out of a ſuſpition of the Plague, as out of a deſire to march after the Archduke; who having ſtaid only two days upon the Paſs of the River *Anſt*, was in this interim gotten within the Walls of *Arras*.

Upon the ſix and twentieth day, there hapned an accident, which if it had fain out before, would have diſcompoſed all things, but at this time it proved rather a matter of ſport than trouble; for there brake out ſuddenly ſo great a Fire in the Kings quarters, (the cauſe thereof not being at all known) that in a ſhort ſpace all the Huts were burned, which was no way harmful, either to Men or Baggage, becauſe the Camp was already raiſed, and marching away. The whole Army rejoyced, calling it a Bonfire; and many from thence took a good Omen of future quiet, which was confirmed by the event; for the General of the Cordeliers being returned from the Court of *Spain*, and come with Letters to the Archduke about the ſame time, cauſed an interview upon the Confines which divide *Picardy* from the County of *Artois*, between Secretary *Villeroy*, on the Kings part, and Preſident *Richardotto*, for the Archduke, who determined that at *Vervins*, a place upon the ſame Confines, famous for the Peaces that had formerly been treated there; the Cardinal-Legat, Father *Franciſco Gonzaga*, Biſhop of *Mantua*, the Popes Nuncio, and the Deputies on both parts, ſhould meet together to apply themſelves to a Treaty of Peace.

The General of the Franciſcans returns from *Spain*, and it is agreed, that the Deputies of both parties ſhall meet at *Vervins* to treat of Peace.

That which moved King *Philip* to an inclination to Peace, was the urgency of the affairs of *Flanders*, which by reaſon they had been abandoned for two years together, were extreamly much gone down the wind; ſo that the neceſſity of his own affairs, conſtrained him not to think of getting that which was anothers. To this was added, the exceeding great ſcarcity of money, for which he had been fain this very year, to ſuſpend all payments, to the diſreputation of his greatneſs, and the undoing of thoſe Merchants that were wont to have dealings with the Crown. Nor was the

1597. The King of *Spain* being now grown old, ſets his thoughts to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion of his young Son.

The Cardinal Archduke being to marry the *Infanta Iſabella*, and to have the Dominion of the Low countries with her, deſires alſo to ſettle himſelf in the peaceful poſſeſſion of them.

reſpect of eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion upon his Son laſt in his conſideration, for being now far in years, and knowing that his death drew near, he deſired that his Succeſſor, who was very young, might not be ingaged in a great and troubleſom War, againſt a King of manly age and ſtrength, full of experience, and upheld by the manifeſt favour of Fortune. His dependents add, that being in the latter end of his life careful to ſatisfie his Conſcience, he deſired to end his days with the Peace of Chriſtendom, and the reſtitution of that which was not his own; yet it is moſt clear, that the loſs of *Amiens* gave great force to his firſt diſpoſition, and perſwaded even the Cardinal Archduke, who being to marry the *Infanta Iſabella*, and with her to have the Dominion of the Low-Countries, endeavoured not to have ſo powerful and ſo troubleſom a War as that with the King of *France*.

Secretary *Villeroy* returned with the reſolved appointment, and found that the King with his Army following the proſperity of Fortune, was incamped before *Dourlans*; for having made an incurſion, even to the very Walls of *Arras*, filling the whole Country with terrour, he perceived afterward that the places of *Picardy* were left behind with very great danger, and therefore was come to beſiege *Dourlans* as the neareſt place, the taking whereof would be of wondrous advantage to his Country. But already the Rains of Autumn did very much incommode and annoy him; and his Army which had been healthful till then, began now to be troubled with the Bloody Flux, and the Plague; in ſuch manner, that the Treaſurers putting him in mind, that all means of paying his Foot was utterly gone, the King reſolved to disband his Army, and to apply himſelf heartily to the Treaty of Peace, which now, being high in reputation and honour, and having ſatisfied himſelf and the expectation of his people, he deſired more boldly and openly than before.

The Duke of *Savoy* deſirous to keep the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo* to himſelf, croſſes the Treaty of Peace.

This reciprocal deſire of both Kings, facilitated the Treaty of Peace; but the Duke of *Savoy*'s intereſts kept all things in difficulty: For though the War theſe two laſt years had been various, and with hot encounters, and bloody aſſaults, rather diſadvantageous than otherwiſe; and though Monſieur *de Leſdiguieres* having taken St. *Johan de Morienne*, and all that valley in the Alps, was gone down into *Piedmont*, to the ruine and ſpoiling of the Country; yet he being reſolved to retain the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, either croſſed the Peace, or cared not to have it concluded.

But yet the meeting at *Vervins* held, whither Monſieur *de Bellieure*, and Preſident *Sillery*, came from the King of *France*; and Preſident *Riccardotto*, *Juan Boptiſta Taſſis*, and *Ludovico Vericben*, Auditor of *Brabanza* for the King of *Spain*. The French Deputies were brought by the Popes Nuncio, and the Spaniſh by the General of the Cordeliers; and the Cardinal-Legat came to the ſame place, by whoſe Authority all difficulties of precedency being removed, they entred upon the Treaty of the buſineſs; but not before the beginning of the month of *February* in the year 1598, a year deſtined by Divine Providence to cloſe up the grievous wounds of forty years paſt.

1598.

The pretenſions of the French, and of the Spaniard, ſtood upon in the Treaty of Peace.

Great was the deſire of Peace on both ſides, and great likewiſe the Authority of the Legat with each party, nor were the demands very different: For the Spaniards proffered without difficulty to reſtore *Ardres*, *Dourlans*, *la Cappelle*, *Caſtelet*, and *Montaulin* in *Piccardy*, and the Port of *Blauet* in *Bretagne*, and deſired only to retain *Calais* as long as the War with the Hollanders laſted, and to give the King of *France* an equivalent exchange in the mean time: And the French ſtood to have *Calais* reſtored freely; they likewiſe demanded *Cambray*, and renewed ſome old pretenſions upon the Confines of *Flanders*. The Spaniards ſhewed, that all old pretenſions were terminated in the Peace concluded between the two Crowns at *Chaſteau Cambreſis* in the year 1559, and that *Cambray* was not of the King of *France* his Juriſdiction, but a City of the Archbiſhops, uſurped a few years before by the Duke of *Alancon*'s Forces, and that therefore being a free Town, the King could not pretend any right unto it, but that the Maſter of the Low-Countries had the ancient protection of it; and yet not a direct Dominion, but one eſtabliſhed by reaſon. Upon theſe Anſwers the French eaſily gave off their old pretenſions, and the demand of *Cambray*; and with as much facility did the Spaniards lay aſide the demand of retaining *Calais*: Whereupon all the difficulty was reduced to this point, That the King of *France* would have had *Blauet* in the condition it then was, with all the Artillery, Shot, and Ammunition of War; and the Spaniards ſtood totally to demoliſh the Fort they had built,

built, and to carry away the Artillery, and other things which they had brought thither of their own; but this difficulty alſo was eaſily taken away; for the Treaty being managed with great ſincerity, the French ſatisfied themſelves, knowing that the Spaniard had reaſon on their ſide. 1598.

All other matters were of ſmall importance, ſo that nothing remained, ſave to treat about the intereſts of their adherents: for the King of *France* deſired there might be an Agreement made with the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*; and the King of *Spain* would have had the Duke of *Savoy* and the Duke of *Mercœur* comprehended in the Peace. About this there aroſe a ſharp contention; for the French having ſaid that they would not include the Duke of *Mercœur*, as being the Kings Subject; the Spaniards anſwered, That alſo the States of *Holland* were the King of *Spains* Subjects: and here mutually upbraiding one another that they fomented Rebels, they grew extreamly angry, and broke forth into words of indignation; and yet the Cardinal-Legat interpoſing, they agreed to make their Princes acquainted with the buſineſs, and expect their reſolute orders. But within a few days theſe difficulties were removed; for the King having left the Conſtable with reaſonable Forces in *Picardy*, was gone perſonally to *Angiers* to draw his Army together, and march with all his Forces into *Bretagne*. Wherefore the Duke of *Mercœur* ſeeing his deſigns ruined, and not being willing to hold out till the laſt neceſſities, which he was not able to reſiſt, condeſcended to the Agreement; by which, marrying his only Daughter to *Cæſar* the Kings Baſtard Son, and receiving other recompences of Penſions and moneys, he delivered up that part of *Bretagne* that was in his poſſeſſion unto the Kings obedience; whereupon the occaſion ceaſed for which the Catholick King endeavoured to include him in the Peace.

The Duke of *Mercœur* Brother in law to *Henry* the III. being reduced almoſt to extremity, agrees with the King giving his only Daughter to *Cæſar* of *Bourbon*, Baſtard Son to *Hen.* 4. and gave up what he held in *Bretagne* unto the Kings obedience.

Nor was there any need to contend long for the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*; for thoſe Princes, after they had done all that was poſſible to hinder the Treaty of Peace, ſhewing themſelves ill ſatisfied with the King, becauſe in the League of the year before he had promiſed not to agree without them, declared that they would not be comprehended as Adherents, and that they would have no Peace with the King of *Spain*.

There remained only the point concerning the Duke of *Savoy*, which was like to have interrupted the whole agreement when it was brought to perfection: for the Marquiſs *de Lullin* the Dukes Ambaſſadour, being introduced into the Conference, ſaid, That Preſident *Sillery*, one of the Deputies there preſent, had from the year before treated an accommodation with the Duke, and that the King was then contented he ſhould hold the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo* in fee from the Crown. The Preſident anſwered, That it was true, the King was ſo contented, but at a time when the ſtate of his affairs perſwaded him by all means to divide the Duke from the King of *Spain*, and that to that condition the Marquiſs knew well there were others joined, which he would not mention, leſt he ſhould ſet diſcord among Friends; by which words he meant to infer that the Duke to retain the Marqueſate had proffered to make War againſt the State of *Milan*. Many contentions there were about it, and the whole Treaty ſeemed to be diſcompoſed; but the General of the Cordeliers going to the King, and *Juan Baptiſta Taſſis* to the Archduke, they returned within a few days, and concluded, that the Duke and the King ſhould retain what they poſſeſſed at that preſent, and that the difference about the Marqueſate ſhould be referred to the Pope, who was to give judgment within the ſpace of one year, and then what each held of the others would mutually be reſtored. But the Marquiſs refuſed that the King ſhould retain the Valley of *Morienne*, and would not ratifie it without adverti ſing the Duke, and this by reaſon of his nature, would have been a difficult impediment, if good fortune had not removed the obſtacle; for the Duke about this time recovered *Morienne* with a great ſlaughter of *Les Diguieres* his Forces; and on the other ſide, *Les Diguieres* took a Fort which the Duke had built near *Grenoble*, and having put the Gariſon to the Sword, demoliſhed it to the very ground: wherefore there remaining nothing but *Berre* in *Provence* in the Dukes poſſeſſion, they agreed that he ſhould reſtore that Town in preſent, and that the buſineſs of the Marqueſate ſhould be decided by the Pope.

The Duke of *Savoy's* Ambaſſador being preſent in the meeting at *Vervins*, ſaid, That he had a promiſe the Duke ſhould retain the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo* in fee.

The differences about the Marqueſate are referred to the Pope, who is to give judgment within a year.

The

1598. The Peace is concluded and publiſhed.

The Peace was concluded and ſubſcribed by the Deputies upon the ſecond day of *May*, with expreſs condition that it ſhould not be publiſhed till a month after; for the King of *France* deſired that the Engliſh and Holland Ambaſſadors ſhould firſt be gone from Court, that the Peace might not be publiſhed in their preſence; and the Cardinal Archduke deſired ſpace to receive the Counterſign of *Blanet* from *Spain*. The Peace was publiſhed upon the ſeventh day of *June* in *Paris*, and the ſame day at *Amiens*, in the preſence of the Legat, and the Kings Deputies, as by agreement it was likewiſe done at *Bruxels*; all men generally rejoycing, that after ſo long and ſo calamitous Wars, the Kingdom of *France* diſtracted into ſo many Factions, was at laſt re-united in the entire obedience of a Catholick French King, to enjoy the fruits and bleſſings of Peace for the future, in recompence of ſo many paſt miſeries and afflictions.

*FINIS.*

# AN
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